

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FROM

THE FALL OF WOLSEY

TO THE

DEFEAT OF THE SPANISH ARMADA.

BY

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REIGN OF ELIZABETH.

VOLUME *X*



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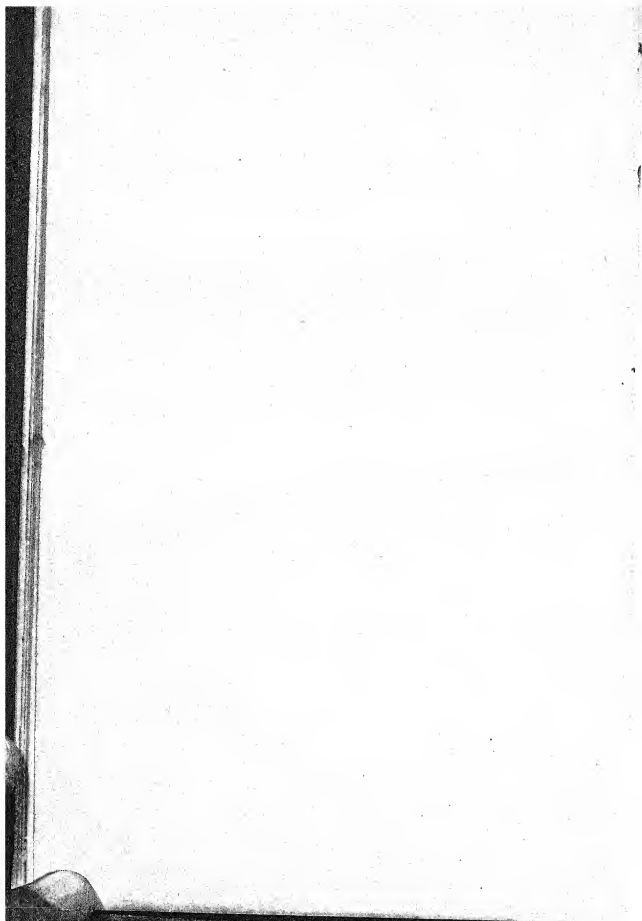
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CHAPTER XXV.

IN the fall of Edinburgh Castle, and the provisionary arrangement with Spain, the first great Catholic conspiracy against Elizabeth was finally extinguished. The recusants, disheartened at their desertion by Philip, flung their cause upon Providence, and the whole island settled down in a sullen but unresisting acquiescence. While the danger lasted, the Queen had not shown to advantage. Sir Francis Walsingham, not once only, but at every trying crisis of her life, had to describe her conduct as "dishonourable and dangerous;" dishonourable, because she never hesitated to break a promise when to keep it was inconvenient, and dangerous from the universal distrust which she had inspired in those who had once relied upon her. But her disposition to compromise, her extreme objection to severity or coercion, were better suited to conciliate defeated enemies. Whether it was policy, or that, like Hamlet, she "lacked gall," she never remembered an injury. She fought with treason by being blind to it, and made men loyal in spite of themselves, by persistently trusting them.

Her manners were eminently popular. She was hard of feature and harsh of voice: "her humours," as Sir T. Heneage expressed it, "had not grown weak with age;" but she was free of access to her presence, quick-witted, and familiar of speech with men of all degrees. She rode, shot, jested, and drank beer; spat, and swore upon occasions; swore not like "a comfit-

maker's wife," but round, mouth-filling oaths, which would have satisfied Hotspur, — the human character shewing always through the royal robes, yet with the queenly dignity never so impaired that liberties could be ventured in return.

The public policy of the realm was in the main directed by Burghley, but his measures were at all times liable to be suspended or reversed. She had a second ear always open to Catholic advisers — pensioners, some of them, of Spain — in the household and the cabinet. Her ladies of the bedchamber were, for the most part, the friends and correspondents of Mary Stuart. Her favourite courtiers, men like Lord Oxford and Lord Henry Howard, were the most poisonous instruments of Spanish intrigue. Her "new minion," as he was spitefully called abroad, Leicester's rival, Sir Christopher Hatton, was a Catholic in all but the name. The relations of Elizabeth with these persons, however insolently remarked upon by the refugees and malignants, were never generally misunderstood, and, if regretted, were regretted only for public reasons by her wiser statesmen.

Leicester, no doubt, she would have liked well to marry. Leicester had been an object, at one time, of grave suspicion, and even Cecil's mind once misgave him on the ambiguous position in which this nobleman stood towards his sovereign. But the Spanish Ambassador de Silva enquired curiously into the scandals which were flying, and satisfied himself that they were without foundation. And the absolute silence afterwards of Mendoza, on a subject on which hatred would have made him eloquent, is a further and conclusive answer to the charges of Allen and Sanders.¹ Leices-

¹ In the enormous mass of Mendoza's correspondence at Simancas, there

ter continued till his death an object of exceptional regard. Hatton, a handsome, innocent, rather absurd person, was attached to her on the footing of a human lapdog, and he repaid her caresses with a genuine devotion, ridiculous only in the language in which it was expressed.¹ Elizabeth had nicknames for every one who was about her person: Burghley was her "spirit;" Leicester, her "sweet Robin;" Oxford, her "boar;" Hatton, her "*Liddy*," her "sheep;" her mouton, Anglicised into "Mutton." The letters addressed to her by statesmen are remarkable for the absence of formality, for language, often of severe and startling plainness, unseasoned with a compliment. She kept her intelligence for Burghley and Walsingham, and gave her folly to the favourites. The hard politician of the cabinet exacted in the palace the most profound adulation; she chose to be adored for her beauty, and complimented as a paragon of perfection.

Her portraits are usually without shadow, as if her features radiated light. Sometimes she was represented in more than mortal character; as an Artemis

is not a single imputation upon the personal character of Elizabeth. A youth calling himself Arthur Dudley, and professing to be the son of Elizabeth and Leicester, was presented to Philip in 1585, by Sir Francis Englefield. His story was inquired into, and he was treated as an impostor.

¹ Sir Harris Nicolas, very strangely as it appears to me, construes Hatton's letters to Elizabeth as an evidence of a discreditable connection between them. And yet one of the strongest love passages is followed by an urgent entreaty to her to marry, and it is not to be supposed he ever thought she could marry him. "This is the twelfth day since I saw the brightness of that sun that giveth light unto my sense and soul. I wax an amazed creature. Give me leave, madam, to remove myself out of this irksome shadow, so far as my imagination with these good means, may lead me towards you: and let me thus salute you: Live forever most excellent creature, and love some man to show yourself thankful for God's high labour in you. I am too far off to hear your answer to this salutation. I know it would be full of virtue and great wisdom; but I fear for some part thereof I would have but small thanks." — Hatton to the Queen, June 17, 1573: *Life of Hatton*, by Sir H. Nicolas, p. 27

with bow and crescent; as the Heathen Queen of love and beauty, as the Christian Regina Cœli, whose nativity¹ fell close to her own birthday, and whose functions as the virgin of Protestantism she was supposed to supersede. When she appeared as a mere woman, she was painted in robes, which it is to be presumed that she actually wore, broided with eyes and ears as emblematic of omnipresence — or with lizards, crocodiles, serpents, and other monsters, emblematic, whatever they meant besides, of her own extraordinary taste.

Hatton tells her when he is writing to her, that "to see her was heaven, and the lack of her was hell's torment." "Passion overcomes him," as he thinks upon her sweetness. Leicester "is but half alive" when he is absent from "her most blessed presence." Even in business of state she was not proof against flattery. Mendoza could divert her at any time from disagreeable subjects by turning the conversation upon her personal excellencies.² Sir John Smith, when sent on a visit to the Court of France, found it prudent to dispraise the Queen and ladies there to her Majesty's advantage.³

And there were no attentions which more certainly brought substantial wages. The public service was

¹ Sept. 8. Eliz. born Sept. 7.

² "Divertiendola dellas platicas con otras a que yo estaba cierto habia de dar oydes, como decirle quan buena estaba." — Mendoza al Rey, 31 Marzo, 1578: *MS. Simancas*.

³ "I assure your Majesty of my faith there is more beauty in your Majesty's finger than in any one lady among them all. I had heard the French Queen, before I saw her, commended to be very fair and of good presence. Clear skinned she is, but very pale and without colour; her face reasonably well formed, but for majesty of a princess, God knows she has none," etc. — Sir John Smith to Elizabeth, April, 1576: *MSS. Spair Rolls House*.

conducted most thriftily — ministers of state had their reward in doing the business of the country. Walsingham spent his private fortune in his office, and ruined himself. Sir Henry Sidney declined a peerage, his viceroyalty in Ireland having left him crippled by debt. Sir James Crofts excused his accepting a pension from Spain, on the ground that the Queen allowed him nothing as controller of her household. Lord Burghley has left on record, in his own handwriting, that the grants which he had received from his mistress had not covered his expenses in attending upon her: that he had sold lands of his own to maintain his state at court, and that the fees of his Treasurership did not equal the cost of his stable.¹ But the largesses withheld from statesmen were given lavishly to the favourites and flatterers. Their office, perhaps, being ignominious, required a higher salary. Leicester, who inherited nothing, his father's estate having been confiscated, became the wealthiest nobleman in England. *Sinecures*, grants of land, and high places about the court, rewarded the affection of Hatton. Monopolies which made their fortune "to the utter undoing of thousands of her Majesty's subjects,"² were heaped on them and others of their kind — cheap presents, which cost the Queen nothing. To Hatton was given also the Naboth's vineyard of his neighbour the Bishop of

¹ "In my whole time I have not for these 26 years been benefited from her Majesty so much as I was within four years of King Edward. I have sold as much land of value as ever I had of gifts from her Majesty. I am at charge by attendance upon court, and by keeping of my household specially in term time by resort of suitors, more than any councillor in England. My fee for the Treasurership is more than hath been for these 300 years. It doth not answer to my charge of my stall, I mean not my table." Burghley to Wm. Herle, Aug. 14, 1585: *Autograph, MSS. Domestic, Rolls House.*

² D'Ewes' *Journals*, p. 242.

Ely; the present Hatton Garden, so named in memory of the transaction.¹

¹ The reluctance of the Bishop to part with his property called out the celebrated letter in which "the Proud Prelate" was told that if he did not instantly comply with the Queen's wishes, "by God she would unfrock him." The Bishop, still inclining to resist, was brought to reason by means so instructive on Elizabeth's mode of conducting business, when she had not Burghley or Walsingham to keep her in order, that Lord North, the person whom she employed, may tell the story in his own words. "This last denial," Lord North wrote to the Bishop, "being added, my Lord, to her former demands, hath moved her Highness to so great a misliking as she purposes presently to send for you and hear what account you can render for this strange dealing towards your gracious sovereign. Moreover, she determines to redress the infinite injuries which of long time you have offered her subjects. For which purpose, to be plain with your lordship, she has given me order to hearken to my neighbours' griefs, and likewise to prefer those complaints before her Majesty's Privy Council, for that you may be called to answer, and the parties satisfied. She has given orders for your coming up, which I suppose you have already received, and withal, you shall have a taste to judge how well she liketh your loving usage.

"Now to advise you, my Lord, I wish you from the bottom of my heart to shake off the yoke of your stubbornness against her Majesty's desires, to lay aside your stiffnecked determination and yield yourself to her known clemency. She is our God on earth. If there be perfection in flesh and blood, undoubtedly it is in her Majesty; for she is slow to revenge and ready to forgive. And yet, my Lord, she is right King Henry, her father, for if any strive with her, all the princes in Europe cannot make her yield. You will say to me, you are determined to leave your bishoprick in her Majesty's hands, to dispose thereof at her good pleasure, and I know that you have so reported among your friends. Your wife has also counselled you to be a Latimer, glorying, as it were, to stand against your natural prince. My Lord, let not your wife's shallow experience carry you too far. You see that to court you must come. The Prince's good favour and grace will be altered from you; your friends will be strange. It will be no ease for your age to travel in winter, and I know well how you are horsed and manned for that purpose. It will be no pleasure for you to have her Majesty and the Council know how wretchedly you live, how extremely covetous, how great a grazier, how marvellous a dairyman, how rich a farmer, how great an owner. It will not like you that the world know of your decayed houses, of the lead and brick that you sell from them, of the leases that you pull violently from many; of the copyholds you lawlessly enter into, of the free lands which you wrongfully possess, of the tolls and imposts which you raise, of God's good ministers which you causelessly displace.

"All this I am to prove against you, and shall be most heartily sorry to cut it in execution. Wherefore, if you love place, the preservation of your credit, and the continuance of her Majesty's favour, conform yourself and

Without family ties, with no near relations, and without friends save such as were loyal to her for their country's sake rather than her own, Elizabeth concealed the dreariness of her life from herself, in the society of these human playthings, who flattered her faults and humoured her caprices. She was the more thrown upon them because in her views of government she stood equally alone, and among abler men scarcely found one to sympathise with her. She appears in history the Champion of the Reformation, the first Protestant Sovereign in Europe; but it was a position into which she was driven forward in spite of herself, and when she found herself there, it brought her neither pride nor pleasure.

In her birth she was the symbol of the revolt from the Papacy. She could not reconcile herself with Rome without condemning the marriage from which she sprung; but her interest in Protestantism was limited to political independence. She mocked at Cecil and "his brothers in Christ." She affected an interest in the new doctrines, only when the Scots or the Dutch were necessary to her, or when religion could serve as an excuse to escape an unwelcome marriage. When the Spanish Ambassador complained of the persecution of the Catholics, she answered that no Catholic had suffered anything who acknowledged her as his

satisfy her request, which, if you list to do, no doubt the Queen is so inclined to good as I trust she will not only forget what is past and spare your journey, but also thankfully accept your doing herein. Thus all things may be pacified, which I will gladly bring to pass. Her Majesty shall receive pleasure, her servants preferment and some profit, and yourself honour and long comfort. Your loving friend,

R. NORTH.

"November 20, 1576."

Comment would be thrown away upon this letter. It is among the MSS. at Hatfield, and endorsed by Burghley, to whom the Bishop probably sent it.

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lawful sovereign, and that in spiritual matters, she believed as they did.¹ Fanatics, Puritan or Papist, she despised with Erasmian heartiness. Under her brother and sister she had witnessed the alternate fruits of the supremacy of the two theological factions. She was determined to hold them both under the law, which to her had more true religion in it than cartloads of creeds and articles. Puritanism drew its strength from the people. The Popish priests were a regiment of the Bishop of Rome. She would permit no authority in England which did not centre in herself. The Church should be a department of the State, organised by Parliament and ruled by the national tribunals. The moderates of both parties could meet and worship under its ambiguous formulas. There should be no conventicles and no chapels, to be nurseries of sedition. Zealots who could not be satisfied might pay a fine for their precision, and have their sermons or their sacraments at home.

She never ceased to hope that foreign princes would see things as she saw them. To the intelligent latitudinarian his principles appear so obviously reasonable that he cannot understand why they are not universally accepted. Elizabeth desired only a general peace, outward order and uniformity, with liberty to every one to think in private as he pleased. What could any man in his senses wish for more? So long as there was no Inquisition, she could not see why the Calvinists should refuse to hear mass. So long as their subjects would conform to the established ritual, kings might well be satisfied to leave opinion alone. It was

¹ "Me replicó que no castigaba á los Catholicos sino por no confesarlos por reyna: que en lo demas creya lo que ellos." — Don Bernardiño de Mendoza al Rey, xvii. de Junio, 1578: *MSS. Simancas*.

to this consummation that her foreign policy was always directed. It was for this reason that she always resisted the advice of Burghley and Walsingham to put herself at the head of a Protestant League. Unwillingly and at long intervals she had sent secret help to the Prince of Orange and the Prince of Condé — not, however, to emancipate the Low Countries, or change the dynasty of France, but only to prevent the triumph of the spirit of the Council of Trent, and to bring Philip and the House of Valois to extend over Europe a government analogous to her own.

Events were too strong for her. Her theory was two centuries before its time ; and nations can only be governed on principles with which they sympathise themselves. Yet Elizabeth may be fairly credited with a general rectitude of purpose ; and for the immediate purpose of keeping England quiet and preventing civil war, she was acting prudently and successfully. She could not forget that she was a sovereign of a divided people, and that all her subjects, as long as they were loyal, were entitled to have their prejudices respected. The Anglo-Catholics and Catholics were still three-quarters of the population ; united in sympathy, united in the hope of seeing the old creed restored in its fullness, and as yet only differing in a point of order. All alike were thriving under the peace and prospering in their worldly comforts, while France and Flanders were torn in pieces by civil war. If she had struck openly into the quarrel, Germany would probably have followed, and Romanism might perhaps have been driven back behind the Alps and Pyrenees ; but as, in doing so, she would have created the deepest resentment in England, the attempt might also have cost her her own throne, and she might have been herself more

successful in provoking rebellion than Mary Stuart or the emissaries of the Pope. Her first duty was to her own people, and both for herself and England there were protecting conditions which war would forfeit, but which would hardly fail her as long as she remained at peace. The massacre of St. Bartholomew had brought France no nearer to Spain. Spain was reluctant as ever to permit the Guises to interfere by force for Mary Stuart. French politicians could not allow Philip to invade and conquer England. Philip had made an effort to cut the knot. Chapin Vitelli's dagger was to have disposed of Elizabeth, and Mary Stuart and the Duke of Norfolk were to have taken the crown with Alva at their backs; but Norfolk's head had fallen, and Mary's last friends at Edinburgh had been hanged, and Philip had retraced his steps, had washed his hands of his English friends, and was once more on good terms with his sister-in-law. The Bull declaring her deposed was ostentatiously and universally ignored; Charles IX. made a league with her in the face of it; the Spanish Council of State had denied its validity; and Elizabeth was entitled to believe that she was still regarded by her brother sovereigns as one of themselves. Mary Stuart remained her heir presumptive; the Catholics, both at home and abroad, were allowed to look forward to her accession; and the Queen judged rightly, that after so disastrous a failure, both they and Philip would prefer to wait for a peaceful alteration by the order of inheritance, rather than risk the chances of a fresh insurrection or an internecine war. For the foreign Protestants she considered that she did enough by maintaining her own position. While she remained upon the throne, England was an asylum for the persecuted of all nations, a

neutral territory from which they could maintain the struggle with their oppressors. If she refused to help them herself, they found allies among her subjects. English congregations contributed money. English volunteers flocked to the standard of Condé and Orange. English privateers threatened Spanish commerce, and threw supplies into Rochelle. The mere existence of a powerful kingdom out of communion with Rome was a continual obstruction to an ultramontane policy. In refusing to permit the succession to be settled positively either for Mary Stuart or against her, Elizabeth was accused of neglecting the interests of the nation, and caring only for her own quiet. Sometimes, in mockery, she would tell the Council that she would come back after her death and see the Queen of Scots making their heads fly. She advised Hatton to buy no land and build no houses. When she was gone, she said, there would be no living for him in England.¹ A policy, however, could not have been only selfish, which was attended with unceasing risk to her own life. Every year that could be saved to peace was so much gain to England; and she persisted in hoping that through weariness and necessity the Catholic Powers would throw over the Council of Trent, and allow Europe to be settled on some quiet and moderate terms. How she worked in detail, how uncertain, how vacillating, how false and unscrupulous she could be when occasion tempted, has appeared already and will appear more and more; but her object in itself was excellent, and those who pursue high purposes though crooked ways, deserve better of mankind, on the whole, than those who pick their way in

¹ The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow, August 4, 1574: Labanoff, Vol. IV.

blameless inanity, and if innocent of ill, are equally innocent of good.

Five years now passed, to England precious years of breathing-time. The storm continued to rage on the Continent. The annals of England are almost a blank; and the leading incidents may be passed over rapidly.

Charles IX., in consenting to the massacre of St. Bartholomew, had said that if tried at all, it should be universal. From fifty to sixty thousand human creatures had been murdered; but indignation created heretics faster than the sword could destroy them. The whole country beyond the Loire revolted, and the civil war broke out fiercer than ever. Anjou was driven from Rochelle after a fruitless four months' siege, in which he lost twenty thousand men; and the throne of Poland falling vacant, and the Queen-mother coveting it for her second son, the Court swung round. Peace was patched up, leaving Catholics and Huguenots as they stood before the massacre. Catharine made advances again to the Prince of Orange and Count Louis, and by their help she secured the election. Anjou left France for his new kingdom, only to be recalled to it a few months after by his brother's death. The sickly princes of the House of Valois followed each other fast to the tomb. But the Queen-mother continued to rule, and in her hatred of Spain stretched out her hand to Orange, who, desperate of other help, seemed inclined to let the past be past, and accept it, bloodstained as it was. He had offered the sovereignty of the States to Elizabeth. In possession of Holland and Zealand, he had told her that she would be "head of the religion" and mistress of the seas. The rest of the States would revolt from Spain and come to her

devotion, and no enemy would dare to quarrel with her. If she refused, they would not submit to the Spaniards. They were prepared to die first, if necessary; but he warned her fully that before they were destroyed "they would entangle the country with such a devil as should root out thence the name of Spaniards forever." "The French King was ready to help them, and to the French King they would go."¹

The Prince was evidently desperate: the danger to England of the annexation of the Provinces to France was only one degree less than of their reconquest by Alva; and to prevent the States from taking any wild step, which could not be retraced, she sent Orange money for his immediate necessities, and an attempt was made among the more moderate of the European powers to compel Philip to grant the Provinces reasonable terms. After a communication between Walsingham and Maximilian, deputies met informally at Speyr in the autumn of 1573, from England, Switzerland, and the German States, to draw up the conditions of a league, — a league which was to be neither Catholic nor Protestant, but composed of men of all creeds, who would combine to resist oppression. The contracting parties were to disclaim all intention of meddling with religion. They quarrelled with no faith. Doctrines and forms of worship were left indifferent. The object of the confederation was to enforce justice, order, liberty of conscience, and the common rights of humanity.²

¹ Mr. Herle and the Prince of Orange, June 11, 1573: *MSS. Flanders*.

² Confederacion entre los Reyes, Duques, Príncipes, Villa libres, Respublicas y Señorías de Alemania, Inglaterra, Escocia, Suycos y Flandes, assi de una como de otra Religion, pare oponerse a la tyrannia de algunos enemigos de piedad y virtud. — Hecha en Espira, a xv. de Octubre, 1573: Teulet, Vol. V.

The project never passed beyond an outline. Dogmatism was more sacred than humanity. Lutherans and Calvinists could not act together, far less could Protestants and Catholics. But it breathes the very spirit of Elizabeth. And that such a thing should have been tried at all shows that even in the sixteenth century there were minds which theology had failed to calcine.

Orange, meanwhile, was left to struggle on with such help as volunteers could give him. On the 12th of July, 1573, the town of Haarlem surrendered to Alva. The siege had cost him twelve thousand of his troops, but as he had found severity hitherto useless, he determined to make Haarlem an example of what he called clemency. The garrison, consisting chiefly of English, French, and Scots, was put to the sword. A few of the principal citizens were selected for execution; but the town was not, like Mechlin, given over to pillage, and private property was generally spared. The Duke then moved on Alkmaar, hoping that it would open its gates. But Alkmaar was obstinate as Haarlem had been. He tried one desperate assault, but failed, and it appeared clear to him that he would have to conquer the two Provinces inch by inch. One town had already cost him an army recruited with enormous difficulty from Italy and Spain. Holland and Zealand formed a great intrenched camp, intersected by dykes, canals, and rivers. The sea was open behind, and as long as Protestant Europe, as long especially as England, continued to throw in men and powder, the problem appeared a hopeless one.

The natural remedy would have been to hold Elizabeth responsible for the acts of her subjects, and to threaten her with war unless she checked them. She

had herself given further provocation. In the spring of 1571, when the Spanish Ambassador had been discovered to be a party to the Norfolk conspiracy, a hint was given to the western privateers, and a young adventurer sailed out of Plymouth harbour, more enterprising and more audacious than the dreaded Hawkins himself. In the last disastrous expedition, many English sailors were left prisoners in the hands of the Spaniards. Most of them had been released by Hawkins' ingenuity, but some had been left in Mexico, to be burnt by the Inquisition. Francis Drake set out to revenge his comrades. He spent the summer in the West Indies burning, killing, and taking prizes.¹ Then putting himself in communication with escaped negro slaves in the woods at Panama, he landed and intercepted the mules which were bringing the gold and silver over the isthmus. He secured an enormous booty, sufficient to tempt half the pirates in the world to the Spanish main, and returned safe with it to England, fortune so standing his friend that he caught another gold ship on his way home, which was also of immense value.² Elizabeth was personally compromised; and this time she showed no desire to evade her responsibility. She was known to have had shares in the adventure. Drake presented her with a negro slave whom he had taken in a house at Carthagena. She showed him publicly at court as a curiosity. A priest, implicated in some recent treason, was executed about the same time in London, with the usual cruel-

¹ At Nombre de Dios he killed eighteen Spaniards, and cut out and carried off a loaded galleon which was lying in the harbour. — *Memoria que ha dado el Consejo de las Indias de los robos hechos en ellas por Ingleses*, 1572: *MSS. Simancas*.

² Protest of Antonio y Guaras to Elizabeth, 1573: *MSS. Simancas*.

ties ;¹ while she continued to harass Philip with demands for the expulsion of the English refugees from Flanders, which had been promised in the provisional treaty. Out of such a condition of things, it appeared as if only war could follow ; but Alva, who, unlike the Catholics generally, had formed a high estimation of Elizabeth's power, preferred any humiliation to driving her into an alliance with Orange. He considered Drake's performance a fair equivalent for the Ridolfi conspiracy. So far from advising Philip to demand reparation of his sister-in-law, he saw in it only a further motive for seeking a close alliance with her. "If your Majesty had listened to me," he said, "if you had not trusted Chapin Vitelli, and had attended to the considerations which I placed before you, these present difficulties would not have arisen. It is now of the highest importance to show Europe that there will be no war between England and Spain."²

Even the question of the volunteers the Duke was not inclined to press upon Elizabeth. She had recalled Sir Humfrey Gilbert, the only officer who held a commission from herself. With the rest he discovered for himself a more successful method of dealing. England was swarming with adventurers of no particular creed, careless whom they served, so they served their own interests. Some hundreds of these made advances to Alva through Antonio de Guaras, the Spanish factor in London. Alva directed them to offer their swords to the Prince of Orange, obtain employment with the garrison at Flushing, and either betray

¹ *Martyrio hecho en persona de un Catholico en Inglaterra, Junio 19 1573. In the hand of de Guaras: MSS. Simancas.*

² Alva to Philip, July 7. Compare Philip to Alva, July 8; Alva to Secretary Cayas, July 8; Cayas to Alva, July 17. — Correspondence of Philip II: Gachard.

the town or burn the Dutch fleet.¹ The plot was revealed to Cecil and defeated: but others followed. Spanish gold was used and promised freely. Colone. Chester, an English officer in Walcheren, undertook, for 30,000 crowns, to introduce the Spaniards into the island.² Two others, Captain Poole and Captain Ralph Hasleby, proposed to kill or carry off Orange;³ and Hasleby actually tried it. Another scoundrel, a Captain Wingham, sought a situation in the Prince's household with the same purpose. Then two more, a Captain Ellice and a Colonel Balfour, were found engaged in the same trade.⁴ And at length the Prince, shocked and frightened at the treachery which surrounded him, and unable to distinguish friend from foe, was obliged to dismiss all the English companies and send them home. The irritation caused by a measure so necessary, yet so painful, was followed by fresh differences, tending further to alienate England from the Prince's cause.

Alva, at his own request, was now recalled. He

¹ The story of the negotiation is at Simancas, in the hand, I think, of Don Guernu de Espes, the late ambassador, who was then at Paris: Compare Ralph Lane to Cecil, May, 1573: *MSS. Flanders*.

² Antonio de Guaras to Philip, 1573: *MSS. Simancas*.

³ "El Capitan Poole y Ralph Haselby, en tiempo del Duque de Alva, habian ofrecido de entregar vivo el de Orange o matarle." — Puntos de cartas de Antonio de Guaras, 1574: *MSS. Simancas*.

⁴ In August, 1574, De Guaras writes: "Hasleby and Chester have returned to England. It is arranged that Captain Ellice and Colonel Balfour shall follow the Prince to Delft or Rotterdam, and there take or kill him. They hope they may get possession of one or other of these towns. If they kill the Prince, and also obtain a town for us, they expect 20,000 crowns for the colonels, as much more for each of the captains, and a further sum for the men. If they take the town, but miss the Prince, they will be content with 15,000 crowns among them all. If they secure the Prince without the town, they expect 20,000, the colonels to have in addition a pension of a thousand crowns, and the captains one of three hundred. The agreement is to be drawn up in writing. Ellice says he has been long in the Prince's service, and hates him."

returned to Spain leaving behind him an eternal memory of infamy because he had not succeeded. Those who attempt to extinguish a revolution in blood play for a high stake. If they win, their cruelties pass in history as the necessary severities of a wise and courageous rule. If they fail, they are ministers of Satan, to be forever execrated and abhorred. Yet the difference, after all, may be only in the intellectual appreciation of the circumstances; and if the honour is deserved in the one case, the shame may be unmerited in the other. Alva was conscious of nothing but that he had tried to do his duty to his master. It had proved too hard for him, and he gladly relinquished it to another.

There was now to be an attempt at milder treatment. His successor, Don Louis de Requesens, Grand Commander of Castile, brought with him an offer of peace: peace upon terms short of the absolute submission demanded by Alva, with a saving to the Provinces of their old rights of self-government, on condition of re-union with the Church. This point conceded, and the mass restored in the churches, the Spanish army would be withdrawn, and the States would be governed, as before the revolt, under their own laws, administered by their own countrymen. To the common sense of Europe it seemed a fair proposal — a concession to the temper which had been shewn in the meeting at Speyr. The reëstablishment of the Catholic religion did not imply persecution. Unsupported by foreign troops the Bishops would have been powerless for anything save the maintenance of external order. The chapels of the Calvinists would have been closed, but private opinion would have remained unenquired into, and the Protestants of Holland and Flanders would have been in the same position as the Catholics in England.

English practical understanding decided at once that these offers ought to have been thankfully received. The Queen, who allowed no "liberty of worship" herself, could not consistently demand it for others, even if she had thought that it could be prudently granted; and when the Prince and the States sternly refused, they were considered to be offering gratuitous obstacles to the settlement of Europe. The English Catholics came forward in numbers, making contributions for *Requescens* or taking service in the Spanish army.¹ Trade had reopened under Alva's treaty, between London and Antwerp; the Flushingers insisted on a right of search lest munitions of war should be carried to the enemy; and ugly quarrels rose in consequence. The channel privateers, not being particular about creeds, plundered Dutch merchantmen.² Vessels from Holland were robbed even at the quay at Sandwich, and no redress could be had. The interference of England on behalf of the States was made more impossible than ever.

Nor was this the worst. In the spring of 1574 the

¹ "Muchos gentilhombres, soldados y marineros, y otros de nuestro pays, ha pocos días que vinieron á esta tierra para ofrecer su servicio al Rey contra sus rebeldes; y viendo que cada día llegan aquí tanto numero de Catholicos de nuestra nacion para servir al Rey, he hecho quanto he podido que su Excellencia formase un regimiento de Ingleses Catholicos."—*Relacion de M. de Copley, 1574: MSS. Simancas.*

² Here for instance is one case out of eleven reported September 7, 1573: "Cornelius Williamson, of Dort, sailing out of Yarmouth, was boarded and utterly spoiled. The mariners of the said ship were most cruelly handled; and being tied with ropes were cast into the sea and greatly tormented for to know whether they had money. They hanged up the said Cornelius with a rope about his neck until he was almost dead, and when he was come to his wits, they stripped him all naked and cast him eight times tie'd with a rope and with stones at his legs eighteen or twenty feet deep in the sea till they knew where his money was, and so took his money and of his mariners with all their gear, and the anchors, cables, and victuals of the said ship, and left the master wholly naked."—*MSS. Flanders.*

Prince of Orange and his two brothers, Count Louis and Count Henry, collected an army of Huguenots in France, with the connivance of Catherine de Medici, crossed the Meuse, and were making their way towards Zealand, when they were intercepted at Mook Heath and forced into an engagement by Don Sancho d'Avila. The sea was the friend of the Hollanders, the land was their enemies'. Their entire force was destroyed, and Louis and Henry were killed.¹

Requesens, snatching the opportunity, published an amnesty, from which fourteen names only were excepted. He invited the Provinces to reflect upon the favourable disposition of his sovereign, and to take advantage of offers which might not be within their reach again. Out of the seventeen States only two were prolonging the revolt. For the sake of Holland and Zealand, the great commercial cities of Flanders and Brabant had to submit to a prolonged military occupation, to see their laws suspended, their trade ruined, and their industry paralyzed by taxation. Broken-hearted by his last misfortune, and utterly dispirited, the Prince now felt that the end was probably near, and that nothing would be soon left to him but to follow Count Louis to the grave. "Our people," he wrote to his one remaining brother, Count John, "have now lost all heart; and if the enemy invade us, he will find slight resistance. Our destruction will be the destruction of the religion throughout the world. The turn of the Germans will come, and the turn of the English also, who, in imagined prudence, have temporized and waited upon events."² If you can think of anything,

¹ Battle of Mook Heath, April 14, 1574.

² "Les Allemans se pourront avec le temps bien appercevoir le damage, comme aussy feront les Angloys, qui s'attendants aux événements et issuz de noz affaires ont, comme ils estimoient par grande prudence humaine, oujours voulu temporiser."

do it. I am myself so overwhelmed with business, and so stupefied with sorrow, that I am equal to little more. I undertook to hold these States for two years, single-handed, against all the force which Spain could bring against us. Those years are expired; and if we are to stand longer, we must have assistance. If it cannot be, and if we must needs perish, in the name of God be it so. They cannot take from us the honour of having done what so small a handful of men never did before. We have held this little spot of ground unfriended, and we have kept our consciences undefiled. God is all powerful, and I trust we may yet be preserved. At worst, it shall cost the Catholic King half Spain and half his subjects, ere he make a final end of us.”¹ This letter fell into the hands of Requesens, and was sent by him to England as an evidence of the condition to which the Prince was reduced. The two years’ treaty being at the same time almost expired, he intimated that if Elizabeth would interfere no further, his master was willing to do what till now he had always refused, and renew the old league which Charles V. had made with her father. What was she to do? If the Prince would but have accepted the terms which Philip offered, all would have been well. With the nobler aspect of Protestantism, with its deep, passionate loathing of falsehood, — loathing intense as that with which the first Christians shook themselves free of the heathen idolatry, — with this she had no kind of sympathy. She did not understand what it meant. But the States, however desperate their situation, intended to fight to the death; and when crushed, they would require to be held down by force. A Spanish army would continue to be a dangerous neighbour; Spanish fleets would

¹ The Prince of Orange to Count John, May 7: *MSS. Flanders*.

lie in the Scheldt; and the Dutch, having lost all they valued, might have no objection to assist in an enterprise against England. Spain might consent, at present, to the league; but while the difference of religion continued, wise men were of opinion that the alliance could not be permanent. England's turn, as the Prince said, must and would come at last. Meanwhile the sea towns were untaken; the two Provinces were at Elizabeth's disposition if she would have them; with the certainty, at the same time, of a sharp and severe war, and the possibility of an insurrection at home. The parties into which England was divided were both represented in the Council. Walsingham and Leicester were for joining the Prince; but August. Burghley and Bacon, who had hitherto acted with them, threw their powerful weight into the other scale. Don Pedro de Valdez was coming with an armada from Cadiz to assist Requesens. Walsingham would have had him set upon and destroyed in the Channel. Burghley thought that with division at home, and with Ireland so vulnerable behind them, the risk was too great to be ventured. If the Prince threw himself as he threatened upon France, even Burghley considered that it would be even better to join Philip actively, and assist in the reduction of the Provinces. England would thus earn a right to a voice in the conclusion, and secure the Hollanders some kind of terms.¹ The Spanish trade was of great importance; and a fresh in-

¹ "El gran Tesorero y el gran Chanciller respondieron á sus compañeros del Consejo que si la Reyna se pudiese en ello, que con buena causa el Rey de España les pondría cisma y fuego en su reyno por Irlanda, y que no eran de parecer de tal aceptación; y que en caso que á Franceses se entregase el de Orange que lo estorbarían por lo que tocaba á Inglaterra en favor del Rey de España." — Antonio de Guaras á Cayas, 25 de Agosto, 1574. *MSS. Simancas.*

terruption of it would lead to serious discontent in London. For Spain to consent, in defiance of the Pope, to a closer alliance with an excommunicated sovereign, would be a significant fact which would have its weight with the English Catholics; and the nation generally had not yet come to look on Spaniards as enemies. The old connection was still far more popular than the new friendship with France; and even with the Protestants the horrors of St. Bartholomew had eclipsed the doings of the Blood Council. Philip, it was said in London, never made an unjust war. Philip was true in word and deed, and in his severities respected the usages of humanity.¹ The Spanish party carried the day. De Valdez passed up the Channel unmolested to give Orange what every one expected must be his final blow; while Don Bernardino de Mendoza, Philip's master of the horse, came across from Brussels with a complimentary letter to Elizabeth, bringing with him also, in evidence of his master's sincerity, several hundred Englishmen who had been taken prisoners in Holland.

Nor was this all. The King had consented, at Alva's entreaty, that the Catholic refugees should be forbidden to remain in his dominions. The condition, so long evaded, was now actually enforced. The Earl of Westmoreland, the Countess of Northumberland, the Nortons, and the other waifs and strays from the rebel-

¹ La Mothe-Fénelon says it was argued in the English Council, "Qu'il ne s'estoit veu ni ne se voyoit rien au Roy d'Espagne pour quoy la Royne leur Mestresse deubt rejeter son amitié, ny luy denier la sienne, puisqu'il la venoit rechercher. Car il s'estoit tousjours monstré prince veritable et certain, plein de grande moderation et d'intégrité; qui n'avoit poinct meu de guerres injustes ni qui ne feussent necessaires et n'avoit usé en icelles ni fraude ni mauvaise soy ni exercé aucuns actes cruels qui feussent hors du devoir de la guerre ni contre les termes de la justice." — *Dépêches*, Vol VI. p. 217, &c.

tion of 1569, were informed that they must seek an asylum elsewhere. A seminary of English Priests which had been established at Douay, was broken up by Requesens, to be received in France by the Duke of Guise, and provided with a new home at Rheims. Weary of ineffectual intrigues which had ended only in increased severities to the Catholics whom they had wished to befriend, the Spanish Council had resolved, at least for the present, to turn their backs upon English conspirators, and relinquish the hope of recovering England to the Church by revolution.¹ "Amazed," "incredulous," the refugees struggled against their fate. They petitioned the Pope to publish a construction of the Bull of Deposition, which would implicate any Catholic Prince who made a treaty with Elizabeth, and would make rebellion an obligation of faith to the Catholics remaining in England.²

¹ Spanish lay statesmen looked on these clerical incendiaries as coldly as Charles V. had looked on Pole. Secretary Agullon, writing from Paris to Cayas, says:—

"Yo no se porque no cierran allá las puertas á todos los Ingleses, Escoceses y Irlandeses que van con invenciones. Pues es cosa llana que el día que su Mag^d pensase emprender contra alguna de aquellas provincias, le romperian abiertamente Franceses la guerra, juntandose con los otros; porque ni á ellos les está bien que su Mag^d tenga pié en ellas ni su Mag^d que ellos, y entretanto no sirven las idas y venidas de los susodichos sino hacer mas daño á la pobre Reyna de Escocia y á los Catholicos. Por mala que sea la Reyna de Inglaterra, estando las cosas de Flaudes como estan, conviene temporizar con ella, y aun diré mas adelante que despues de estar pacíficos aquellos estados les estará siempre bien el amistad y correspondencia de Inglaterra. Pues se ha visto el daño que haberala perdido les ha resultado. — Aguilon á Cayas, 5 de Maio, 1575: Tenlet, Vol. V.

Whatever may be thought of the chivalry of Elizabeth's conduct to Orange, language of this kind shows that she was no dupe to false pretences, and that in her unwillingness to precipitate a war she had real ground to go upon. The Spaniards were sincerely anxious to remain at peace with her, if the Pope and the priests would let them alone.

² "Sentencia excommunicationis sive interdicti: Vis ea est. Primum quod nulli Christiano cum iis populis neque conversari neque commercia habere licet contra quos ea lata est. Deinde quod subditi principum eorum

Gregory, however, was too well advised. He could not afford, for the sake of a handful of passionate fanatics, to embroil himself both with France and Spain; and Sanders and Allen, and Parsons and the Archbishop of Cashel, and the noble lords and ladies of the North, whose fault was fidelity to the cause of which Philip was the European champion, were dismissed over the frontiers at the request of the heretic Elizabeth, and requested to return no more. It was a hard measure, yet at once a political triumph to the English Government of immense moment, and in itself not undeserved. The object which these people had set before themselves, had been to kindle a war of religion, and to carry fire and sword through the country which claimed their allegiance. They had flooded Europe with libels, "in which Medea was made a saint," and the spotted garments of the Queen of Scots had been hung upon Elizabeth. The English Reformation was represented as a monstrous product of lust and tyranny and spoliation, and Cromwell, Cranmer, Burghley, every statesman and thinker whom Protestant England had produced, were held up as panders to the wickedness of Henry VIII., and his bastard daughter. Elizabeth insisted that Philip should set a mark of disapproval on them, and Philip yielded.

As a set off Mendoza invited Elizabeth to reconsider her secession from the Church, and her answer was not positively unfavourable. Present change she

contra quos ea lata est liberantur in posterum ab omni obedientiâ fide officio jurisjurandi religione quâ antea tenebantur, neque deinceps possunt solum, sed etiam debent, contra eosdem ferre arma ut contumaces tanquam hereticos schismaticos rebelles Deo ipsi invisos trucidare vastare deripere ferro flammâ furcâ coercere omni denique ratione de irâ deflexos in viam reducere. Fiat. Fiat. Amen. — Copia de la sentencia de excomunion que pidieron los Catholicos de Inglaterra. 1514: *MSS. Siman-*
cist.

said was impossible, but she gave him hopes that she would consider about it at a more favourable moment. The commercial differences were settled. The ships and cargoes seized on both sides had been long sold, but the accounts were produced and balanced, and the Spanish treasure, the original ground of quarrel, was allowed for in the general estimate. One question only was left open, which Philip reserved for his own special consideration, on what terms English factors and merchant ships were to be allowed to make use of Spanish port towns and harbours. The Holy Office claimed absolute authority in Spanish waters, and forbade "the accursed thing" within gunshot of their shores. English seamen who had had Prayer-books on board with them, had been imprisoned in the Inquisition dungeons, and their vessels and cargoes confiscated. The Queen insisted that the deck of an English ship was English soil. "I assure you," she said to De Guaras, "it is a thing my father would not have borne, nor will I bear it, and unless your King takes better order with these men, I must imprison subjects of his in return." "Understand me," she continued, "you know the proverb — old wine, old bread, and an old friend. The French say, our reconciliation cannot stand. Let the King and me prove their word false."¹ A special minister was sent to Madrid, to insist on concession, and Sir Henry Cobham, who had been dismissed from the Spanish Court four years before with scanty courtesy, was pointedly selected for the purpose.

Elizabeth, too, on her part, was ready to do what she could to gratify Philip, and she took the opportunity of showing him that the English for whom she

¹ De Guaras to Cayas, Jan. 1575: *MSS. Simancas.*

demanding toleration, were not the heretics with whom they were confounded. Among the fugitives from the Provinces, who had taken refuge in England, was a congregation of Anabaptists — wretches abhorred in the eyes of all orthodox Anglicans. Twenty-seven of them were arrested in Aldgate, and brought to trial for blasphemous opinions on the nature of

Christ's body. Four of them carried faggots May 15.
at Paul's Cross, recanted, and were pardoned. Eleven who were obstinate were condemned in the Bishop of London's court, and delivered over to the secular arm. The incongruous element of Elizabeth's Council would have perhaps been split in pieces by an execution on so large a scale. "Great pains were taken" to move them. One more woman at last yielded. The rest were banished, but enough had not been done to vindicate Anglican orthodoxy. One of the first four, Hendrick Tenwort, had relapsed, and with another of the remainder, John Wielmacher, was selected for a sacrifice to the Spanish alliance. The sentence was not carried out without protest. John Foxe the martyrologist, who was occupied at the time on the history of the Marian persecution, wrote to Elizabeth to remonstrate.¹ He obtained a month's reprieve to give the unfortunate creatures time to abjure, but they persevered in impenitence, and they were burnt on the 22nd of July, "in great horrore, crying and roaring."² The propositions for which they suffered, with the counter propositions of the orthodox, have passed away and become meaningless. The theology of the Anabaptists may have been ridiculous, their

¹ "Id mihi valde deprecor ne pira ac flammas Smithfieldianae, jam diu fastissimis tuis auspiciis huc usque sopitae, sinas nunc recandescere." — Foxe to Elizabeth: Soames, p. 216.

² Stowe.

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theories of civil government mischievous; but they were not punished in the service even of imagined truth; the friends of Spain about the Queen wished only to show Philip that England was not the paradise of heresy which the world believed.

A high-born offender of the opposite kind had a near escape at the same time, from the second edge of Elizabeth's sword of justice. The story is curious as illustrating the character of many of the English adventurers, who were wandering on the Continent. Among the refugees who were ordered to leave Flanders, was a person named Edward Woodshawe, who took the opportunity of writing to Lord Burghley to ask for pardon and employment. Woodshawe was singularly open in his account of himself. He had been twenty-five years in the Low Countries; at first in the household of Count Egmont, "with whom he had lived in all luxury." On Egmont's arrest, he went back to England, "but neither his uncle Leveson, of Wolverhampton, his cousin Arden, of Park Hall, in Warwickshire, nor any of his other relations would help him with two angels." "He had been brought up like a gentleman, seldom knowing what it was to lack or want." "And therefore," he said, "with other companions who were in straits as well as myself, I was forced to give the onset, and break up a house in Warwickshire, not far from Wakefield."

With the twenty pounds which came to his share from this transaction, he went again to Flanders, and was employed by Alva, "whom he took God to witness he loved as the devil in hell." He prayed Burghley to overlook his offences, and to give him an opportunity of retrieving his character. "Having long followed the wars," he said, "and experimented this

wavering world, what he took in hand he would do, so that no man in the world should know of his affairs. Her Majesty, Lord Burghley, and himself, could understand each other. Their secrets need go no further," and he "protested before God, and swore by his holy name on the damnation of his soul," that he would be true. He was intimate with Requesens, intimate with Lord Westmoreland, Lord Morley, the Archbishop of Cashel, the Nortons, and the priests who had been at Douay. If he could be of use in Spain, Chapin Vitelli would introduce him to the king, and he could obtain an appointment in the Palace.

"There," he went on, "if you like to employ me, I will obtain intelligence of all that goes forward, and of any plot against England. I will deal as circumspectly, as wisely, as faithfully as I would crave at God's hands to receive my soul into his mercy. And therefore, though your honour has no acquaintance with me, yet mistrust me not. For, by the living God, if your honour will cause to be made there in England, a certain lingering poison, and send it hither by a trusty messenger to me, not letting him know what it is, but forge some other matter, and let me have commandment from your honour to whom I shall give it, and therewith you shall try me what I am, for the service of the Queen's Majesty and my country. And doubt not, but I will handle it secretly as reason requires for my own safety; what letters your honour writes to me, I will tear them in pieces for fear of afterclaps, and I trust your honour will do so by my letters."¹

The open cruelties of Philip II. have not stained his reputation so deeply as his employment of assassins; the blackest spot in Alva's scutcheon is his

¹ Edward Woodshawe to Burghley, September 3, 1574: *MSS. Flanders*.

recommenda- tion of the murder of Elizabeth : but public men rarely sink below the average of the morality of their age. An English gentleman, honorably connected, who had been in the service of the Viceroy of the Netherlands, could write to the first minister of his country, confessing to a burglary, offering to poison his friends who had given him shelter and wages, and expecting to be admitted to the confidence of the Queen herself.

Nor is this the strangest part of the story. Lord Burghley condescended to make use of this man. He did not send the poison, but he intimated that there were other ways in which his correspondent might deserve his pardon for the affair at Wakefield ; and with this encouragement, Woodshawe wrote that he had a dear friend in De la Motte, the Governor of Gravelines, whom he described as a greedy ruffian, "that two hundred pounds would give courage to attempt anything : " with De la Motte's help he proposed to surprise Calais, which he had ascertained to be "carelessly guarded." Or failing this, he could betray his English comrades.

"For my other pretence," he wrote, when the Calais plan was abandoned, "if it please your honour to send me your whole mind, whatever your honour command me to do, if I do it not secretly and effectually, never trust man for my sake. What I have been, God forgive me my folly ; but what I am, I pray God give me grace that I may do that service to the Queen's Majesty and my country which my faithful heart is willing to do."¹

The English Government had more than once shewn the refugees that to escape from England was not necessarily to escape altogether. Story had been kid-

¹ Woodshawe to Burghley, November 30: *MSS. Flinders*.

napped and hanged, the Earl of Northumberland had been bought from the Scots and beheaded. The lesson had produced some effect, but it needed to be repeated. Lord Westmoreland had applied for pardon, and had almost obtained it, when he fell back under the influence of the Countess of Northumberland, and was again "practising" against the Queen. He had been attainted, and his life was forfeited. Cecil employed Woodshawe to entrap him, take him prisoner, and bring him to London. The ingenious scoundrel wound himself into the Earl's favor, sending report of his progress as he went along. When the Earl, with the other exiles, were ordered finally out of Flanders, Woodshawe advised him to go to Liège, and laid an ambuscade for him on the way, intending, "by God's grace, to carry him dead or alive to England."¹

Fortunately for Burghley's reputation, the plot failed. Woodshawe disappears from history, and the Lord Treasurer had to submit to the humiliation of receiving advice from Leicester to have no further transactions with persons of abandoned character.² He could have defended himself on the ground that Westmoreland, being an attainted traitor, had no rights left him in law or honour; but Philip, on the same plea, might have defended the assassination of Orange.

To return to Sir Henry Cobham. The instructions which he carried with him were not limited to English interests. His first business was with the Inquisition. If the Holy Office persisted in interfering with the merchants, he was directed to say that "the amity could not continue." The English were not heretics. They merely "professed a difference" in the observa-

¹ Woodshawe to Burghley, February 27 and March 13, 1575: *MSS. Flanders*.

² Leicester to Burghley, March, 1575: *MSS. Hatfield*.

tion of the rites and forms of the Church. The Queen recommended her brother-in-law "to be guided rather," in these questions, "by such as were of noble birth and temporal vocation, than by such as had their oaths to the Church of Rome, and preferred the particular affairs of the Pope before the service of the King."

But beyond this which concerned herself, Elizabeth went a step further. A gleam of success had lighted the fortunes of the gallant Orange on the arrival of De Valdez. Requesens had attacked Leyden, and the ever memorable defence of the city had ended in the flight and ruin of the besieging army. Negotiations for peace followed, but had been broken off on the old point of toleration. The Queen, in her capacity of mutual friend, now proposed to mediate. She made the most of the offers which the States had pressed upon herself. The King, she said, ought to be aware that "in Christendom he had no such friend as she had been." The States were ready to return to their allegiance if they would have toleration on the terms of the Peace of Passau, and Philip need not hesitate to allow what had been allowed by his father. This one concession would be sufficient; or if the Prince made difficulties afterwards, "she promised to join with the King by force to compel the disobedient that should impeach it." On the other hand, if the war was to continue, she said plainly that she would be driven into some other course. She did not wish to injure the King, but she could not, in the interests of England, let the Netherlands be annexed to France, and in default of help from her it was to France that they would certainly turn.¹

¹ Heads of a message to the King of Spain, July 1, 1575. Instructions to Sir H. Cobham. Drawn by Walsingham and signed by the Queen, July: MSS. Spain.

The weight of the message lay in the last paragraph. A war of religion would not be tolerated in England, but a war to prevent the aggrandisement of France would be warmly popular. It was thought that Philip knew enough of English politics to comprehend the distinction.

To the Spanish people generally the mission was most unwelcome. The reception of a heretic minister was in itself a scandal which had been overcome only by a dispensation from the Pope.¹ Cobham could hardly find so much as a lodging at Madrid. The King, in his first interview, was cold and ambiguous: and the Nuncio, notwithstanding the Pope's permission, recommended, between advice and command, that the Ambassador should be dismissed without a second audience.² Elizabeth might be negotiated with at Brussels, or an emissary might be sent to London, but Madrid was the second city of the Catholic world. Shocked at the dreadful presence of the accursed thing among them, the Council even reopened the whole question of the alliance. Hopper, President of the Council for the Netherlands, admitted that Elizabeth had grounds of complaint. Her life had been attempted, and she knew it,³ but she was a schismatic, and no fit ally for Spain. "The honour of God," he argued, "forbade ambiguous friendships. She had been at the bottom of all the confusion in Europe. The rebels

¹ "Como el Santo Oficio ha hecho muy complidamente, procurando para ello y para mayor seguridad de la consciencia dissimuladamente el consentimiento de la Santa Sede Apostolica." — Parecer de Hopperus, October, 1575: *MSS. Simancas*.

² A su Magd del Nuncio, 24 de Novbre 1575. Sobre echar de aqui á Cobham: *MS. Ibid.*

³ "Tanto mas habiendose ella offendido una vez por haber entendido que se machinaba algo contra su persona y Reyno." — Parecer de Hopperus: *MS. Ibid.*

were now at their last gasp, and his Majesty should trust in God and finish the work."

Quiroga, Archbishop of Toledo and Inquisitor-General, took the same view. "The Queen of England," he said, "neither was nor ever could be an honest friend of Spain. She was a tyrant, and had murdered Catholics. She had revolutionised Scotland, and would never cease to trouble the world. Her present overtures were deceit. She knew Chapin's intentions against her, and women and princes never forgave."¹

Then Alva rose. Alva, with his experience of Haarlem and Leyden, knew better the resources yet remaining to the rebellion, and understood better also the personal disposition of Elizabeth. "Diplomacy was not action," he urged; "and the alliance which he recommended need stand only as long as it was useful. Convenience was the measure of obligation even between Christian States, far more, therefore, between a Christian and a heretic."² An English ambassador could do no harm at Madrid, a Spanish ambassador in London would have mass in his house, would protect the Catholics, and prevent persecution. The Queen was well disposed to Spain. It was supremely important to humour her inclinations, and prevent her from drawing closer to France. In affairs of state, as in philosophy, imagination was a powerful element. It was no question of conscience, and the King could throw her over when he pleased."³

¹ "Y que en fin Doña y Corona nunca perdona." — Parecer de Quiroga: *MSS. Simancas*.

² "Siendo su intención que dure mientras durara la necesidad como lo hacen los Príncipes Christianos uno con otro, quanto mas con la Reyna herege." — Parecer de Alva: *MS. Ibid.*

³ "Que los negocios de Estado se fundan en Imaginacion como los filosofos, y que pues es cosa temporal que la puede soltar quando quisiere." — Parecer de Alva: *MS. Ibid.*

So construed the alliance was less alarming. Quiroga himself was willing to make allowances. "The thing desired was not so bad but that it might be made good by circumstances." The English trade would no doubt be useful, and implied diplomatic intercourse. The difficulty lay in the details. Was an English ambassador at Madrid to be allowed to use a heretic service? Was the Holy Office to see its authority impaired in the port towns?

Beaten on the main argument, President Hopper stood out against concession in details. "There were men about the King," he said, hitting at Alva, "who pretended that scruples were out of place in politics," "that princes should look to interest, and leave theory to philosophers and divines. This was a doctrine of atheists and enemies of mankind. Politics should have no foundation but the will of God, and what was not of God was of the devil."¹

The King, inclining always to what he called piety, was deeply perplexed. He was willing to carry out what had been undertaken by Mendoza in England, but he hesitated at the further step, and Alva was in despair. Unless the Inquisition could be controlled, he saw that the alliance would fall in pieces. The Queen would take up the cause of the States, and Drake would be let loose upon the gold fleets. "Cobham," he wrote to Secretary Cayas, "has just rushed into my room to kill me. I have Cobham at one ear and Hopper at the other, and between them both I am at my wits' end. Hopper will ruin all. The Queen of England will throw herself on France: the objection will be the same as long as she lives, and Hopper is such an obstinate ass that I can drive no conviction into his head.

¹ Recuerdo de Hopperus: *MSS. Simancas*.

The King knows what I think, and I shall say no more. The Englishman is ready to tear me in pieces because he and his mistress are called heretics."¹

In still more passionate tones he complained of Quiroga. "The Inquisitor-General," he said, "has no right to notice offences not committed on Spanish soil, nor if the English do wrong while on shore should he touch the property of any but the offenders themselves. I have argued with him, but he is as hard as a stone,² and unless we yield in this we lose England, and all will be over with Flanders. His Majesty, no doubt, should respect the Holy Office, but it cannot be right to play into the hands of God's rebels and his own. I beseech his Majesty with tears to listen to me. Without this concession all else will be nothing. I will not give up hope. I will snatch at every twig that offers."³

Between his various advisers, Philip was as uncertain as Elizabeth. Alva recommended him to renew his father's old league, or make another special treaty, to stand till the Low Countries were conquered. Philip was afraid, on one side, of committing misprision of heresy; on the other, of adding England to his other enemies. At length he gave Cobham in writing the following answer. "He would send an ambassador to London, and he would receive an Englishman at Madrid, but only on these conditions. His own minister must have the sacraments of the Church, as a matter of course. As positively, no unauthorized service could be permitted in Spain. The utmost indulgence which would be extended to a foreign resident would be that he should not be compelled to hear mass. It

¹ Alva to Cayas, November, 1575.

² "Esta como una piedra duro."

³ Alva to Cayas, November 25: *MSS. Simancas*.

would be more agreeable to all parties, therefore, if the person selected could be a Catholic, otherwise the Queen must send some reasonable person well inclined to the alliance. The offer of mediation he was obliged to decline. If his insurgent subjects would submit unconditionally, he would receive them to mercy at her Highness's hands, but he would adventure all his estate, rather than license any exercise of religion other than the Catholic Roman. As to the merchants and seamen, strangers must observe the laws established by the Inquisition, and if they offended must be punished by the law. The religious administration was independent of himself, and he was bound by his oath to respect the privileges of the Inquisition."¹

The principal matter was thus really left in the Archbishop's hands, and the lives and properties of Englishmen were insecure as ever. Alva, however, made a private arrangement with Cobham, for the fulfilment of which, he said, he would be himself responsible. Out of special regard for the Queen, the law against heresy should be so far relaxed that no English subject should be liable to arbitrary arrest and examination.² The English, in return, if they chose to enter Spanish churches, must behave as others did. If they encountered the Holy Sacrament in the streets they must kneel, nor must they proselytize or introduce heretical books.

¹ Answer to Sir H. Cobham, Nov. 1575: *MSS. Simancas*.

² A marginal note shows that Quiroga had given a sort of consent but had refused to commit the Inquisition by a positive engagement. "Esto fué conforme a lo que habia dicho el Inquisidor General que aunque todos los estrangeros que han hereticado fuera del Reyno son castigados por ello se dissimularia con los Ingleses. Pero que no se les habia de decir que procedia de la Inquisition porque no lo tomasen por ley o permission, y así se puso en papel a parte y se lo dió al Duque de Alva." — Discurso del Duque de Alva, 2 de Diciembre: *MS. Ibid.*

With this reply, Cobham took his leave. It is needless to say that Alva's engagement was not observed by the Inquisitors, and the natural good-will between the English and the Spaniards was changed to hatred by the cruelties to which Elizabeth's subjects were still systematically exposed. But the utmost had been done on both sides to prevent the disintegration of the old alliance.

The King of Spain himself was really acting in good faith. The exiles had fitted out a Catholic English pirate fleet. Don John of Austria, their favourite candidate for the hand of the Queen of Scots, had given them encouragement; but Philip had been coldly unfavourable.¹ Requesens's army had received its chief supplies from England, and when Orange threatened to stop the trade between the Thames and Antwerp, Elizabeth sent to tell him "that she would not bear it at his hands, and would sooner join her forces to those of Spain," to compel him to submit.² The French Court, encouraged by the success at Leyden, was willing to risk a war for the incorporation of the Provinces; Orange, desperate of help from England, was inclining to agree; while the States of Holland, dreading France only one degree less than they dreaded Spain, hoped that Elizabeth would take up their cause. They threw themselves at her feet, imploring to be accepted as her

¹ Sir Francis Englefield writes in cipher to Cotton, the pirate admiral: "I am sorry and angry to see your service and diligence so ill requited by them that are to receive the chief profit. I have written in all fidelity both to Spain and Rome. From the first I have no answer; which shews their little favour in whatever should cost them any penny. From the second I have answer, that the importance of your service is imparted to Don John and the chief cardinals, and shall be followed to the uttermost of their small credit." — *MSS. Domestic*. October, 1575.

² Instructions to Daniel Rogers, June 8, 1575: *MSS. Flanders*.

subjects, and professed to desire nothing so much as to be annexed to the English crown.¹

Cobham had not at that time returned; it was uncertain what answer he would receive; and decision was so difficult, that Burghley hesitated, and was disposed to change his opinion for Walsingham's.² He drew out, in his usual manner, the alternatives of the situation.

Three possibilities only lay before the States. They must either be conquered by Spain, or be assisted either by England or by France. If they were conquered, they would be governed thenceforth by Spaniards, and England "would be neighboured by a nation, which for religious and other quarrels, would take advantage to subvert the Estate." If they were supported by France, "they would be at the commandment of that crown," "and with their havens and ships, France would control both England and Scotland, and all the narrow seas." The conclusion seemed irresistible that England, whether she liked it or not, must interfere, and either help the Prince of Orange with money till the King of Spain would agree to toleration, or "receive the States on their own offers as subjects to the crown."³

Time was pressing. The Prince sent the Queen word that "she had offers made her that, if she would embrace them, her posterity would thank God for her;" submit to Spain, however, they never would, "for they feared a massacre of Paris;" and if she

¹ Daniel Rogers, October 9: *MSS. Flanders*.

² "If my ability were I would gladly help the plough with you in the ridge or furrow, till the yoke was pulled off my neck." — Burghley to Walsingham: *MSS. Domestic*.

³ Consideration of the difficulties that may or are likely to ensue upon the not aiding and maintaining the Prince of Orange and Estates in Holland. In Lord Burghley's hand, October 17, 1575: *MSS. Flanders*.

refused, they would "seek other aid." It was the dilemma which Elizabeth had foreseen when she told Philip that if he would not make peace, she must act on her own judgment; she could not let the Provinces become French. Had she been so disposed, she could not move with decency till Cobham came; she sent again to Requesens, however, urging peace, and bidding the messenger use his eyes and ascertain the dimensions of the Spanish forces.¹ She wrote more gently to Orange. She called herself the best real friend that he possessed in Christendom. She wished to help him, but a war with such a power as Spain was a serious consideration. She had sent a minister to Philip, she said, and she had still hopes that he would consent to a compromise. Meanwhile, she asked for an account of his resources, and implied and all but promised that if the King was obstinate she would help him.²

Requesens, frightened at her attitude, dispatched M. de Champagny³ to protest, while St. Aldegonde, the Prince's most faithful friend, and two councillors, Paul Buys and Francis Malesen, came as commissioners from the States.

Their arrival in England was simultaneous with the return of Cobham, whose report did not tend to clear the situation. It was conciliatory on the whole, but the offered mediation was refused. Towards the States there was no concession, and the lives and properties of English traders were still only secured by a verbal promise of Alva. The Council sat day after

¹ Instructions to Mr. Corbet, Oct. 21. Burghley's hand: *MSS. Flinders*.

² Instructions to John Hastings sent to the Prince of Orange, Oct. 29. *MS. Ibid.*

³ Brother of Cardinal Granville, and Governor of Antwerp.

day unable to resolve. The heads of the guilds, with the leading merchants and manufacturers, were called in to assist in the consultation. Leicester, Walsingham, Bedford, Knollys, Mildmay, and privately Burghley, were for accepting the offers of the States. The men of the city, with the Spanish party among the peers, were for peace and alliance with Philip. The controller of the household, Sir James Crofts, insisted that the Queen's revenue sufficed barely for the ordinary expenditure, and that taxation in a doubtful cause would be resented by the country.¹ Elizabeth herself, furious that the quiet of Europe should be sacrificed to Protestant preciseness, was so vehement, that one day, according to De Guaras, after a stormy discussion, she flung out of the council chamber, and locked herself into her room, crying out that the Council would destroy her.²

The objections of the city were silenced by the opportune arrival of news from Cadiz, illustrating the value of Alva's engagements. A ship belonging to Sir Edward Osborne, one of the first merchants in London, had been seized and condemned by the Inquisition. The crew were in a dungeon at Seville, no offence being charged against them beyond the fact that they

¹ Speech on the question of giving aid to the Prince of Orange in French: *MSS. Flanders*, 1575. The translator attributes it to the Chancellor. But there was no Chancellor in England at this time, the Great Seal being held by Sir Nicholas Bacon, as Lord Keeper. The person meant must be the Controller Crofts, who is specified by De Guaras as having advocated the Spanish side. — *Cartas de Antonio de Guaras*, Dec. 31: *MSS. Simancas*.

² "He tenido aviso cierto de que hizo la Rey^a demonstraciones con mucho descontento y con muchas voces sobre que no era de parecer de enviar fuerças declaradamente a Zelanda y Holanda, y se entró en su aposento sola cerrandole, dando voces que por ello la ponian en perdicion. Y los que alli estaban y sus damas las daban mayores diciendo que sino abria que quebrarian la puerta, no pudiendo sufrir que estuviere sola con aquella pena." — *MS. Ibid.*

were heretics. If this was to be the order of things peace was indeed impossible. Champagne was dismissed with a cold answer. St. Aldegonde was told that one more remonstrance would be tried with Spain, and unless the Queen could obtain a formal promise that her people should be no more molested she would "receive the States into her protection." She could not declare war immediately. She must consult Parliament, and allow time to the merchants to call in their ships. But she could send the Prince some money, and would insist meanwhile on a suspension of arms. If the Spanish Government refused redress, "she would have a more probable occasion in the sight of the world to proceed to the open aiding of them."¹

Champagne before he retired demanded the arrest or expulsion of St. Aldegonde in return for the banishment of the refugees. Elizabeth declined on the ground that St. Aldegonde, being commissioned to her by the States, was protected by his position. Cobham, fresh from Madrid, was ordered to Brussels to tell Requesens that peace must be made "or her Majesty would be forced for her own safety to put in execution some remedy for her relief that she would not willingly yield unto,"² while Parliament was summoned immediately to provide the necessary means.

Parliament made no difficulty. The States were not spoken of by name, but a large subsidy was voted for "the defence of the realm." The session promised to pass off for once without unpleasantness, when a question burst out which produced an ill-timed exasperation, and flung the Queen into the worst of humours

¹ Two answers to the Hollanders. In Walsingham's hard and Burghley's, Jan. 15, 1576: *MSS. Flanders*.

² Instructions to Sir H. Cobham, sent to the Commendator March 1576: *MS. Ibid.*

with the Protestants and all belonging to them. She ruled the pulpits of the Churches: she imagined that she could do the same with the House of Commons; and more than once she had intimated that she would allow nothing to be discussed there affecting religion where the initiative had not been taken by the Bishops. On the same principle on which she prohibited Puritan conventicles and forbade Catholics to preach in public or say mass, she checked the tongues of the Reformers in Parliament. While secular questions were best resolved by debate, religious animosities she always attempted to suffocate.

The Protestant members resented the interference with their inherited liberty of debate, and the Queen gave them an advantage by including subjects in her prohibition immediately within the province of the House. Wentworth, member for Tregony, rose to complain "that not only were they forbidden to speak of religion, but now they were to be silent on matters touching the interests of every tradesman in the realm." "The customs duties were suspended in favor of noblemen and courtiers; honest men were robbed in thousands that three or four persons connected with the palace might be enriched: and yet Parliament was expected to be silent. Either a rumour was spread about the House that her Majesty was offended, or a message would come down desiring that this or that complaint should not be mentioned. He wished such rumours and messages were buried with the father of them in hell."¹

¹ Speech of Mr. Wentworth, 18th of Elizabeth, D'Ewes' *Journals*. Another passage in the speech curiously illustrates the growing bitterness against the Bishops. "Her Majesty," he said, "forbade us in the last session to deal with any matter of religion, but only what was laid before us from the Bishops, and nothing was done, for God would not that His holy

It was the darkest moment in the Prince's fortunes. The Spaniards, whose progress had not been checked by the Viceroy's death, had cut Holland in two. They had taken the islands of Tholen, Duiveland, and Schowen. Boisot, the hero of Leyden, was killed in an attempt to save Zierichsee, and with the fall of that town, Philip's troops were again established upon the sea. For want of the money, which Elizabeth had first promised and then refused, the Dutch fleet was dissolving.¹ The Anglo-Catholic buccaneers seized ship after ship of the Dutch, and flung the crews into the sea. The fierce Hollanders, in savage despair, repaid cruelty with cruelty. The next step was a general arrest of all Dutch vessels in English harbours, and the Prince in retaliation seized the London merchant fleet in the Scheldt, worth, it was said, £200,000.

Elizabeth, it is quite clear, again believed that the States were about to be overwhelmed, and that her most prudent course was now to assist in their overthrow. She wrote a letter to the Prince, "the like of which," he said, "he had never received from any in the world." She sent Sir William Winter to extricate the fleet by force or practice. She bade him tell Orange not to think that she needed his friendship; the King of Spain was on cordial terms with her; and whether he was foe or friend, she could defend her own shores; if the ships were not released, she would make open war upon the States.²

They were surrendered instantly, with an apology

¹ "The Prince has engaged to pay his mariners in confidence of the sum promised. If he is frustrate his force is lost. He begs her Majesty to consider it is but a bare loan, and all Holland and Zealand are bound for it. His extremity is such that he must be succoured or he is undone." — M. de G. to Walsingham, from Flushing, August 30: *MSS. Flanders*.

² *MS. Ibid.*, May and June, 1576.

to Winter, but the Queen was not satisfied. She said she had been insulted. Her honour was compromised. She thought of seizing Flushing, to hold as a pawn, in the coming settlement with Spain.

It was at this time, and probably under the weight of this last blow, that the Prince meditated embarking with as many of the inhabitants of the States as their ships would carry, and migrating to a new home beyond the Atlantic. "He was greatly amazed when he understood assuredly that her Majesty would be avenged of him by way of arms. Although necessity might have induced him to forget some part of his duty towards her Majesty, yet his state and condition was rather to be pitied and tendered with compassion, than persecuted with hatred, especially on a Christian Prince's part."¹ Never, however, was Prince, either Christian or heathen, less open than Elizabeth

to sentimental considerations. She was med-
August.
itating a complete reversal of policy, which, if begun, could hardly stop short of reunion with Rome. Warnings were not wanting, but the tone in which they were made showed how real was the danger. "Her Majesty," wrote some one, who was most likely Walsingham, "considers herself forced, in respect of her honour, to enter into action against the Prince of Orange. The Prince has been a bridle to Spain hitherto, and kept war out of our own gate. If Spain assail him now by land, and the Queen of England by sea, he must fall, and what can her Majesty look for but such mischief as Spanish malice can yield? Spain will then assist France to put down the religion. The number of malcontents at home is increased, and if the King of Spain attack England he will find so great a party within the

¹ M. de G. to Walsingham, August 30: *MSS. Flanders.*

realm as is grievous to a good subject to think of. There are but three possible courses — to maintain the Prince of Orange and the Huguenots, to seek reconciliation with Spain, and for her Majesty to settle her estate at home. To the first, men are now unwilling to move her, for that her Majesty has with very bitter speeches repaid those that first advised her to assist the Protestants, and thinks it against her conscience to maintain rebels. In reality that advice deserved rather praise than blame. The Prince of Orange is her soundest friend. The King of Spain daily consumes her Majesty's subjects by fire, and confiscates their goods. Such of her subjects as are loyal, would all have her support the Prince. Those who make a conscience of maintaining rebels are themselves rebels in heart, and will become disaffected when time shall serve. Reconciliation with Spain it is unlikely can ever be. *If religion were the only impediment, then, perhaps, it was likely reconciliation might follow by changing religion;* but though in outward show religion shall be the pretext, the crown shall be the mark which no change of religion can save. The repose which her Majesty has hitherto enjoyed has wholly depended on the Princes her neighbours' troubles at home. These troubles will not long continue. She must look to the peril out of hand, which can neither abide long delay of consultation, nor stay in execution of that which may tend to the prevention thereof." ¹

To understand the meaning of Elizabeth's present attitude, we must turn to her relations with another country. Charles IX. and his brother, who had just

¹ A brief discourse laying forth the uncertainty of her Majesty's present peace and quietness. Abridged. August, 1576: MSS. Domestic.

succeeded him as Henry III., had been successively suitors for her hand. The negotiation which fell to the ground with the massacre of St. Bartholomew, was revived afterwards in behalf of the third brother, Francis of Alençon, a pock-marked, unhealthy dwarf. Catherine de Medici, it will be recollected, when the religious objections were raised by Anjou, hinted that she had another son, from whom no such difficulty need be anticipated. Alençon, in the terrors which followed the massacre, had thought of flying for refuge to England. He had friends about the court; and when the danger passed off, the Queen-mother, who believed that sooner or later Elizabeth would be compelled to marry, held his pretensions continually before her eyes. La Mothe Fénelon was recalled. His place at the English Court was taken by Castelnau de Mauvissière, a politician of the middle and moderate party, who had no love for the Pope, hated the Guises and Spain, regarded the English alliance as a guarantee for the quiet of France, and looked on a marriage between Alençon and the Queen as the sure means of making the alliance permanent.

The position of heirs presumptive was always uneasy, and Alençon's, when his brother came to the throne, was no exception. "Monsieur," as he was now called, was detained at court with Henry of Navarre, both of them essentially prisoners. The King was jealous of him, and the Guises, who aspired to supersede the house of Valois, inflamed the ill feeling. But for his mother, it was thought that means would have been found to rid Alençon out of the world.¹ The peace

¹ "There have been many practices against Monsieur by the Guises, whereby the King has been in many passions against his brother, and has been sometimes advised to use all severity against him; and if it had not been for the help of the Queen-mother it hath been thought it had been

had after all given little respite to the Huguenots, the Catholic nobles, in their different governments, respecting the promises made to them no further than suited their own pleasure. Alençon was suspected of intending to take up their cause, and the King concluded, after much hesitation, that it would be well, both for himself and France, if Elizabeth would take him for a husband. The princes and princesses of the sixteenth century hung suspended between a prison and a throne. The matrimonial crown of England might make Monsieur dangerously powerful; but there were objections to murder, and the closest prison could not be made conclusively secure. The marriage, on the whole, appeared to be the safest alternative.¹ Mauvissière told Walsingham, "that he could not sleep at night, for his desire to bring about a matter so much for the repose of Christendom;"² while Elizabeth herself, as usual, played with the suggestion, gave a favourable though indecisive answer, but insisted on her old condition, that she must see her bridegroom before she could make up her mind.

Alençon himself was all eagerness. To him it had long appeared that, with so poor an outlook in France, a marriage with Elizabeth, though she was twice his age, "would make him the happiest man alive:" and

hard with Monsieur before this time, for the Queen-mother has always been a stay to him, both as a mother and also as a stay for herself against the Guises." — Valentine Dale to Sir T. Smith, from Paris; September 3, 1575: *MSS. France*.

¹ "The King demanded with very great affection, et ne se peult il faire encore? The Queen-mother cast out words sometimes alone, sometimes the King being present, to feel what she could understand of the Queen's Majesty's disposition, and certain it is both the King and Queen-mother would with all their hearts the matter was ended, if they thought it might be compassed, and might trust Monsieur at liberty." — Same to the same September 3, 1575: *MS. Ibid.*

² Mauvissière to Walsingham, September 4: *MS. Ibid.*

as his hopes, if he remained longer in captivity, might be cut short by a Guisian poniard, he became anxious to place himself where his life would be safe, and where he could fly to England when he pleased. The Guises, dreading the effects of such an alliance on the prospects of Mary Stuart, pressed the King to commit his brother to the Bastile. On the 15th of September, when the Cardinal of Guise was in the royal closet on this particular errand, Monsieur borrowed a carriage from a friend, slipped out of the Louvre in disguise, and made his way to St. Cloud. Several hundred mounted gentlemen were waiting to receive him, and in a few days he was with La Noue on the Loire, at the head of a Huguenot army. All had been prepared for a rising. He wrote to his brother, to say that he had fled only to save his life. He put out a Proclamation, in which he styled himself Protector of the liberties of France.² Condé was at Strasburgh, ready to march on Paris; while Casimir, brother of the Elector Palatine, entered Lorraine with 10,000 Reiters, meaning to cross France and join La Noue.

The King, in real or affected dismay, remained idle in the palace. He shut himself into his room, saw no one, and "lay tormented on his bed," with his mother at his side. Hating and fearing equally both Guises and Huguenots, he could form no plan and trust none of his Council.² The Duke of Guise flew to Lorraine, and partially checked Casimir, but was wounded and disabled in a skirmish. The treasury was empty; the Catholics were without leaders and disorganised. The Queen-mother, as usual, undertook to mediate, and

¹ Gouverneur-général pour le Roy et Protecteur de la liberté et bien publique de France. — Dale to Burghley, September 21: *MSS. France*.

² "Ipse sibi timet et metuit omnes, desideratur in eo animus et consilium." — Same to the same: *MS. Ibid.*

went off to La Noue's camp to see Monsieur. The Huguenots, having been deceived so often, demanded substantial guarantees that the promises made them should be observed. They required the free exercise of their religion in every part of France, with eight large towns to be selected by themselves out of those already in their possession, to be garrisoned by their own men. Condé asked besides for Boulogne, and Casimir for the payment of his expenses, with Metz, Verdun, and Toul as securities.

The Queen-mother promised everything — but the Huguenot leaders refused to dissolve their forces till their terms were actually complied with. Alençon sent to Elizabeth, to tell her that she was his chief hope on earth; that he longed to see her; that his chief motive in escaping was, that he might be sure of access to her most precious person; and that meanwhile he relied on her support. If she would join in a formal league with himself and Casimir, they might dictate terms to Europe; if that could not be, he begged her to lend him, at all events, some money; and undertook to make no peace in which she was herself not comprehended.¹

Elizabeth's position towards France was briefly this. She could not yet trust the King, who had been the chief instrument in the massacre of St. Bartholomew. If the Guises became dominant they were likely to join Spain, and interfere in England for Mary Stuart. If the Huguenots got the better of them without help from her, they would join the Prince of Orange, and earn the gratitude of France by the annexation of the Netherlands. A hold upon Alençon was therefore extremely desirable. She sent money — she replied

¹ Instructions to La Porte sent to the Queen of England by the Duc d'Alençon, November 27, 1575: *MSS. France*.

with gracious vagueness, that she would think about the league; that she approved of what he was doing, understanding that it was not directed against the King, but against his "ill advisers," "whose passions would not suffer him to enjoy quietness at home, nor friendship with his best affected confederates."¹ La Noue meanwhile was in correspondence with Walsingham, and keeping a watch on Monsieur, of whom he felt uncertain so long as his mother was at hand to play upon him.²

It was at the same moment that St. Aldegonde and his companions arrived in London with the offer of the States; and the Queen had two cards in her hand, to play either or both as suited her convenience. The Huguenots used their momentary superiority — Condé set himself in motion at Strasburgh, and advanced slowly on the Paris road. Casimir pushed on towards the Loire, Guise, who had recovered from his wound, following him and pressing for help from Philip.

The French King, only anxious for peace, became more than ever desirous to dispose of his brother in England. He told the English minister, that "if he might see the Duke so matched, he would sing *Nunc dimittis*; and that if he died without children, he would settle his crown on her Majesty's offspring."³ He wrote to Elizabeth descanting on her divine perfections, and promising that if she would accept Alençon, she should find more than a brother in himself.⁴

"Her Majesty," said Walsingham once, impatiently, "trusts much in fortune. I would she would trust

¹ Her Majesty's secret letter to the Duc d'Alençon. Walsingham's hand. *MSS. France.*

² Walsingham to Burghley, November 22: *MS. Ibid.*

³ Dale to Elizabeth, December 19.

⁴ The King of France to Elizabeth, December, 1575: *MS. Ibid.*

more in Almighty God." Yet Elizabeth might be pardoned for relying on a power which so steadily befriended her, and in nothing more than in the character of the two great sovereigns which divided Catholic Europe. The weakness of Henry and the bigotry of Philip were alike defences to English independence. She had assisted Alençon; she had not offended the King. But the issue was still uncertain. Should Monsieur's victory be complete, he was morally certain to offer help to the Low Countries, and in that case she could only prevent the States from throwing themselves into his arms by becoming herself their protectress. Should he be defeated, she might require the help of the States herself, in the coalition which might then be formed against her. So long as the uncertainty lasted, therefore, she amused St. Aldegonde with fair words and promises. In February, the King of Navarre slipped from the Court as Alençon had done. Rumours prophetic of the future said that he was playing at dice with Guise, in the King's cabinet, when suddenly "great round drops of blood appeared upon the board between them;" and Navarre, believing it to be an omen of his fate if he waited longer, fled to his friends.¹

The Protestants had now their natural leader among them, and never before or after had so fair a chance of complete success. Money only was wanting. Alençon applied again to Elizabeth. He asked only but for means to keep Casimir's Reiters two months longer in the field, and the whole government of France would then, he trusted, be in his hands.

But Elizabeth had done as much as she cared to

¹ This curious story was current in Paris a week after. — Dale to Walsingham. February 14: *MSS. France.*

do. A little more and Alençon would be too strong. The Court confirmed the concessions which the Protestants demanded. The old edicts of toleration were renewed; they were declared equal with Catholics in the eye of the law, and La Noue was allowed to keep his eight towns. These terms were considered by Elizabeth sufficiently liberal. The two factions would balance each other, and England would be in no danger from either. She stipulated for, and exacted, the repayment of the sum which she had advanced to Monsieur. But Condé did not

April.

obtain Boulogne, no securities were given to Casimir, and peace on these conditions was signed at Paris, on the 24th of April.

The danger was now held to be passed. St. Aldegonde therefore was dismissed with cold comfort. Thomas Randolph was sent to Paris to tell Henry and Alençon that she would rather assist the King of Spain than allow them to meddle in the Low Countries. The marriage overtures fell through, being no longer needed till the reappearance of danger should revive them.¹

Randolph, who was not admitted to his mistress's secrets, could not understand what she was about. He saw the Protestants left imperfectly secured. A little more money, and Casimir, and La Noue, and Condé, and Henry of Navarre, would have occupied Paris and have dictated their own conditions. "Better it would have been," thought Randolph, "had the Queen dealt substantially with them whom she thought to profit by, and either not have gone so far or not have left the cause for a little." "Never was such an opportunity thrown away," he wrote to Walsingham. "Do not

¹ Instructions to Thomas Randolph, sent to the French King, April 2, 1576: *MSS. France*.

think it choler or perverse humour in me, but rather duty to my dear mistress, that I see daily so many ways tending to her greatness, and yet either impolitically overthrown or negligently omitted, even for nought or little when it was put into her hands. I can say no more, but as the mad knave in Terence did —

‘Doleo bolum tantum ereptum nobis è faucibus.’

I know not by what means I may retrahere illud argentum [*sic*], which if I had in my hands the King should full dear buy his peace.”¹ But what the cause had lost Elizabeth supposed that she had herself gained. When she encouraged revolting subjects with one hand, she played with their sovereign with the other. She conceived that she had placed France in such a position that it could neither coalesce with Spain against her, nor be dangerous by ambitious projects elsewhere. She could now afford to throw off the Hollanders, or to follow out her scheme of reconciliation with Philip, by assisting in their suppression.

It was not a noble, not a long-sighted policy. Walsingham had more than once to characterise his mistress's proceedings by the words “dishonourable and dangerous,” and Walsingham was not a man who used such expressions lightly. But it suited her temper. She prided herself on the skill with which she handled delicate manœuvres. It was economical. It gained time. She lived, as the phrase is, “from hand to mouth,” and trusted to her good luck to stand her friend.

A few months proved Randolph's simplicity to have been wiser than the Queen's cunning. The
June.
 Catholic nobles in France laughed the edicts to scorn. Complaints were useless, for there was no

¹ Randolph to Walsingham, April 25 and April 27: MSS. France.

central authority to attend to them. Alençon and the King were reconciled, and Alençon was won away from his late friends. Guise, supplied with dollars from Madrid, threatened the Huguenot towns. The States General met at Blois in November. The Protestants stayed away. A resolution was passed with Alençon's consent that the edicts were impracticable, and that only one religion could be tolerated; that the Protestant ministers must either submit or go into exile; and that Condé and Navarre should lose their rank as Princes of the blood, unless they were reconciled with the Church.¹

The Catholics were now entirely in the ascendant; the Court was governed by the Duke of Guise; Elizabeth had overreached herself by her refinements; the danger which she most dreaded was at her door; when an extraordinary accident reversed the whole position of affairs.

Alva had expected that the Netherlands could be made to pay the cost of their conquest. He had ruined the Netherlands, but he had not relieved the Spanish exchequer. In the eight years which followed his appointment as governor, Philip had spent upon the war thirty-two millions of English money. His resources were now severely tried. *Requescens* could not wring another stiver from the Provinces; the bankers would not lend; and when *Requescens* died, the King of Spain was unable to resolve upon his successor, and left his army for many months unpaid and uncommanded, to mutiny. Zierichsee was taken on

¹ It is noticeable that when the breach of faith with the Huguenots was first proposed, alone of all the nobles present, one "Mirabeau of Poitou" protested that he would leave the court and the estates and withdraw to his home if such impolitic and dishonourable speeches were permitted to be made. — *Advertisements par Blois, November, 1576: MSS. France.*

the 21st of June, 1576. The soldiers who had performed so brilliant a service clamoured in return for their wages; and as there were no wages to be had, they pillaged Schowen, and then marched through Brabant, plundering as they went, to Alost. A shout of indignation rose throughout Belgium. The nobles, orthodox believers as they were, assembled at Brussels to concert measures for self-protection. If rapine and murder were to be the rewards of their loyalty, they began to doubt whether, after all, they would not consult their safety by making common cause with the Prince of Orange. Don Sancho d'Avila, who commanded at Antwerp, with the captains of the garrisons in Ghent, Maestrecht, and Valenciennes, threatened destruction to the cities under their charge if the country revolted. In the absence of a governor there was no one to restrain the license of the army; and the hungry Spaniards, soldiers and officers alike, were ready to take advantage of the first excuse for indiscriminate pillage. After long hesitation, Philip had selected his illegitimate brother Don John to succeed Requesens; but Don John had not arrived, and the delay was fraught with ruin. The scheme for his marriage with Mary Stuart had been the difficulty. Guise wished it, and the English Catholics wished it. But Philip, to whom Don John was as much an object of suspicion as Alençon or the King of France, was utterly discouraging. Philip meant to remain on good terms with Elizabeth, nor had he the slightest intention of promoting his brother to an independent sovereignty. Ardent Catholics throughout Europe had their hearts fastened on the enterprise of England. Don John's appointment had been postponed, from a fear that he might abuse his opportunity and act upon their insti-

gation. He was sent to his government with a prohibition to meddle in English politics at all; and Philip's secretary, the unlucky Escobedo, was sent with him as a check on his ambition, and a spy upon his actions.

Don John notwithstanding still allowed his thoughts to wander in the forbidden direction. Information, true or false, reached Elizabeth that on his passage through France he had held an interview with Guise, where it had been arranged that as soon as the Huguenot towns were reduced, they were to make a joint demand upon her for the release of the Queen of Scots.¹ Escobedo betrayed Philip's trust, and encouraged what he had been commissioned to prevent. To conquer England, conquer the Netherlands through England, and win a throne for himself, appears to have been Don John's fixed idea as he hastened to his government. The condition in which he found the Provinces dispelled rapidly these visionary schemes.

M. Champagne, hitherto the most loyal of the Belgian nobles, was at the head of the new movement. Orange, seizing the opportunity, had sent circulars through the seventeen States, urging the people to rise and defend their liberties. Champagne had responded cordially, and the Spanish officers, to read a lesson, as they pretended, to the incipient mutiny, had dropped the reins on the neck of the army, and given over the threatened towns for the soldiers to work their will upon. Maestrecht was sacked on the 20th of October, and several hundreds of the citizens were murdered. A fortnight later Antwerp itself found a yet more dreadful fate. The palaces of its merchant princes,

¹ Sir Amyas Paulet, who had succeeded Dale as ambassador at Paris, heard of the interview from Guise's secretary. He made further enquiries and assured himself that it had really taken place. — Paulet to Burghley April, 1577; Paulet to Walsingham, May 9, 1577: *MSS. France*.

the magnificent Bourse, the warehouses which lined its quays for miles, a thousand houses and public buildings, were given to the flames. The banks were pillaged. The wealth of the richest city in the world became the prey of men who were no better now than the banditti of their own forests, and eight thousand men, women, and children, were either killed or flung into the river.

Touched to the quick at last, the slow-moving Flemings sprung to arms. Ghent feared the same fate as Antwerp. Thousands of patriots poured in, and enclosed the Spanish garrison in the citadel. The States General assembled there with representatives from the entire Netherlands. The Prince of Orange came in person out of Holland, and on the 8th of November,

the seventeen Provinces were once more united in the treaty of Ghent for common defence against the Spaniards. They pledged their faith to each other to expel all foreign troops, and never again under any pretence to admit them. They resolved to insist for the future on being governed under their own laws. In the heartiness of the first reunion they suspended everywhere the laws against heresy, the ultimate settlement of religion being referred to a special convocation which was to meet when the liberation should be complete.

Two days before the conclusion of this momentous treaty, Don John arrived at Luxemburg, and there he thought it prudent to remain. The Protestant and Catholic elements, hitherto in most deadly enmity, were for the present united against him. It was uncertain whether the union would continue, or whether the difference of creed would not prove too powerful a disintegrant. One large influence Don John could count

upon with confidence. To priests and monks sacked cities were of less moment than the maintenance of orthodoxy. The confessional would be in his favour from the first, and the pulpit when the first passion had cooled down.

The States, after subscribing the treaty of Ghent, dispatched M. Schwegenhem, who had been Alva's commissioner for the reopening of the trade, to Elizabeth to ask for advice, encouragement, and as usual, for an immediate loan. It was no longer Holland and Zealand struggling half conquered on the edge of destruction: all the Provinces were standing erect, shoulder to shoulder, in strength sufficient, if their union held, to defy Spain to do its worst. Don John had been told that if he would accept the treaty of Ghent, and dismiss the Spaniards, he would be received quietly as governor; on this condition, however, the States General peremptorily insisted. But below the outward unanimity a thousand counter-currents were already seething and eddying. What France would do under existing influences, could hardly be guessed. Guise, who was thoroughly Spanish, desired to join Don John. The King and the politicians had their eyes upon the Catholic Provinces, and tried to persuade them to accept a French protectorate.

Some weeks passed before Elizabeth could see her way. While the horror of the Antwerp fury was fresh, while patriotism was stronger than religious hatred, and the Prince of Orange was the idol for the moment of all the States which had signed the treaty, it might have been thought that she would have seen, and would for her own sake have used, so splendid an opportunity. It would be safer for the Queen, said Orange, to ally herself with peoples and with a great

cause, than with princes who sought their own convenience, and were not to be relied upon.¹ But Elizabeth despised "peoples," and cared nothing for the "great cause." She feared Don John. She meant to take advantage of his difficulties to obtain securities for herself and England. But then, and always, she wished the Provinces to remain Spanish. The Prince of Orange and the Protestants were her good friends; but she dreaded the spread of their principles as complicating the problem of pacification. If she did too much, she might find herself at war with Spain; if too little, France was ready to step in and take the place which had been first offered to herself.

The situation was exactly suited to the character of her diplomacy. She decided to lend, not give, a certain sum of money — forty thousand pounds. Twenty thousand were sent in bullion on the spot, the rest followed soon after. She stipulated that she was to be repaid in full, in eight months. She had an excuse ready for Philip, that she was merely enabling the States to repay the arrears of the Spanish army, to prevent further violence. She sent Dr. Wilson to the States, to caution them against listening to the promises which would be made them by Don John. She sent Sir Edward Horsey to Don John, to tell him that she had forbidden the States to renounce their allegiance to Spain. She said generally, that she would help the Provinces to maintain their liberties. She intimated privately to Schwegenhem, who was a Catholic, that she had no liking for the Prince of Orange, that peace must not be imperilled by difficulties about liberty of conscience, and that as a condition of her

¹ Daniel Rogers to Walsingham, July 20, 1577: *MSS. Flanders*.

support the States must accept whatever religion the King of Spain might be pleased to impose on them.¹

On this point she was limpidly clear. She was determined that there should be no mistake about it. The creed in which the Hollanders had been brought up would do as well for them as it had done for their fathers.²

The differences of opinion already existing were not likely to be diminished by this message. To the Hollanders, religion was the soul and centre of the revolt. If they would have yielded on that one point, they might have been quit of the Spaniards, and have had their country to themselves when they pleased, without seeking assistance from Elizabeth. After five weeks' confusion and correspondence, the States pro-

¹ "Sa Ma^{te} leur a presté de l'argent a condition de se maintenir en l'obeissance du Roy et de recevoir telle religion que leur Roy voudra et non aultre. C'est ce que M. de Schwegenhem leur a dict de la part de sa Ma^{te}." — Villiers (chaplain to the Prince of Orange) to Walsingham, February 4, 1577: *MSS. Flanders*.

² Not through Schwegenhem only, but by other means, she had expressed her resolution on the matter. The Prince of Orange found soon after —

"Que sa Ma^{te} avoit deliberé de conseiller Messieurs des Estatz de maintenir la religion Romaine en la quelle ils ont esté nez et eslevez, chose qui nous seroit tant prejudiciable que rien ne nous sçauroit venir plus mal à propos en ce temps-cy."

And again later —

"Depuis les miennes du jour d'hier j'ay reçu ung extrait de l'article touchant la volente de sa Ma^{te} en ce qui touche la religion Romaine, lequel a esté tiré du rapport de M. de Havrech. Aussi que tant s'en fault qu'elle vouloit ingerer d'y introduire aucune nouvelette que mesmes au contraire desiroit bien sa Ma^{te} qui sceussiez qu'elle ne permettroit en façon quelco que que nouveaute y fust introduite et moins qu'on intentast chose prejudiciable à l'obeissance de nostre souverain Prince et Seigneur naturel ou à la religion Catholique en la quelle estions nez et nourries et nostre Prince vouloit que nous fussions maintenez." — The Prince of Orange to Davison, January 4 and 5, 1578: *MSS. Flanders*.

Orange, to whom truth and falsehood in these matters were not only of principal but of exclusive importance, who had taken up arms for no other cause whatever except liberty of conscience, was unable to comprehend so sublime a development of indifferentism.

posed, and Don John agreed, that the Spanish army should be paid the arrears of its wages and should go, and that the government should be carried on as before the rebellion by the States themselves. So far, the pacification of Ghent was accepted. The further clauses stipulating for the suspension of the laws against heresy, were to be referred to Philip's pleasure, and were to stand in force till that pleasure was known. Orange was no party to this arrangement. Advantage had been taken of his absence from Brussels to hurry it to a conclusion. There was no representative present from the Northern States, not only not from Holland and Zealand, but neither from Utrecht, Gelderland, Friesland, Gröningen, nor Overysse. Efforts had been made to prevent a resolution till the opinions of these provinces could be heard, but the reasons urged for delay were to the Catholic Walloons an additional motive for haste. The Prince suspended his assent. The seven Provinces supported him in demanding acceptance pure and simple of the Ghent treaty. But intrigue and Elizabeth's influence had done their work, and Don John by the vote of the majority was admitted as governor.

It was Elizabeth's work, distinctly hers, and wherever her hand can be traced, the same purpose can be invariably discovered. As her father held the balance between France and Spain, and could choose for his motto the proud "*Cui adhareo præest*," so Elizabeth aspired to hold the same relation between peoples and sovereigns, between Protestants and Catholics; certain that the Protestants would stand by her when she might need their assistance, because they were the weaker side, but not choosing to take their part, choosing rather to appear indifferent or hostile to them, lest

if she demanded toleration for others, the Catholic Powers and her own Catholic subjects would make an answering demand upon herself. In distinct opposition to Walsingham, she felt assured that Philip desired to be on good terms with her, and that the dreams of Don John would find no support or countenance from his master if the provocation did not come from herself. She was told that the Catholic Powers understood each other, that Alençon was now to marry the Infanta, that Guise and Alençon and Don John, with Spain and the Papacy behind them, intended to invade England; tear from her hands the imprisoned Queen of Scots, and lift her to the throne. She did not believe it. She waived aside the leadership of Protestant Europe so often thrust into her hands. Her sympathies were with established sovereigns and order and law, and she sought her friends among her own equals.

Further and immediate communication was now necessary with her brother-in-law. Among the Catholics or Anglo-Catholics at her court (the words meant the same thing in all but dependence upon Rome), there was a certain Sir John Smith, a courtier, a believer in kings, an accomplished Spanish scholar, with an English orthodoxy of creed, and an equally English contempt for the priests who were its ministers. Him Elizabeth chose for a second mission to Madrid, either to reside as ambassador there or to return, as might seem most expedient; at all events to explain her conduct in the Netherlands, to renew her offer of mediation, and to require a more distinct protection for the English traders. Other ships had been seized besides Sir Edward Osborne's, the seamen thrown into dungeons, and the cargoes confiscated. With the Nether-

lands problem returned upon his hands, the King, she thought, would see the necessity of now keeping the Inquisition under control.

On Smith's arrival, the Spanish Council assembled as before. The bigots tried their strength. The Bishop of Cuença, like Hopper and Quiroga, insisted again that the Queen of England was a heretic; that God forbade dealings with such people; that an interference with the Inquisition in their behalf was a thing that was not to be endured. But Alva had this time a distinct majority on his side. He persuaded the most influential of Philip's advisers that they had to thank Elizabeth that the entire Provinces were not in arms against them, that on the score of religion they had nothing to fear from her, that she had thrown her weight upon the orthodox side, and that she was an invaluable ally to the Catholic Powers, in resisting the demand for toleration.¹ For her own sake she would not ask for others what she would not allow in England; all else that she might desire the King could reasonably concede; and if the Spanish troops were really forced to leave the Netherlands, her friendship would be indispensable.² The reasoning was entirely convincing. Philip wrote an affectionate letter to Elizabeth thanking her for her proposal of mediation. He said that he would gladly avail himself of it if Don John failed to come to an understanding with the States without her. For himself, meanwhile, he as-

¹ "No osara pedir lo de la Religion, pnes demas que sabe quan mal lo tomara V. Mag^d, ella haria contra su misma, que quiere que sus vassallos la obedezcan con la religion que tiene, y no podria pedir otra cosa á su Mag^d." — Parecer de Alva, 1577: *MSS. Simancas*.

² "Saliendo los Españoles es fuerza que V. Mag^d tenga por amiga á aquella Reyna y obligada como lo quedaria contra los Estados quando no cumplieren lo que hubieren prometido." — *Ibid*.

sured her that he was, and ever would remain, her constant friend.¹

The Inquisition difficulty still remained. The Inquisition, as Secretary Cayas² explained, was an ecclesiastical tribunal, over which the King himself had no regular authority. It was surrounded with the terrors which superstition and practical fear combined to inspire, and Cayas spoke of it as a mysterious force which it was dangerous even to attempt to meddle with. An Englishman, brought up in the traditions of Henry III., felt none of these timidities. The creed might be sacred, but Inquisitors were mere priests, who meddled with the persons and properties of the Queen's subjects.

Quiroga, Archbishop of Toledo, was the first subject in the Peninsula. Next to the King in his place in Council, superior to the King in wielding the irresponsible powers of the Holy Office, he was a person before whom princes stood with bated breath, while meaner citizens knelt as he passed along the streets. Smith had more than once applied for an interview with this august personage. Quiroga, who five years before had refused to deliver the message of the Council to Cobham, lest he should defile himself by speaking to an excommunicated Englishman, sent cold answers that he could not see him. Sir John, who had encountered archbishops in London and had not found them formidable, did not choose to be put off in this way. He went one evening to the palace, brushed past the porter, ascended the stairs, and forced himself into the sacred presence.

It was after supper. The Archbishop was in his private room with the Condé de Andrada and two

¹ Carta de su Mag^t á la Inglesa con Juan Smith.

priests. He stared haughtily at the intruder, who proceeded to tell him, with entire coolness, that he considered he had been treated with scanty courtesy. He was the minister of a great Queen, he said, and as such, was entitled to be received and heard when he had anything to communicate. The promises made to Cobham had been broken. The Holy Office had continued to ill-use English seamen who had committed no offence, to rob, imprison, and otherwise injure them. He must request the immediate release of those who were at present in the Inquisitors' hands, with compensation for the injuries which they had sustained.

The Archbishop had remained while the Ambassador was speaking, dumb with anger and amazement. At last, finding his voice, and starting from his seat in fury, he exclaimed: "Sirrah!¹ I tell you that, but for certain respects, I would so chastise you for these words that you have spoken, that I would make you an example to all your kind. I would chastise you, I say; I would make you know to whom you speak in such shameless fashion."

"Sirrah!" replied Smith, in a fury too, and proud of his command of the language which enabled him to retort the insult, "Sirrah! I tell you that I care neither for you nor your threats."

"Quitad os!" "Be off with you!" shouted Quiroga, foaming with rage, "leave the room! away! I say."

"If you call me Sirrah," said Smith, "I will call you Sirrah. I will complain to his Majesty of this."

¹ "Yo os digo." Sirrah is too mild a word; but we have no full equivalent. "Os" is used by a king to subjects, by a father to children, more rarely by a master to a servant. It is a mark of infinite distance between a superior and inferior. "Dog" would, perhaps, come nearest to the Archbishop's meaning in the present connexion.

"Complain to whom you will," said the Archbishop. "Be off with you! Go!"

"Be off yourself!" retorted the Englishman, moving, however, to the door; the graceful interchange of insolence continuing till the Ambassador was out of hearing, and the Archbishop following and railing at him from the head of the stairs.¹

Philip was greatly distressed, but his desire to gratify Elizabeth overcame his awe of the Inquisitor-General. He apologised to Smith. He entreated, he argued, and at last insisted that the Holy Office should make concessions. The prisoners at Seville were released and their property restored. The promises made to Cobham were confirmed in writing, and Englishmen were enabled thenceforward to trade without molestation at the Spanish ports. They were required only to obey the laws when on shore and to abstain — no easy matter to them — from insulting Catholic superstitions.² Elizabeth in England and Philip at Madrid were contending with all their might against the irrepressible tendencies of things.

¹ Sir John Smith's Narrative, May 19, 1577: *MSS. Spain*.

² Quiroga, when not exasperated, could discuss these questions in an unexpectedly practical temper. An English merchant had married a young Spanish lady at Seville. He had called himself a Catholic, and the marriage had been celebrated with the rites of the Catholic Church. In England, however, he was a conformist, and on his attempting to take her with him, she hesitated, and appealed to the Holy Office. She was pregnant. The husband pleaded that marriage was sacred, and that to separate his wife from him would be an affront to the English Church. Quiroga answered with singular moderation. "The lady," he said, "had ascertained that in England the use of images was forbidden, and that she would be obliged to attend sermons. Being a religious woman she had applied to the church for direction, and her director considered that in going she would commit mortal sin. If she herself wished to go, it would be another matter. The Inquisition could not sanction it, but also would not interfere." — The Archbishop of Toledo to Cayas, February, 1577: *MSS. Spain*.

Their subjects might quarrel, hate, and insult each other, but hostility, so far as they could prevent it, should not be. Doctor Sanders, who had come to Spain in the hope of inducing the King to invade Ireland, found only indifference and discouragement. He found Philip "as fearful of war as a child of fire." He wrote to his friend Allen, who, like himself, considered that the welfare of Europe "depended on the stout assailing of England," that "there was no steady comfort but from God," that they must look to the Pope, and *not* the King of Spain.¹

Smith did not remain at Madrid. He returned after three-quarters of a year, loaded with messages of friendliness, and with every demand conceded. The diplomatic relations between the two countries were reëstablished, as was hoped, upon an enduring basis. The expulsion of Don Guerau de Espes was passed over as a not unfair retaliation upon Spain for its share in the Ridolfi conspiracy; and Bernardino de Mendoza, who had already made acquaintance with Elizabeth, was appointed as resident ambassador at the English Court. Those statesmen who saw furthest did not believe that the reconciliation could last. Walsingham and Walsingham's party felt assured that in the long run the opposing forces which divided Europe would prove too strong for the efforts of politicians.² But that Elizabeth, with her opinions, should have struggled to escape from war, was in itself legitimate and natural, and situated as she was at home, she had good cause to dread the consequences of a more daring attitude.

¹ Sanders to Allen, November 6, 1577: *MSS. Domestic*.

² "Never will there be perfect amity among any that are divided in religion. Her Majesty may dislike my plain words, but better she be angry with me than herself feel the smart hereafter." — Wilson to Walsingham, April 5, 1577: *MSS. Flanders*.

Had she been secure in her own island, she might have held out a hand without fear to the struggling Protestants abroad. But the unruly elements^{1573.} were working together throughout all Christendom, as the ebb and flow of the Atlantic tide was felt at Richmond, under the palace windows. A sketch of the domestic history of these years will show that when once committed to forbearance and procrastination, she was all but forced to continue in the same direction. The Parliament of 1572 had petitioned for the execution of the Queen of Scots. The alternatives seemed to lie between the crown and the scaffold; and when the petition was refused, and she was not declared incapable of the succession, Mary Stuart was generally looked upon as the inevitable future sovereign. While the alarm of the conspiracy was fresh, she had been placed under restraint, and efforts were made, and continued to be made, to replace her in the hands of the Scots. But when it became clear that she must remain in England, she was soon again the guest rather than the prisoner of Lord Shrewsbury. She was treated much as Mary Tudor was treated under her brother, and as Elizabeth herself had been treated after her release from Woodstock; in some respects her position was better, for she was still called a Queen, and was allowed her cloth of state. She was not permitted to go where she pleased, but she had all the enjoyments and conveniences which an English country life could yield. She rode, she hunted, she had change of air and scene, going from Sheffield to Chatsworth, from Chatsworth to the baths at Buxton. She was so loosely watched that she corresponded freely with her friends. The ladies of Elizabeth's household, with an eye to the future, furnished her with the

secrets of the Court. She was the centre of the hopes and fears of the worldly statesmen and political intriguers; and though the Queen was often advised to remove her to some stricter guardianship, the fear of offending Shrewsbury, or of giving France or Spain a ground of complaint, combined to keep her where she was.

Her Protestant affectations were no more heard of. She had lost favour abroad by her supposed instability: she explained it away by saying, "that when she came first to England she was afraid of alienating a powerful party in a realm which she hoped to make her own." "She had never communicated in the English Church," she said; "she had merely attended sermons; her friends had told her that she might listen to a preacher as she would listen to the barking of a dog:¹ she had talked on religion with the Bishop of Lichfield, but she had told him she could never find two clergymen agree in anything except in hating the Pope, and instead of being converted to their opinions, she had been the more confirmed in her own." She ceased to be present at the prayers of the household. She obtained a chaplain from abroad, who lived with her as one of her servants. His character was known, but he was not interfered with, and he had special powers granted him by the Pope. Certain Englishmen in Shrewsbury's service were useful to her, who would be sent away if known to be Catholics. They took the sacrament, by permission, in the Earl's chapel, the priest giving them absolution after each of their acts of iniquity; while for herself Mary Stuart obtained as

¹ "Et sur ce les plus politiques me remonstrants que j'escouterois bien un chien abboyer, me persuaderent ouir en salle lesdicts ministres et prières." — Mary Stuart to La Mothe Fénelon, November 30, 1573: Labanoff, Vol. IV.

a special grace from his Holiness, that when she prayed before the holy wafer, when she bore patiently any injury from a heretic, or if at the moment of death she repeated the words Jesus Maria, all her sins should be forgiven.¹

She was afraid of being poisoned. She did not suspect the Queen of being likely to sanction her murder, but Shrewsbury himself hinted to her¹⁵⁷⁴ that Elizabeth might not prove implacable if she was disposed of without her knowledge;² and Lady Essex, Elizabeth's cousin, who was suspected afterwards of murdering her husband, was mentioned as a person of whom she would do well to beware.³

On the whole, however, she felt safe under Lord Shrewsbury's care. He was punctiliously honourable, and inclined, as every one knew, to favour her claims on the succession. She had great influence with him, and she contrived to entangle him in an intrigue which, implicating them both in Elizabeth's displeasure, drew him closer than before to herself. Margaret, Countess of Lennox, and mother of Darnley, had been a conspirator from early girlhood. She began her career by a secret marriage with a brother of the Duke of Norfolk, and was sent to the Tower for it by Henry VIII. She had tried to persuade Mary Tudor to execute Elizabeth, that the crown might fall to herself. She had contrived Darnley's marriage with the Queen of Scots, to unite their titles, and had worked hard to organize the Catholic party for a rising in England in their favour.

¹ Mary Stuart to Gregory XIII., October 13, 1575: Labanoff, Vol. IV.

² "Que si quelqu'un sans le sçeu de ladicte Roynne m'empoisonnait # sçavoit de bon lieu qu'elle leur en sçauroit bon gré de l'oster de si grande peine." — Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow and the Cardinal of Lorraine, March 29, 1574: Ibid.

³ Ibid

After the catastrophe at Kirk-o'-Field, she had fallen back upon Elizabeth, believing that Mary Stuart was ruined, and expecting that the succession would be now determined in favour of her grandson James. No voice had been louder than hers in demanding vengeance on the murderers, none more emphatic in charging the guilt upon the Queen of Scots. Time, however, passed on, and Mary Stuart's star seemed again in the ascendant. There was a prevailing impression, in which Lady Lennox shared, that Elizabeth would soon die, and she began to be alarmed for the future. Early in 1573, at latest,¹ she put herself in communication with the person whom she had denounced so passionately; and Mary Stuart, as the price of reconciliation, obtained a declaration from her in writing, that she had been instigated by the Queen and Council to accuse her, and that she was fully satisfied of her innocence.²

Armed with this weapon, the Queen of Scots was now able to defend herself with effect, and to persuade the Catholics that she was an injured saint. The two women drew together, and began to weave fresh plots and schemes. A third cunning practitioner was added

¹ On May 2, 1573, Mary Stuart, in a letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow, said that Lady Lennox and she had then been reconciled five or six years. The date is important.

² Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow, May 2, 1573: Labanoff. This acknowledgment, which was of extreme value at the time to the Queen of Scots in assisting her to clear her reputation, has been relied upon in later times as evidence in her favour. It is worth while to observe, therefore, that Lady Lennox continued long after to speak in her old language to others. Elizabeth, suspecting the reconciliation, questioned her about it. "I asked her Majesty if she could think so," Lady Lennox wrote to Burghley, "for I was made of flesh and blood, and could never forget the murder of my child; and she said, Nay, by her faith she could not think that ever I could forget it, for if I would, I were a devil."—*MSS. Domestic*, December 10, 1574.

in the Countess of Shrewsbury; and after weeks of correspondence, in which De Guaras, the Portuguese Minister Fogaça, the Bishop of Ross, and other Catholics took part, it was agreed that a marriage should be made up between Lord Charles Stuart—Darnley's brother, the Countess's only remaining son—and Elizabeth Cavendish, Lady Shrewsbury's daughter by her first husband. Lady Elizabeth was passionately devoted to the Queen of Scots, and Lord Charles, who was a possible competitor against her for the English crown, would thus be made sure of. Lady Lennox took her son to Chatsworth, and all was done before suspicion had got abroad.

The secret marriage of a prince of the blood both was and is an offence against the state; had there been nothing about the match in itself objectionable, Elizabeth would have been justly offended. Lady Lennox was returned to her old quarters in the Tower: Shrewsbury was rebuked and hardly saved himself by laying the blame upon his wife; and the storm blew over only when a year subsequently Lord Charles and his bride both died, leaving as the sole result of the affair a daughter, known to history as the Lady Arabella Stuart. In itself, the matter proved of no immediate consequence; but incidentally, it occasioned a painful revelation of the hollow hearts with which the Queen was surrounded. The investigation which Walsingham had to institute, brought him on the track of half the ladies of the palace, and of more than half the courtiers, as implicated more or less in seeking favour with the lady at Sheffield. Lady Cobham, the Queen's immediate attendant; Southampton, who had forfeited his life in the Norfolk conspiracy, and had been pardoned and taken into favour again; Norfolk's brother,

Lord Henry Howard; the Earl of Oxford, Burghley's son-in-law; these and many more were found to be paying assiduous court to the rising sun. Shrewsbury, it appeared, had promised the Queen of Scots that, on the Queen's death, he would himself place the crown upon her head.¹ No longer complaining of her captivity, she was well satisfied to remain where she was, her party growing daily stronger by her mere presence in the realm. When opportunities of escape were thrown in her way, she declined to use them. She said that when she left Lord Shrewsbury's charge it should be as Queen of England.² The eager expectation of the Queen's death was extremely likely to suggest means of hastening it. Elizabeth's behaviour, so irritating to Walsingham, was as characteristic of herself as it was perplexing.³ She chose to encounter treason by refusing to see it; and rather to live in an atmosphere of disloyalty, than expose it and force it to declare itself. "She is bent," wrote Walsingham, bitterly, to cover faults rather than cure them. If she will not touch the principals, she must, of course, spare the accessories

¹ "La Roynie d'Escosse avoit dict ou escript a queleun que le diet Milord luy avoit promis, la morte advenante de la Roynie, qu'il metteroit la couronne sur la teste de la Roynie d'Escosse." — Note in MS. 1575: MSS. *Mary Queen of Scots*.

² "Dixóme el Embajador de Escocia que a su ama le offrecian comodidad por poderse escapar de prision y que no lo quiere porque pretende salir della Reyna de Inglaterra y no de otra suerte aunque le cueste la vida." — Don Juan de Vargas al Rey: Tenlet, Vol. V. p. 203.

³ "Your Majesty asks whether all or what part of the confessions shall be shown to the Council. Let your Majesty choose out those that are loyal and secret and show them all. Touching the matter itself, your Majesty's delay used in resolving doth not only make me void of all hope to do any good therein, but also doth quite discourage me to deal in like causes, seeing mine and your other faithful servants' care for your safety fruitless. I beseech your Majesty pardon this my plain speech, proceeding from a wounded and languishing mind." — Walsingham to Elizabeth, February 26, 1575: MSS. *Mary Queen of Scots*.

and instruments. She will not even allow the removal of the Scottish Queen to a place of more security."¹ She continued to smile upon her false and fair-seeming courtiers. She kept her irritation, and seemingly her suspicion, for those who had never entertained an unfaithful thought towards her,² and she punished the Shrewsburys only by a sarcastic letter on the entertainment which they extended to Leicester when the favourite was sent down on a sanatory visit to the baths.³

¹ Walsingham to Leicester, March 8: *MSS. Mary Queen of Scots*.

² Burghley, for instance, went over to Buxton when Shrewsbury was there with his charge. Elizabeth "sharply reproved him, charging him earnestly with favouring the Queen of Scots." — Burghley to Shrewsbury, December 24, 1575: Lodge, Vol. II.

³ This letter, unprinted so far as I know elsewhere, is one of the most curious specimens of Elizabeth's composition: —

"Right trusty, —

"Being given to understand from our cousin the Earl of Leicester how honourably he was lately received and used by you, our cousin the Countess at Chintworth, and how his diet is by you both discharged at Buxton, we should do him great wrong holding him in that place in our favour in which we do, in case we should not let you understand in how thankful sort we accept the same at your hands — which we do not acknowledge to be done unto him but to our own self; and therefore do mean to take upon us the debt and to acknowledge you both as our creditors so as you can be content to accept us for debtor, wherein is the danger unless you cut off some part of the large allowance of diet you give him, lest otherwise the debt thereby may grow to be so great as we shall not be able to discharge the same, and so become bankrupt. And therefore we think it for the saving of our credit meet to prescribe unto you a proportion of diet which we mean in no case you shall exceed, and that is to allow him by the day for his meat two ounces of flesh, referring the quality to yourselves, so as you exceed not the quantity, and for his drink the twentieth part of a pint of wine to comfort his stomach, and as much of St. Anne's sacred water as he listeth to drink. On festival days, as is meet for a man of his quality, we can be content you shall enlarge his diet by allowing unto him for his dinner the shoulder of a wren, and for his supper a leg of the same, besides his ordinary ounces. The like proportion we mean you shall allow to our brother of Warwick, saving that we think it meet that in respect that his body is more replete than his brother's, that the wren's leg allowed at supper on festival days be abated, for that light supper agreeth best with rules of physic. This order our meaning is you shall inviolably observe,

The Parliament of 1576 passed off without touching the succession question; and never, Mary Stuart wrote to the Archbishop of Glasgow in the summer of that year, had her prospects been fairer than they had now become. Every cloud had rolled away from the sky. Elizabeth, she said, had not dared to interfere with her pretensions. At the close of the session she had asked two of the judges, who, in their conscience, had the best right to succeed after her death: the judges had answered, that Henry VIII. had no power to change the customs of the realm; the next in blood must inherit: and Elizabeth had replied with a sigh, "The Queen of Scots then is my heir."¹ Whether she considered that she was consulting best for her own security, or for the interests of the realm, or whether she felt bound in honour to shew the same forbearance to the claims of the Queen of Scots as had been shown by her sister towards her own, her evident purpose was to humour the expectations of the Catholics, and to comfort all unquiet spirits with the hope that if she was let alone for her own time, her death would give them their desires.

On all sides her policy was the same, and tended to the same end. Having been forced against her will to complete the destruction of Mary Stuart's party in Scotland, the most natural course would have been to recognise James as lawful sovereign there; and failing issue from her own person, to have settled the English succession upon him by Act of Parliament: or, if she

and so may you right well assure yourselves of a most thankful debtor to so well deserving a creditor." — Memorandum of Her Majesty's letter to the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury, June 4, 1577: *MSS. Mary Queen of Scots*.

¹ The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow, May and June, 1576: Labanoff, Vol. IV.

could not bring herself to a step so decisive, at least to have given effectual support to the government which she had assisted in establishing. Never were rulers in a more desperate plight than the successive Regents of Scotland in the minority of the young King. The crown lands were exhausted, there were no customs, no fixed revenue, no regular taxation; while they had to find garrisons for Edinburgh and Dumbarton Castles, to maintain the Court at Stirling, and to provide besides for the peace of the border, which the Marian tendencies of the Maxwells, the Kers, and the Humes made it doubly difficult to preserve. Murray had fallen for want of help; and then Lennox. Morton had insisted on an allowance from Elizabeth as a condition of his accepting office. Elizabeth had manoeuvred him into the regency without committing herself. He had submitted, but he requested that if she would give him no money for the government, she would at least distribute a few trifling presents among the other nobles, recognise his right to be in the place which she had forced upon him, and unite England and Scotland in a league "for the maintenance of the common cause of religion."¹ Liberality would have been the simplest economy. If Scotland became again disturbed, Walsingham pointed out to her that her own expenses on the border would be increased fivefold. "The league," he argued, "was more necessary for her than for Morton, since no one would assail Scotland except with a view to England." "The amity now offered her was one which unoffered, was in due policy most necessary to be sought for. It was a thing which her predecessors, who stood not in like need of Scot-

¹ Morton to Elizabeth, January 21, 1574: *MSS. Scotland*.

land's friendship, would have redeemed with any treasure." If she refused, and if harm followed, "the burden of the error would be cast upon her Majesty for rejecting the advice of her Council."¹

It will be remembered that in the first alarm after the massacre of St. Bartholomew, there had been an intention of sending Mary Stuart home to be tried and executed for her husband's murder; the Scots had required that Elizabeth should openly share the responsibility; and "the great matter," as it was called in the diplomatic correspondence, passed off. The idea in its extreme form was abandoned; but she was still anxious that her guest should be removed, and that if she was not put to death, Scotland should have the responsibility of keeping her. When Morton made his proposals for a league, Philip's disposition was still dubious; France could not be relied upon, and although the Queen would not give money or commit herself openly, she sent Sir Henry Killegrew to Edinburgh, to feel his way with the Regent. She imagined that Morton and Morton's party were so circumstanced that her support was indispensable to them, and that she might make her own conditions. A few days after Killegrew's arrival, he hastened to undeceive her. If the Regent's requests were not granted, he dared not, he said, so much as enter on the special subject of his mission. The Scots told him that what his mistress had done at Edinburgh, she had done not for them, but for herself; she had left them alone till she was frightened by the Paris massacre, and now she evidently cared not whether they sank or swam: the French set more value on their friendship: if Elizabeth would not

¹ Walsingham to the Queen, March 20: *MSS. Scotland*.

help them France was ready to take her place, and the young King would probably be sent to Paris.¹

Could the Queen of Scots then be exchanged for James? James to be brought up in England, and Mary Stuart to be put into the hands of the Regent, to be dealt with as he might think proper? Killegrew was empowered in his instructions to make the offer if he thought expedient. He did not think it would be accepted. He ventured a hint, and his expectations were confirmed. "I think," he said in a letter to Walsingham, "that you there will never agree to the sure way of remedy (the execution of the Queen of Scots), and here they will be daunted to accept the conditions of the other (the delivery of James), which cannot be done without many a council of the matter, which thing, I know, would mislike your delicate ears there, and indeed, I think not convenient to be done unless I saw an assured sequel to follow."²

The correspondence which followed is imperfect, and mysterious in its allusions. It is certain, however, that "an overture" was made in reply by Elizabeth, of which Walsingham disapproved, and that it contained a promise to send the Queen of Scots to the Regent, the Regent undertaking in return to give hostages. But whether hostages for the protection of her life, or hostages merely for her safe keeping either in prison or the grave, can only be conjectured.³

Killegrew brought the Regent's answer to London, and delivered it in person, leaving no record of its terms. Experience of Elizabeth's conduct in similar situations, permits the conclusion that she wished the

¹ Killegrew to Walsingham, June 17, June 21, June 23; Killegrew to Burghley, June 23; to Hatton, June 24: *MSS. Scotland*.

² Killegrew to Walsingham, June 25: *MSS. Ibid.*

³ Walsingham to Killegrew, July 30, Cipher: *MS. Ibid.*

Queen of Scots to be disposed of, where she would give no more trouble, yet in such a manner that she should be able for herself to disclaim the responsibility before the world. It is equally likely that Morton, knowing her disposition, declined the snare which was laid for him and insisted, as before, on square and open dealing.

Months now passed away. The Chatsworth marriage followed, and the discovery of Mary Stuart's correspondence at the Court. "The great matter" was at an end. But Morton still refused to be tempted by France, and continued to hold out to England the offered league. There were but two objections. In accepting it, Elizabeth would openly sanction the Queen of Scots' deposition — already it might have been thought a sufficiently established fact — and she must acknowledge in form a community of creed with Calvinists. Both of these she was determined not to do, and no persuasion could move her.

"Your Majesty," said Walsingham to her, "shall see over dangerous effects, when the trouble of the princes your neighbours shall be at an end, unless your Majesty shall, by prevention, put in execution such remedies as the necessity of your state requires; wherein if you shall not use expedition the malady will grow incurable, and the sparks of treason that now lie covered will break into unquenchable fire. For the love of God, Madam, let not the cure of your diseased state hang longer in deliberation. Diseased states are no more cured by consultation, when nothing resolved on is put in execution, than unsound and diseased bodies by only conference with physicians without receiving the remedies by them prescribed. Whatever account is made of the Regent, there is no man of judgment

that loves your Majesty that can imagine any peril that can befall you, so great as the loss of that gentleman, either by death or alienation. Lose not such an one negligently, whom it behoves you to keep so necessarily.”¹

“If ever prince that possessed this crown,” Walsingham wrote to Burghley, “had cause to desire the amity of Scotland, none can have greater than her Majesty, the corruption of her estate being well weighed, and the malice that the princes her neighbours bear to her. God forbid that no other thing should teach her Majesty to make value of the friendship of Scotland, but only the mischief that we may taste by the lack thereof.”²

Every word of these warnings came back in due time to Elizabeth, and many a year of anxiety, and many a million from her treasury, the neglect of them was in the end to cost her. But it will be seen that what Walsingham wished was incompatible with the course which on the whole she had determined to be best for her. After long oscillation English policy finally gravitated towards Philip and peace. She always advised the Netherlands to make no alterations in religion. Having no belief herself, she regarded Protestantism as a lost cause, and in her heart she was probably meditating how best to bring back England into communion with the rest of Christendom.

Her ecclesiastical administration at home tended in the same direction, and towards the same issue. It is evident that neither then, nor till long after, did she

¹ Walsingham to Elizabeth, January 15, 1575: *MSS. Scotland*. Killegrew also said of Morton, he was the only man who could control Scotland. “If he were gone they could no more fill his place than England could find a successor to her Majesty.”

² Walsingham to Burghley, April 11, 1575: *MSS. Domestic*.

regard the Church of England as more than a provisional arrangement, an Interim intended to last but while the confusions of Europe continued.

Her Bishops she treated with studied insolence as creatures of her own, whom she had made and could unmake at pleasure: the Bishops themselves lived as if they knew their day to be a short one, and made the most of their opportunities while they lasted. Scandalous dilapidation, destruction of woods, waste of the property of the see by beneficial lease, the incumbent enriching himself and his family at the expense of his successors — this is the substantial history of the Anglican hierarchy, with a few honourable exceptions, for the first twenty years of its existence. At the time when Walsingham was urging Elizabeth to an alliance with the Scotch Protestants, Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, was just dead. He had left behind him enormous wealth, which had been accumulated, as is proved from a statement in the handwriting of his successor, by the same unscrupulous practices which had brought about the first revolt against the Church. He had been corrupt in the distribution of his own patronage, and he had sold his interest with others. No Catholic prelate in the old easy times had more flagrantly abused the dispensation system. "Every year he made profits by admitting children to the cure of souls" for money. He used a graduated scale in which the price for inducting an infant into a benefice varied with the age, children under fourteen not being inadmissible, if the adequate fees were forthcoming.¹ On Parker's death these iniquities were ex-

¹ "The late Archbishop had many occasions of wealth, the possibilities whereof are taken away from his successors. He called in all the dispensations made by Cardinal Pole, and so by faculties that year gate great sums,

posed and ended. His successor, Grindal, a man of infinitely nobler character, swept clear the corrupted ecclesiastical courts, abandoned the unjust ways of collecting money, scoured away to the best of his ability the accumulated filth of eighteen years. But Grindal's zeal was less agreeable to the Queen than Parker's corruption. Grindal was a sincere Protestant, especially earnest for what was called preaching the word, and regarding the voice of a living man, whether an ordained priest or not, as having more saving grace in it than ceremonies or sacraments.

Steady to her principle of silencing speech on troublesome subjects, the Queen was inclined always to empty pulpits which she could not tune. She considered "three or four preachers enough for a county," and one of the Homilies decently read as better than original eloquence. The Archbishop complied with her command so far as to place the sermons under restriction, and prevent excesses which she affected to dread: but stop it altogether he would not, and Elizabeth would as little endure a prelate who was less than absolutely submissive. Leicester, it was said, had his eye on Lambeth as a pleasant London house. The Archbishop was sequestered for contempt. The Attorney-General was instructed to take measures for his deposition, and the Queen was astonished to find that an ecclesiastical official had rights under the law of

and every year after made a more profit than hereafter is convenient by admitting children to cures," &c., &c. — Articles touching the late Archbishop, endorsed in Grindal's hand as drawn by himself: *MSS. Domestic*, February, 1575-6. Compare a resolution of Council on Dispensations, evidently directed at Parker's practices, dated June 20, 1576: *MSS. Ibid.* Vol. CXXIX. Among the particulars mentioned are "dispensations for children and young men under age to take ecclesiastical promotions, the tax whereof, the party being eighteen years of age or more, was £4 6s. 8d., the tax much greater the parties being under fourteen years."

England, which even she, arbitrary as she was in such matters, could not set aside.¹

"Thus, my good lord," said Walsingham, writing to the Lord Treasurer, "you see how we proceed still in making war against God, whose ire we should rather seek to appease, that he may keep the wars from us that most apparently approach. God open her Majesty's eyes that she may both see her perils and acknowledge from whence the remedy is to be sought."²

The making war against God, in Walsingham's sense of the words, would have continued longer but for one of those sudden illustrations of the true tendencies of things which burst out from time to time, and startled even Elizabeth into doubts of her own sagacity.

The majority of the States having signed the treaty with Don John, the Prince of Orange would not give him an excuse for retaining the Spaniards by refusing to consent. He gave his adhesion at last with the rest, religion being left in suspense till an answer should come from Philip. The Spaniards departed as had been promised. Slowly, reluctantly, they evacuated the great citadels which Alva had built at Antwerp — Ghent, Maestrecht, Valenciennes, the lately won Zealand Islands, — they withdrew from them all, and made them over to the soldiers of the States. They received 300,000 crowns upon the spot; they were promised as much more on reaching Italy, and thither they went to receive it. So far, and in this most essential matter, the promise was kept. There was a party, however, among the Belgian Catholics who were loudly hostile to the connexion with Elizabeth.³ It was ob-

¹ Streype's Grindal, p. 327, &c. Walsingham to Burghley, May 26, 1577; Wilson to Burghley, January 23, 1578: *MSS. Domestic*.

² Walsingham to Burghley, May 26, 1577: *MS. Ibid.*

³ Wilson to Elizabeth, February 25, 1577: *MSS. Flanders*.

served, too, that the refugees who had been expelled by Requesens were coming back in numbers, and were well received. Sir T. Stukely, who had come from Spain, the Earl of Westmoreland, Sir F. Englefield, and several more, were "cherished about the person of Don John as though they were of council with him."¹ Dr. Wilson, Elizabeth's minister with the States, remonstrated, but no attention was paid to him. Secretary Escobedo was found soon after to have received a letter from the Queen of Scots,² and Wilson, to see how he would take it, spoke openly to Don John about the suspicion that was entertained about him with respect to that lady. Don John coloured, passed it off, and was soon after observed to be making prodigious efforts to gain the Prince of Orange. He went so far as to promise Holland and Zealand the liberty of worship which they demanded; and he even told the Prince that if his brother would not agree to the pacification, he would himself join the States and take arms in their cause.³

It could not be for nothing that Don John went so near committing himself to treason. "More was meant than appeasing the Netherlands;" and a friend of Don John afterwards hinted to the Prince that Philip could not live for ever, and that Don John perhaps intended "to establish his estate in the Low Countries and make himself master of them."

Believing that he might be serious, the Prince con-

¹ Wilson to Elizabeth, February 25, 1577: *MSS. Flanders*.

² Secret advertisements from Brussels, February 22: *MS. Ibid.*

³ Don John with his own mouth told Dr. Wilson that he had used these words to Orange, and Orange told him so also: "Yet will I never the more trust Don John," said Wilson; "yea, I mistrust him the more. By such speech he either minds to tempt the Prince, or else he bears a false heart to the King his brother." — Wilson to Walsingham, May 1: *MS. Ibid.*

sulted Elizabeth. "The Netherlands might be made a kingdom, and Don John the first King."¹ But a visit afterwards from the Papal Nuncio explained the mystery. It was supposed that Orange would resent the treatment which he had received from the Queen. The Nuncio came to ask him whether if Don John made war on England he would be willing to assist, or if not assist, whether he would remain neutral.² A packet of letters from Escobedo to the King of Spain intercepted immediately afterwards by La Noue in France threw a yet further light on Don John's intentions. The treaty of Ghent had been accepted without the slightest purpose of observing it. The Spaniards held tenaciously as ever to their resolution to conquer the States; only in the opinion of Escobedo, and probably, therefore, of Don John, the road to their conquest lay through London.³

What was the meaning of words like these? Was it conceivable that Don John was flying in the face of the known intentions of the King, or was Philip himself as false as his brother? Don Bernardino, though appointed ambassador to England, was still lingering in the Low Countries, and Don John's own conduct confirmed the worst suspicions. No sooner were Escobedo's letters published than he fled from Brussels to

¹ Notes concerning the Prince of Orange, May, 1577: *MSS. Flanders*.

² Daniel Rogers to Walsingham, July 20, 1577: *MS. Ibid.*

³ "If a miracle is to set things straight it is time for the miracle to come; if force and a stout hand, your Majesty must provide what is necessary. The reduction of Holland and Zealand is the point, and this is more difficult than the enterprise of England. Redeem England first, and the rest is ours. No great force will be needed. Let not your Majesty think I say this in the interest of Don John. I leave that aside. I mean only that your Majesty's affairs cannot be remedied otherwise. Time has proved it, and every hour will make it more clear." — Escobedo to Philip April 9. Taken with other letters to similar purpose in June, 1577: *MS Ibid.*

Namur, shut himself into the castle, and sent expresses for his army to return.¹ Walsingham, supported by Leicester, represented to Elizabeth that she was betrayed. With Don John in arms again, and Guise omnipotent at Paris, her only safety lay in espousing the cause which she had trifled with. Condé and the King of Navarre had been petitioning in vain for assistance ever since the revocation of the Edicts. She now took up their request, hesitated, refused, again resolved, and, finally, decided, as it seemed, to send money to Casimir that he might raise a fresh army of Reiters and march on Paris.²

Everything was now for the moment changed. The friendship of Scotland became valuable, and she was ready to give pensions to the nobles

August.

¹ There is reason to think that the Prince of Orange, acting with the advice of Wilson, intended to seize Don John, and send him to England. Antonio de Guaras writes: — 'He tenido informacion muy espantosa que los buenos officios del Doctor Wilson y de todos ellos juntamente eran para quitar á su Alteza su libertad y ponerle en mano destos, pretendiendo proceder por los terminos que usan con la Reyna de Escocia.' — *Cartas de Guaras*, September 20, 1577: *MSS. Simancas*.

² Her fluctuations appear in a series of letters from Leicester to Walsingham. On the 10th of August Leicester wrote that she said she had promised the French King not to help Condé, and that she could not do it. He had explained to her that no other Prince would hesitate in such a situation as that in which she was placed. "If she allowed her best friends to quail with their cause it was impossible that she could stand. She would thus have all the mighty princes of the earth against her, and not a friend left."

On the 15th he laid before her the dangers to which she was exposed "by the slack dealing with her friends." He "found her relenting." "God was moving her heart to consider her own and her country's wealth." The day after he writes that "after much reasoning he found her Majesty to be sorry that she had so slenderly dealt with her friends, and did more plainly see if they were overthrown how hardly she would be beset by her enemies. He forgot not to lay before her these counsels from time to time, and how manifestly her perils had been foreseen, and that none other remedy there was in man's policy but relieving of her friends. She was in a mind at last to repair the oversight passed." — Leicester to Walsingham, August 10, August 13, 14, 15: *MSS. France*.

there.¹ Circulars went round to compel Catholics to attend the English service. Mass-books were hunted up; scoundrels who used bad language against the Queen were pilloried and lost their ears, the judges shewing themselves zealous, perhaps over zealous, in catching the wind while it was blowing.² Leading recusants were fined, and ordered to keep their houses. De Guaras, found writing to the Queen of Scots, was arrested and sent to the Tower, and a change of guardianship was contemplated for the Queen of Scots herself. The German Protestant Princes once more in-

¹ Walsingham to Burghley, August 29: *MSS. Domestic*.

² The judges' views on such matters are illustrated by a letter from Mr. Justice Manwood to Sir Walter Mildmay.

"Sir, — Concerning the lewd fellow, who, after his deserved punishment by pillory, did persist with more lewd and slanderous speeches towards her Majesty in the presence of the people being at the execution, his offence is thereby aggravated, and he therefore to sustain a more grievous punishment. By the late statute he is for his second offence to lose all his goods and be perpetually imprisoned during his life, whereby he shall never come out to abuse his tongue again, which imprisonment perpetual is to be executed with all extremity with irons and other strait feeding and keeping as may shortly bring him to a repentant end, an estate from which he seemeth now to be far off. Thus much by the late statute and law. And because the same statute is not in the negative restraining any former statute or common law before; by the former statute laws for slanderous rumours and speeches against the nobility and Council of the Prince, punishment was to be done by advice of the Prince's Council; the experience whereof has been by pillory and cutting of ears, as by nailing or burning the ears or such like: much more for the like offence against the Prince by the common law punishment was to be inflicted by advice of Council in discretion without limitation, but usually not to be taken to dismember the offender of any of his joints or eyes or other principal senses. As for example, the offence of the tongue in this case being so heinous, as well for the matter as for the time and place of speech, is by burning in the face with a letter or by gagging his two jaws in painful manner, and so as he cannot speak any word, and produced in public place of punishment with paper on his head, or by burning through the tongue, or perchance by cutting off his tongue, in such wise as he may eat and drink and take sustenance after. These and such like once or more often times as by her Majesty's Council may be ordered and thought necessary, I think may be done by order of the common law." — *M2 Ibid.* November, 15th.

vited the Queen to be the head of a reformed league. She listened, heard the arguments on both sides, and for a time seemed favourably inclined.¹ The Marquis Havré, a new envoy from the States, was received with conspicuous cordiality. A message was sent to Spain that peace must be made in earnest or England would interfere. If Guise, as report said that he intended, came to the assistance of Don John, Elizabeth decided to send over an army, and Leicester meant to be its leader.²

War in England was now universally looked for, and as a first object each party desired to secure the person of James of Scotland. Mary Stuart, through the Archbishop of Glasgow, endeavoured to have him carried to France.³ De Guaras wrote again and again to Philip that it would be an advantage if he could be taken to Spain.⁴ Killebrew went to Edinburgh to recover the lost opportunity and induce Morton to send him into England. Elizabeth for once was sailing a straight course. The tide might soon change, but while her alarm lasted she was really determined. The difficulty was in the temper of the States, where patriotism and religion were dragging in opposite directions. The majority of the people wished to make Orange

¹ Necessary Considerations for her Majesty, November, 1577: *MSS. France*.

² "My Lord of Leicester comes over as general of all the men which her Majesty shall send to the Low Countries. This is his full determination, as yet unknown to her Highness. Neither shall she be acquainted with it till she be fully resolved to send, which will not be till the Prince of Orange send back again. Thus if she understand the Duke of Guise come to assist Don John she will assist the States with ten thousand men." — Edward Cheeke to Secretary Davison, September 19, 1577: *MSS. Flanders*.

³ The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow, November 5, 1577: Labanoff, Vol. IV.

⁴ Cartas de A. de Guaras descifradas, September 20, 23, October 4: *MSS. Sinancas*.

Dictator. The Walloon nobles and the priests hated the Spaniards, but they hated Protestantism worse. England had many enemies who, as Davison wrote,¹ "would be ready to cast the cat before our legs." The Prince of Orange recommended Elizabeth to make sure at all risks of Holland and Zealand: she would then be supreme at sea, and could control the situation.

She was pausing, not from want of will but from legitimate uncertainty, when a fresh element
October.

of discord was introduced into the scene. The Catholic aristocracy, to escape Orange and an English Protectorate, threw themselves on the German Empire. They invited the Emperor's brother, the Archduke Matthias, to be their governor, in the place of Don John. They hoped that either Philip would acquiesce in the exchange, or that Rudolf, in default, would stand by them. With the Emperor's secret approval, Matthias stole away from Vienna at the beginning of October, came to Cologne, and waited there till it was certain that he would be received.

Havr  was invited to explain. He knew, before he left the States, what his friends intended. He said that they had sent for the Archduke, as a Prince of the House of Austria, to govern under the King of Spain, and that he had not expected that the Queen of England would disapprove. She said that she ought to have been consulted. She would send neither men nor money, till she understood the meaning of it, especially till she knew the opinion of the Prince of Orange.² The Prince, to whom she wrote, answered that he had not been taken into counsel, but on the whole he did not intend to make difficulties. The

¹ Davison had been sent to reside with the Prince of Orange.

² Walsingham to Davison, October 20: *MSS. Flanders*.

Archduke, it appeared, was willing to accept the government whether Philip approved or not, and the House of Austria would then be divided against itself. The Archduke was a Papist, but "soft and amenable," and the States would unite more cordially under a Catholic Prince than under himself.¹

Elizabeth appeared to be satisfied. Havré was sent back with a favourable answer to the request for money: and not money only was promised, but an army as well, and Leicester expected to be in the field against Don John before many weeks were over.² A league was to be formed between England and the States on the basis of the old treaties with the House of Burgundy. On one side only her own theories continued to exert a pernicious influence over her. Havré was a Catholic like Schwegenhem, and through him she repeated her old advice, that there should be no change in religion, no liberty of conscience, no separate chapels or conventicles to divide the union.

For war with Spain she was prepared, and she had already taken one momentous step past recall, which was likely to precipitate it. The strength of Philip lay in the gold of the new world. Francis Drake had learnt, in 1572, how defenceless were the convoys at Panama. Oxenham, a Devonshire rover, had crossed the Isthmus four years later, built a pinnace in the Pacific, and made prizes among the coasters, which, dreaming of no danger in that undisturbed ocean, were bringing bullion from Lima. He had not brought home his plunder. He had wasted precious time at

¹ Davison to Walsingham, October 27, inclosing a letter from the Prince: *MSS. Flanders*.

² "Before Candlemas, or shortly after, you shall see my Lord of Leicester well accompanied in the Low Countries." — Ed. Horsey to Davison. December 18, 1577

the Isle of Pearls, toying with a Spanish lady. Armed boats were sent after him. He was taken and hanged as a pirate, and the gold was recovered. But the ease had been again demonstrated with which some great blow might be struck in those quarters at the heart of the Spanish power, and there was a man of far higher qualities than Oxenham, who was ready to undertake the enterprise. Some one whose signature
November. is erased, and whose name it would be unjust to conjecture, had volunteered his services for an exploit of a less worthy kind. "Your Majesty," wrote this man, in language curiously characteristic of the time, "must first seek the kingdom of heaven, and make no league with those whom God has divided from you. Your Majesty must endeavour to make yourself strong and to make them weak, and at sea you can either make war on them openly or by colourable means; by giving licence, under letters patent, to discover and inhabit strange places, with special proviso for their safeties whom policy requires to have most annoyed — by which means the doing the contrary shall be imputed to the executor's fault; your Highness's letters patent being a manifest show that it was not your Majesty's pleasure so to have it. Afterwards, if it seem well you can avow the fact, or else you can disavow the fact and those that did it as league-breakers, leaving them to pretend it was done without your privity."

Elizabeth valued much proposals of this kind. None of her subjects pleased her better than those who would do her work and save her from responsibility. It was an unusual road to "the kingdom of heaven." But those who would understand English in the sixteenth century must recognise that brave and high-minded

men were willing to risk being condemned as pirates to shield a sovereign who would not use their services otherwise ; while Catholics, since the Paris massacre, had come to be looked on as wild beasts, who had no rights as human beings, and might be deceived, played with, and destroyed like wolves or vermin. The proposal which follows had been heard of before, but had not yet taken so practical a shape. Vast Catholic fleets went every summer to the banks of Newfoundland for the food of their fasting days.

"I," continued the same writer, "will undertake, if you will permit me, to fit out ships, well armed, for Newfoundland, where they will meet with all the great shipping of France, Spain, and Portugal. The best I will bring away, and I will burn the rest. Commit us afterwards as pirates, if you will, but I shall ruin their sea force, for they depend on their fishermen for their navies. It may be objected that this will be against your league ; but I hold it as lawful in Christian policy to prevent a mischief betimes as to revenge it too late ; especially seeing that God himself is a party to the quarrel now on foot, and His enemy maliciously disposed towards your Highness. You may be told it will ruin our commerce. Do not believe it : you will but establish your own superiority at sea. If you will let us first do this, we will next take the West Indies from Spain. You will have the gold and silver mines and the profit of the soil. You will be monarch of the seas and out of danger from every one. I will do it if you will allow me ; only you must resolve and not delay or dally — the wings of man's life are plumed with the feathers of death."¹

¹ Discourse addressed to the Queen how to annoy the King of Spain November 6, 1577. Condensed : *MSS. Domestic.*

This paper is dated the 6th of November, 1577. In the first fortnight of the same month, Francis Drake had in readiness a fleet of five armed ships, equipped by a company of adventurers, among whom the Queen and Leicester were the largest shareholders. The coincidence at first suggests Drake as the possible author of the suggestion. The Newfoundland fleets contained twenty-five thousand innocent industrious men, all of whom were obviously meant to be destroyed; and if Drake it was, and if the proposal had been accepted, the naval annals of England and the fame of her greatest seaman would have been stained with a horrible crime. But the visionary audacity of the scheme, and the melodramatic imaginativeness of the closing words, point to some one of a less practical temperament; nor is it likely that Drake's fleet would have been already prepared with the object of his enterprise undetermined. However this be, on the 15th of the same November, Francis Drake sailed from Plymouth Sound, nominally to search the waste of the Pacific and find openings for English commerce; but with private instructions also from the Queen, which might be shown or withheld, acted upon or not acted upon, as convenience might afterwards dictate. De Guaras had watched his preparations and suspected his real object. He was provided with a second in command, the Mr. Doughty whose fate afterwards caused so deep sensation; and Doughty was probably sent by the Spanish party in the Council to observe and embarrass his movements, and thwart his purpose if mischief was intended to Spain.

This was Elizabeth's contribution to the war of the Low Countries, bestowed while she was in the humour and happily irrevocable — a contribution more effective, measured by its results in bringing Spain upon her

knees, than if she had emptied her treasury into the lap of Orange. In those five ships lay the germ of the ocean empire of Great Britain. They sailed but just in time, for the Queen's courage had passed its flood, and other help the States were after all not to receive. The appearance of Matthias upon the scene, promising as it did a quarrel between Philip and the Emperor Rudolf, relieved her, when she thought about it, of an immediate necessity of action. The rupture with Philip was again put off. The pale shadow of the Archduke — his influence never amounted to a reality — soon melted away, but by that time the Queen's natural disposition had reasserted its usual

December.

influence upon her. To break a promise was never a serious difficulty with her. The subsidy which she had told Havré that she would send, remained in the treasury. The ten thousand men were left at home to plough and to dig. Instead of men and money she sent a threatening letter to Don John, and she consoled the States with saying that Don John would be reasonable when he saw "that she was determined to take part against him."¹ But in fact, she had determined to take no part against him. Her brave purposes had evaporated in words. "So it is," said Walsingham's secretary, "that such as incline more to the faction of Spain than to her Majesty's safety and quiet estate of her crown and realm, have persuaded her that she cannot deal in honour to the furtherance of the States, either with men or money, till she have a resolute answer from the King or Don John, notwithstanding the promise that she hath made to the Marquis; which hath wrought such a coldness in her Majesty to

¹ Instructions to Mr. Leighton sent to the States and Don John, December 21, 1577: *MSS. Flanders*.

hearken to their demands that hardly can she be moved from that Spanish persuasion."¹

Don John's English friends kept him well informed of the workings of the Queen's humour; and he saw that he had nothing to fear. His Spaniards came flocking back over the frontiers, and while Orange was away in Holland, and the Duke of Arschot and the Walloon Catholics were busy with their Archduke Matthias, he started suddenly into the field, caught the States army unprepared at Gemblours, and shivered it to pieces.² Could he have followed up the blow, he might have recovered the Catholic Provinces upon the spot, so

utter was their consternation. He had no reserves, however, and an empty chest; and they had leisure to recover their breath and look round them. Long since they would have had France at their side, but for Elizabeth's promises.

Fiercely they demanded whether they were trifled with. Did she mean or did she not mean to keep her engagements with them? "If her Majesty disappoint them now," wrote Davison, a week after the defeat, "it will in the judgment of the wisest bring forth some dangerous alteration."³ A month passed and they heard nothing. "Her Majesty must say yes or no," Davison repeated more vehemently; "hesitation is cruel and dishonourable. If she say no, she will not escape the hatred of the Papists. If she say yes, she has still great advantages for the prosecution of the war; but it must be one or the other and swiftly."⁴

At last the resolution came. She would send no English army, and no Leicester; but there was Cási-

¹ Laurence Tomson to Davison, February 2, 1578.

² January 29, 1578.

³ Davison to Walsingham, February 6: *MSS. Holland.*

⁴ Davison to Walsingham, March 8. Condensed: *MS. Ibid.*

nir, whom she was to have provided for an invasion of France, and had fed with air after all. Casimir would come to the help of the States, if he could have a hundred thousand pounds. She had already lent them forty thousand. She would lend twenty thousand more, and she would lend the rest if they could not raise it among themselves. This was her last word. She would help them no further.¹ Burghley shielded her with such excuses as he could invent, still nursing their hopes that she would interfere if Casimir failed them. She sent the twenty thousand pounds. She undertook to endorse the bonds of the States for an additional forty thousand, exacting promise of ^{March.} repayment both of the principal and interest of the rest of her debt; while Leicester, who had laboured with her in vain, poured out his personal disappointment to Davison. "He had neither face nor countenance," he said, "to write to the Prince, his expectation being so greatly deceived;" "the irresolution had been dreadful, the conclusion miserable;" and "God," he thought, could alone now help England by miracle, seeing the apparent ordinary courses so overslipt.²

¹ Instructions to Mr. Rogers sent to the States and to Duke Casimir March 9: *MSS. Holland.*

² Leicester to Davison, March 9, 1578: *MS. Ibid.*

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE hesitation of Elizabeth was less unreasonable than her more eager advisers believed. The suspicions entertained of Philip were as yet without foundation. The universal impression in Europe was that sooner or later he would be forced into an invasion of England; but it is equally certain that he limited his own wishes to the reduction of his own heretical subjects. So long as there was a Catholic to succeed her, he was willing to wait till "God should call his sister-in-law." Escobedo, whose unlucky letters had precipitated the second revolt, was assassinated on his return to Madrid by Philip's order.¹ Money which had been promised to Don John was withheld lest he should make a dangerous use of it. The fate of the Reformation was to be decided in the end by a duel between the representative chiefs of the two faiths; but the principals hesitated equally to take their places in the field, disclaimed their obligations, and determined in spite of Papist and Protestant to remain friends. Six years had now passed since the expulsion of Don Guerau de Espes, and the experiment of a Spanish ambassador resident in London was about to be tried once more. Whatever may have been the reason of the delay, Don Bernardino received his commission at last, and set out for England in the middle of March. The

¹ Philip himself would have said that Escobedo was privately executed. He was held to have forfeited his life, and a public trial would have led to inconvenient disclosures.

selection of a nobleman of so high rank was in itself a compliment. The house of Mendoza was the most illustrious in Spain. Don Bernardino's ^{March.} father, Don Alonzo Count of Coruña, was a favourite of Charles V.; his mother was a Ximenes, niece of the great Cardinal. He had himself been first Philip's Master of the Horse, and then had held a distinguished command in the Low Countries. His instructions were profoundly conciliatory. He brought no private directions to make a party in England or to encourage rebellion, or lead the Catholics to expect intervention. He was strictly forbidden to do anything of which the Queen could complain. He was sent to remove her alarms, to satisfy her that she need not fear Spain unless she herself desired a quarrel, and he was empowered to promise all concessions in the Low Countries which she could reasonably demand, the withdrawal once more of the Spanish forces, the restoration of the States' privileges, the reinstatement of the provincial governments — even the recall of Don John and the appointment of a successor of whose designs there could be no suspicion — provided liberty of conscience was not mentioned, and the Catholic priests and bishops were replaced in the churches from which they had been removed in Holland and Zealand. It was urged at the time, and it has been urged since, that all this was to concede nothing; that the Inquisition itself could demand no measures against heresy more severe than the reimposition of the edicts of Charles V.; and it is likely that in the long run the objection would have proved well founded. With or without a Spanish army, the bigotry of the Walloons would probably sooner or later have interfered with the liberties of the Batavian States, and would have forced them again

into revolt. But no such result could have been looked for immediately. The only visible effect would have been the reappearance of the mass in the churches in Holland and Zealand. The edicts when they touched opinions would have been no more than words. They had remained a dead letter from the peace of Passau to the abdication of the Emperor. They could have been enforced nowhere without the help of the local authorities: and so long as each State administered its own laws persecution would have been impossible.¹

The state of England at the time of Mendoza's arrival was extremely critical. The Protestants were eagerly expecting war. Drake had sailed for the Pacific. Though the Queen had sent no troops to the Low Countries, the Prince of Orange was willing once more to trust to English volunteers, and Colonel Norris was already across the water with several thousand men in the service of the States. The Ambassador landed at Gravesend on March 11. The question of war or peace had been before the Council incessantly during the preceding fortnight. The Queen's resolution was not yet known in the country, if it was known to herself. Antonio de Guaras was in the Tower; money had been sent to the Hague; and Don Bernardino was told that if he meant to prevent a rupture he had not a moment to lose.²

The storm in the Council had not yet subsided. Elizabeth's own humour was still fluctuating. Mendoza hastened to London, but no intimation was made

¹ La comisión que ha de llevar Don Bernardino para Inglaterra, Marzo, 1578: *MSS. Simancas*. Legajo 830. Segunda Instrucción, Ley 831: *Ibid*. Declaration of Don Bernardino, March, 1578: *MSS. Spain*.

² Mendoza to Cayas, March 11: *MSS. Simancas*.

to him that she desired his presence. He announced his arrival to the Court, and requested an audience. Five days were allowed to pass before he could obtain admission; and when he was introduced at last it seemed that he might as well have remained at Brussels. The Queen received him with formal stateliness. Without waiting to hear what he had to say, she elaborately defended the revolt of the States. She admitted and justified the assistance which she had given them. She called Don John hard names. She did not like Spaniards for near neighbours, she said, and she would not have them.¹

When at length he delivered his message she grew calmer. She admitted that the King's offers, if they were made in good faith, were reasonable; and then throwing off official restraint, as she usually did when she meant to be serious, she sent away the lords and ladies, sate herself down on a stool, bidding a page fetch another for Mendoza, and repeated to Leicester and four or five other councillors who remained the substance of Philip's proposals. Since his Majesty was so good and kind, she said, the States ought not be encouraged in persisting further. Her manner became personally gracious. She told Mendoza she was delighted to see him again. People had frightened her about him, she said, pretending that he would make a revolution; but she did not believe it: and he in return assured her that it was a wicked calumny; his master had charged him to study only her pleasure; his actions should prove how sincerely he was prepared to obey.²

Thus the interview ended better than it began; but

¹ "No quería Spanoles tan cerca."

² Don Bernardino de Mendoza, March 19: *MSS. Simancas*.

the Ambassador was still far from smooth water. The Council were less ready than the Queen to believe in fair words. Don John was still pressing the States as far as his means would allow, and daily taking towns in South Brabant. Burghley and Sussex, who spoke with Mendoza afterwards, suggested a suspension of arms and spoke of the Pacification of Ghent as the sole basis of a treaty possible. The States, they said, could not trust to uncertainties. Toleration of some kind ought to be secured to them by law, otherwise they would throw themselves upon France, which England could not permit. Sussex's influence was deservedly great with the Queen in such matters. He had held aloof always from the Protestant section of the Council, and his advice if not always wise was never factious. By him and by others the incompleteness of Philip's concessions was so forced upon Elizabeth that if unconvinced she became irritated and violent, and so the Ambassador found her at his next audience. She insisted fiercely on an immediate truce. She abused Antonio de Guaras, who, she said, deserved to be hanged, and then, in a loud voice and with apparent passion, she said she would have the treaty of Ghent confirmed and observed, or an English army should try the question with Don John.

Mendoza took a high tone too; he replied that his master had a long arm; he trusted she did not mean to support rebellion. Clearing her throat and spitting,¹ she answered that the States were not rebels; they would submit to reasonable conditions. She had heard of Don John's fine schemes, she said, and the King of Spain's dealings with the Pope. She would have no French in the Netherlands, and no Spaniards either.

¹ "Tragando un poco de saliva."

"By God," she said, and three times she repeated the oath,¹ "I will have the treaty of Ghent allowed, or I will stand by the States as long as I have a man left in the realm to fight for them."²

Mendoza, unused as yet to the Queen's character, took her words as serious. He told the King that both she and her Council appeared ^{March 31.} estranged from the Spanish alliance, and that Spain had no friends in England except the Catholics. But the haughty mood of the public reception was a state dress assumed for the occasion, and the expressions about the treaty of Ghent contained a meaning other than they seemed to bear. The treaty of Ghent had secured immediate liberty of conscience, but the ultimate settlement of that question had been referred by it to the judgment of the King, and it was with this reservation, in her mind though not on her lips, that she insisted on the acceptance of it by Don John. She held to the letter of her threat. She sent a minister to the governor to demand, as she had said to Mendoza, a suspension of arms. "She would not allow these countries to be reduced to servitude by him," she said, "nor yet be possessed by the French;" if the treaty was accepted, "the Estates were willing to yield all obedience and continue in the Catholic faith;" and it was to the treaty so interpreted that she required Don John to consent.³ The London merchants exercised their powerful influence in favour of peace. At Mendoza's instigation a hint was sent from the city to the great banking houses of the Fuggers at Cologne, that they must not rely too much on the Queen's promises

¹ "Jurando tres veces."

² Descifrada de Don Bernardino, 31 de Marzo: *MSS. Simancas*.

³ Instructions to Mr. Wilks sent to Don John, April, 1578: *MSS. Flanders*.

to endorse the bonds of the States.¹ The States in consequence could raise money only at a discount of twenty-five per cent., while the Queen insisted that the first use which should be made of the new loan was to repay her with interest the £40,000 which she had originally lent them.²

Evidently she wished them to yield on the point, to her so indifferent, of liberty of worship. While she maintained the Act of Uniformity at home, it was impossible for her to demand toleration from Philip: and the continuance of the war was an ever present and complicated danger. France was hanging between two policies, undetermined whether to annex the Netherlands and seek a war with Spain, or go with Spain in the interests of religion, and call on England to return to conformity. Alençon, resenting the abruptness with which he had been dropped by Elizabeth, was ready for any plan or scheme which promised an opening to his ambition. The Queen-mother suggested a marriage for him with a Spanish princess "to check the greatness of the houses of Guise and Bourbon."³ The Duke of Guise tempted him into a confederacy with himself, to make a party in Scotland, seize Edinburgh and Dumbarton Castles, bring the young King to Paris, and demand the liberation of Mary Stuart.⁴ This, too, Eliza-

¹ Mendoza á su Mag^d, 5 de Mayo, 1578: *MSS. Simancas*.

² Burghley to Walsingham, July 29, 1578: *MSS. Holland*.

³ *Ibid*.

⁴ "Les forces estrangères, quelque grandes qu'elles soient, leur pourront peu nuire sans l'Ecosse. C'est pourquoy ilz font tous leurs effortz de la remectre s'il est possible à leur dévotion; et de mesmes si messieurs mes parens MM. d'Alençon et de Guyse espèrent quelque fruit de leur dessein dont m'avez escript et sont résoluz d'en venir à l'exécution, il leur est très nécessaire de haster en toute diligence le secours qu'ilz délibèrent d'y envoyer, afin de saisir les premiers de la personne de mon filz et des places fortes," &c. — Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow, May 9; and again September 15: "Je priay très affectueusement M. d'Alençon

beth knew. The Count de Retz, going professedly on public business to Edinburgh, was charged secretly with a message to Guise's confederates there. He passed through London, applied for a passport, and was sent for to the Queen. She received him as she had first received Mendoza. She told him she knew what he was about. He was come to disquiet England and serve the cause of a wicked woman whose head ought long ago to have been struck from her shoulders. They might do their worst, she said, but the Queen of Scots should never go free, though it cost her life and realm.¹

Brave words, yet uttered with a faltering heart. So wearied, so perplexed was Elizabeth with the complications in which she was entangled, that a few weeks later she had half concluded to let the Queen of Scots go free, and to disarm the disturbers of her peace by yielding to them. "She spared not to make the fault light, and a common fault, for which the subjects of the Queen of Scots had deprived her," and she refused to recognise the Regency as a lawful government at all.²

mon frère et M. de Guyse mon bon cousin que suyvant leur ancienne délibération ils se hastent." — Labanoff, Vol. V.

¹ "Esta Reyna dió audiencia á Gondi á quien no recibió con tantas ceremonias como se acostumbra á los embajadores. Dixóle con voz alta en la sala de audiencia que bien sabia que venia á inquietarle su reyno y hacer officios por la mas mala muger del mundo, y que merecia tener cortada la cabeça muchos años ha: á que le replicó el Gondi que la de Escocia era Reyna como ella y parienta suya y que estaba presa, á cuya causa no se espantase que tratasen de sus negocios. Respondióle con colera que en toda su vida no se vería libre aunque á ella le costase la suya y la perdida de su reyno." — Mendoza á su Mag^d, 5 de Mayo, 1578.

² "Speaking with Mr. Vice-Chamberlain (Sir T. Heneage), I asked him how her Majesty was disposed to deal with the ambassadors of Scotland. He said it was against her heart to entertain them as ambassadors, and she spared not to make the fault light, and a common fault, for which they had deprived her. I replied that if her Majesty made a scruple in that case it

Alençon's inclination ultimately settled on the Low Countries. The Prince of Orange, resolute not to submit to Spain on Elizabeth's terms, was as little disposed to sit still for fear of offending her. Alençon, hoping either to turn the Netherlands into a kingdom for himself, or if his brother died without children, to take them with him and annex them to France, offered to assist at his own charge for two months, with twelve thousand men. Orange saw no reason for rejecting so seemingly generous a proposal. Secretary Davison was sent from England to entreat and to threaten. The Prince told him shortly that "the necessities of the time" left him no choice, "seeing her Majesty's delay, and the resolution of the King of Spain to destroy them." He was sorry to displease the Queen, but it could not be helped. The Walloon Provinces would revolt if Monsieur's offer was refused.¹

Davison could not blame him; and when blamed himself for the failure of his diplomacy, he spoke out the truth with unflinching plainness. "The Prince," he said, "found great fault with her Majesty's uncertainties, promising, and drawing back." It was "unwise," "impolitic," "unjust to the States," "and the way to overthrow religion." "If the Queen meant only practice, she ought to have warned them, and to have let them try other means for their safety."²

Alençon was indisputably going, let the consequences be what they might. It was a volunteer enterprise in

were good to hold another course and persuade her to send home the Scotch Queen and set the crown on her head, and so assure herself of her friendship, and not in this sort lose the one and not embrace the other. He said he had told her so much in effect, but what she would do he could not tell."

— Edmund Tremayne to Walsingham, July 29, 1578: *MSS. Holland*.

¹ Davison to Walsingham, May 18: *MS. Ibid.*

² Same to the same, May 11: *MS. Ibid.*

which the French Crown was not formally compromised; but when the Spanish Ambassador at Paris remonstrated with the King, he refused to interfere. The Ambassador said that he was bound to control his subjects. The King replied that he did not wish to quarrel with Spain, but he would prefer war with Spain to war with his brother. "Whatever is pretended," wrote Sir Amyas Paulet,¹ "the King is not sorry for this enterprise, for any way he thinks he will be the winner. If Monsieur meet his master, the King is delivered of so many suspected subjects; if he speed well, the King and all his realm shall have their parts in it."² Sir Edward Stafford, who was sent to remonstrate with the Queen-mother, was as unsuccessful as Davison. He could not learn what was intended; but he concluded only "that the purpose was deep and intricate," "part of a mighty and monstrous design for the extirpation of religion."³

The ablest of Elizabeth's ministers were now at a loss what to advise. Had an army gone over in earnest when its coming was first announced, Don John might have yielded to necessity. But the Queen had broken her word. It is likely that she thought the threat would be sufficient, and never meant to keep it; and the effect of her uncertainty had been only confusion and indignation. Walsingham so deeply distrusted Alençon, that he expected to see him take part openly with Don John. If French troops were admitted into Antwerp, he feared a second St. Bartholomew.⁴ That the Duke could be really disinterested, was incredible; and annexation to France, if that were the object,

¹ English Ambassador in Paris.

² Paulet to Walsingham, May 23: *MSS. France*.

³ Stafford to Elizabeth, May 26: *MS. Ibid.*

⁴ Walsingham to Davison, May 11: *MSS. Holland*.

was scarcely less disastrous than Spanish conquest. "Surely," he wrote, "it is hard to judge whether be the greater peril: the second brings a present mischief, the first a future, that is rather to reach to our posterity than to us."¹

The Council were divided, and Mendoza used the moment to weight the balance with gold. His friends among the courtiers hinted to him that among the Queen's advisers were men whose virtue was not too austere. The Controller of the Household, Sir James Crofts, ever a pernicious influence in Elizabeth's Cabinet, rose greedily at the bait. Sussex looked at it wistfully. Lord Burghley's general moderation tempted overtures to which he listened with amused curiosity, and excited hopes which it need not be said that he disappointed.² Ultimately Crofts and Crofts alone became a pensioner of Philip, not meaning to betray his country, but conscientiously believing in the desirableness of the Spanish alliance, and being unable as he said through his mistress's parsimony to remain longer at the Court without assistance. By other methods, not less effective, by quick perception and insight into character, the Ambassador made his way with Elizabeth. He never ceased to urge on her the good will of Philip to the general repose of Europe, and his special regard for herself. Philip and only Philip, he said, had prevented enthusiastic Spaniards from passing into Ireland. Philip so loved his children in the Netherlands, that he was ready and eager to pardon their rebellion, if they would but let the outward religion be ordered by the law. Elizabeth lis-

¹ Walsingham to Davison, May 11: *MSS, Holland.*

² Descifrado de Don Bernardino, 21 de Maio y 9 de Setiembre: *MSS Simancas.*

tened with pleased ears to words reflecting so accurately her own sentiments. In the growth of Protestantism in the Low Countries, she could see only an increasing obstacle to peace.¹ She defended her own religious government on the ground that she held the Catholic creed herself, and that her differences with her Catholic subjects were merely political.² She pleaded mildly for some relaxation in favour of Holland and Zealand; but when Mendoza answered that it did not rest with princes to suspend the law of God, she allowed the rejoinder to pass.³ Davison being too feeble a negotiator, she dispatched Sir Francis Walsingham himself, with Lord Cobham, to compel or persuade Orange to suspend his negotiations with Monsieur, and she persuaded herself once more that she could bring Don John to consent to an arrangement.⁴ They were sent to accomplish what in itself they knew to be impossible. The administration of Alva and the massacre at Antwerp had dug a river of blood between Spain and the Protestants of the Batavian Provinces, and Elizabeth's admitted object "was to bring about a peace, leaving them under the Spanish King still."⁵ It could not be; yet Elizabeth was determined that it should be. To strengthen her diplomacy, she used a strange weapon, forged in Mendoza's armoury. It was not without reason that the city merchants had warned

¹ "That which her Majesty seems most to mislike of which is the progress of religion being well considered is the thing which shall breed their greatest strength." — Walsingham to Burghley, September 20: *MSS. Holland.*

² Me replicó que no castigaba á los Catholicos sino por no confesarle por Reyna. Que en lo demas creya como ellos."

³ "A que respondi que nó estaba en manos de los Principes el alargar ó estrechar la religion, habiendolo dado Dios y ley en que se habia de vivir." Mendoza al Rey, 17 de Junio: *MSS. Simancas*

⁴ Commission to Cobham and Walsingham, June 12: *MSS. Holland*

⁵ Walsingham to Davison, May 22: *MS. Ibid.*

the Fuggers to be cautious. To prevent the States from raising more money, she repudiated the promises on the faith of which they had obtained their loan. The bonds had passed the great seal; but she refused to issue them; and as the sole fruit of their application to her for assistance, they found themselves required, with their ruined exchequer, to redeem obligations at par, which they had realised only with twenty-five per cent. deducted — to repay sixty thousand pounds which she had lent them — and to find wages for Casimir's ten thousand Reiters, which had been thrown upon them in exchange for the promised English army.

Accustomed as they were to her strange strokes of diplomatic art, Elizabeth's own ministers were unprepared for such a performance as this. Walsingham, ever free and frank, reported from Antwerp the language used upon the Bourse there. "It is said openly," he wrote to Burghley, "that if bonds which have passed under the great seal are not observed, no assurance whatever can be placed in her Majesty's promises. For her honour, and the honour of the realm, it had been better there had been given double value of them than this delay. We cannot excuse it. If she mean to desert the States hereafter, which will be a very dishonourable and dangerous course, she ought to say so, and inhibit her agents from dealing with them hereafter."¹

Burghley was equally explicit with the Queen. He told her that it was monstrous at such a time, and with the enemy in the field against them, to press the States to pay to her so large a part of what they had so hardly received. They would at once revolt to France, which would be worse to her than the loss of a hundred

¹ Walsingham to Burghley, July 18: *MSS. Holland.*

thousand pounds.¹ Leicester said that her honour was touched, the surety of the whole cause endangered, and Walsingham's mission condemned to certain failure. All was to no purpose. The Queen ridiculed their preciseness, and refused to hear their remonstrance. She said privately to young Edmund Tremayne, that "the States ought already to have yielded to Don John." Their attitude "was altogether unbecoming from subjects to their sovereign." Walsingham should have told them that if they persisted in such "absurd" conduct, "she would leave them in all their enterprises." They would then have been frightened into their senses, "and would have been driven by way of caution to submit."²

Even this was not all, and there was yet one more strange shift behind. "The subtle malice of the time obliged her to fence too much rather than too little."³ She wished the States to be weak; yet a power of some kind was needed in the field, to keep Don John in check; and therefore, while she had sent Walsingham expressly to prevent the admission of the French, she contrived privately to communicate to Alençon, "that she would in a sort consent to his enterprise and concur in it," if he would act with herself and under her direction. She consulted no one. She did not even share her thoughts with Burghley: but with the intricate practice in which she so delighted, she invited the Duke to advance at the very time when she was forbidding Orange to treat with him.⁴ It was like dancing on a tight rope. Her movements may have

¹ Burghley to Cobham and Walsingham, July 29: *MSS. Holland.*

² Edmund Tremayne to Walsingham, July 20: *MS. Ibid.*

³ Paulet to Walsingham, June 16: *MSS. France.*

⁴ "Monsieur saith that he hath warrant from her Majesty, though to me unknown, to come thus hastily into the Low Countries as a thing that her

Mary Stuart's sun was now at the point of setting. The people well knew her nature, and among the passions which were distracting them, the fear which is the mother of cruelty was not the least powerful. In their eyes the gentle sufferer of modern sentimentalism was a trapped wild cat, who if the cage was opened would fix claw and fang into their throats. On the 21st of July, at a meeting of the Council, the milder propositions of Maitland and Morton were definitively set aside. It was resolved to proceed immediately with the coronation of the Prince. If the Queen consented, — as when she first knew the extent of her danger she had promised to do, — her life would be spared, and her letters and the other evidences of her “infamy” would be withheld from public knowledge. If she refused, the truth in all its deformity would be laid before the world. In some form or other she would be brought to trial and as certainly condemned. Under no circumstances should she leave the realm; and “having gone so far,” “they would not think to find any safety so long as she was alive.” Mary Stuart herself looked for nothing but extremity. From a loop-hole in the round tower which was her prison in an angle of Lochleven Castle, she called to a child who was allowed to wander on the island, and bade him “tell her friends to pray to God for her soul — her body was now worth but little.”¹

John Knox, who, in theological language, expressed

¹ The Spanish Ambassador heard this from Elizabeth: — “La Reyna me había dicho que despues que la habían puesto en la torre con tanta estrechez y poca compañía, que había visto por una ventanilla un muchacho que por ser de poca edad las guardas no tenían cuenta, y solia darle algunos avisos, y le había dicho que dixese á sus amigos que rogasen á Dios por el alma. que el cuerpo valia poco.” — De Silva al Rey, Julio 26: *MS Simancas*.

the conclusions of keen, cool, political sagacity, "did continue his severe exhortations against her, threatening the great plagues of God to the whole country and nation if she was spared from condign punishment."¹

Elizabeth's behaviour at this crisis was more creditable to her heart than to her understanding. She had only to remain neutral, and she would be delivered for ever from the rival who had troubled her peace from the hour of her accession, and while she lived would never cease to trouble her. There was no occasion for her to commit herself by upholding insurrection. The Scots were no subjects of hers, and she was not answerable for their conduct. The crime of Mary Stuart's execution — if crime it would be — would be theirs not hers; and if she did not interfere to prevent or revenge it, the ultimate effect would inevitably be to draw the bands closer between Scotland and England. Yet she forgot her interest; and her affection and her artifices vanished in resentment and pity. Her indignation as a sovereign was even less than her sorrow for a suffering sister. She did not hide from herself the Queen of Scots' faults — but she did not believe in the extent of them; they seemed as nothing beside the magnitude of her calamities, and she was prepared to encounter the worst political consequences rather than stand by and see her sacrificed.

"You may assure those Lords," she wrote in answer to Throgmorton's last letters, "that we do detest and abhor the murder committed upon our cousin the King; but the head cannot be subject to the foot, and we cannot recognise in them any right to call their

¹ Throgmorton to Elizabeth, July 21: *MSS. Scotland*.

Sovereign to account. You shall plainly tell them that if they determine anything to the deprivation of the Queen their Sovereign, we are well assured of our own determination that we will make ourselves a plain party against them to the revenge of their Sovereign for all posterity. As to the French alliance, it will grieve them in the end as much as it will injure England; and yet were it otherwise, we cannot, nor will for our particular profit at this time, be induced to consent to that which we cannot in conscience like or allow, but shall remit the consequences thereof to the good-will and favour of Almighty God, at whose hands we have found no lack in the doing or omitting anything whereunto our conscience has induced us."¹ So she wrote to Scotland; and the Spanish Ambassador, who was suspicious enough generally of her motives, was satisfied that she meant what she said. If the Lords persevered, she told him, she would call on France to join with her in punishing them; if France refused, and gave them countenance, she would invite Philip to hold France in check, while she herself sent an English army to Scotland to set the Queen at liberty and replace her on her throne.² Yet she felt that her menaces might miss their effect, nay, perhaps, might produce, if she attempted to act upon them, the very thing which she most dreaded. She might revenge Mary Stuart's death, but she would not prevent the Lords from killing her if she provoked them to extremities. And again, when it came to the point, the sending troops to Scotland on such an errand, against the opinion of half her Council, might involve an English revolution. Violently as she was affected, she

¹ Elizabeth to Throgmorton, July 27: *MSS. Scotland.*

² Elizabeth to De Silva, July 29: *MS. Simancas.*

could not hide the truth from herself, and, therefore, for the immediate purpose — saving Mary Stuart's life — she looked with much anxiety to the return of the Earl of Murray from France. On Murray's regard for his sister, and on Murray's power to protect her, she believed that she could rely. On his passage through London in April, whatever might have been his secret thoughts, he had breathed no word of blame against her. He had mentioned to De Silva the reports which were current in Scotland, but he had expressly said that he did not believe them. To Elizabeth "he never spoke one dishonourable word of her;" and in Elizabeth's opinion he "was so far from the consent of any confederacy against her, that she was certainly persuaded her sister had not so honourable and true a servant in Scotland."¹ De Silva expected him by name to Philip as the one Scottish nobleman whose behaviour in all the transactions which had followed the murder had been irreproachable.²

He had found no little difficulty in escaping from France. Catherine, who eight years before had tried to gain him, now renewed her overtures with increased earnestness, as more and more she knew that he was

¹ Heneage to Cecil, July 8: *MSS. Scotland*. So Leicester, writing to Throgmorton, says, "I have thought good to require you, if ye possibly may, to let that Queen understand, as I bear faith to God and my Prince, I never heard directly or indirectly any unreverend word from my Lord of Murray's mouth towards the Queen his Sovereign — but as dutifully and honourably as the best affected subject in the world ought and should speak of their Prince — which my testimony I would not give to abuse any one; neither is there any cause specially at this time that I should do so. But as I have always thought, so do I now verily believe, my Lord of Murray will show himself a most faithful servant and subject to her Majesty to adventure his life for her." — Leicester to Throgmorton, July 8: *Conceal MSS.*

² De Silva to Philip, July: *MS. Simancas*.

the only man whose integrity could be relied on, and who, as she hoped, had been divorced from his English sympathies by Elizabeth's ill usage of him. She offered him rank, pension, power, the Scotch Regency, even the Scotch Crown she would have offered him, if he would lend himself to French interests. He had answered simply that he could agree to nothing prejudicial to his sister and to his nephew. If the French Court would assist in saving the Queen he would be grateful for their help,¹ but he declined accepting power for himself. His personal injuries had not blinded him to the advantages of the English alliance to Scotland, and he met Catherine's advances so coldly that she invented pretences to detain him in Paris. She complained that "he had a right English heart."² She found him entirely unwilling to lend himself to the evil game which she was playing.

At last "by his discreet and wise answers he rid himself out of her hands,"³ and made his way to the sea. Still afraid of what might befall him, he durst not venture to cross in a French vessel, but had sent beforehand to Rye for an English fishing-boat.⁴ Once

¹ Alava to Philip, July 13: Teulet, Vol. V.

² Sir H. Norris to Cecil, July 23: *MSS. France*.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ "The Earl of Murray finding himself in some discontentment by his long delay of the French King, as also in hazard of detaining by force, beside peril of his person by such as have grudged much his affection towards England, required my lord my master (Sir H. Norris) to assist him by some policy to escape secretly out of France; whereupon I was dispatched towards Dieppe to stay some English bark under some colour -- for my Lord of Murray will pass in no Frenchman -- and if I find not an Englishman, then to haste over to Rye to provide him with all diligence: where I am arrived this afternoon; and mean as soon as wind and tide serve, God willing, to repair towards Dieppe again, where a messenger attends my arrival to give knowledge to my Lord of Murray at the Court, whereby he may under assurance of this vessel determine and adventure his purpose."

— Thomas Jenyr to Cecil, July 13: *MSS. France*.

in England, his one object was to reach his own country with the least possible delay. He had formed no settled plan. He knew at last the full magnitude of his sister's guilt, for though he had not seen her letters to Bothwell, he had received an accurate description of the worst of them; yet he was determined to do his best for her, and, at the same time, to prevent his friends from breaking with England. It was necessary for him to pass again through London. Elizabeth sent for him, and spoke to him in a style which, had he been capable of resentment, might have tempted him to reconsider his intentions. He was obliged to tell her that his country had claims upon him, prior either to his sister's or her own.¹

He had again a long conversation with De Silva, and spoke more openly to him than he had cared to do to the Queen. De Silva expressed a hope that something might be done with his sister short of dethronement—something like that which had been proposed by Maitland, and accompanied with proper securities against further mischief from her. Murray required no pressing. Could Bothwell be caught and hanged, he thought such an arrangement not entirely out of the question, and both he and his friends would not, if they could help it, offend Elizabeth. De Silva, who understood thoroughly the entire truth, scarcely offered to advise under circumstances so extraordinary. Murray, however, he thought might do what no one else could do. The Lords would trust him as their friend, and the Queen as her brother. Murray answered that as De Silva had spoken so reasonably, he would

¹ "Notwithstanding so many practices, the Earl of Murray will continue a good Scotsman. The hard speeches used by her Majesty to him hath somewhat drawn him from the affection he was of to this realm."—Bedford to Cecil, August 10; *Border MSS.*

be entirely frank with him. The difficulty of an arrangement had been infinitely increased by the discovery of the Queen's letters to Bothwell. They had revealed (and he related the substance of one of them) the most profound and horrible treachery. She had brought dishonour upon his father's house, and had made her restoration all but impossible. Her life, however, he had good hopes that he could save.¹

He impressed De Silva with the very highest opinion of his character, and he impressed no less favourably such of Elizabeth's Ministers as spoke with him. Sir Walter Mildmay, with whom he spent a night on his way down to Scotland, found him "very wise and still very well affected to the maintenance of friendship between the two realms;" "content to forget his own particular griefs," and shrinking only from the responsibilities which were waiting for him.²

Bedford, whom he saw at Berwick, found him "neither over pitiful nor over cruel;" inclined, at all events, to prevent the Queen from being put to death, but refusing to commit himself further — much, in fact, in Bedford's own humour, and such as he wholly approved.³

¹ De Silva to Philip, August 2: *MS. Simancas*.

² Sir Walter Mildmay to Cecil, August 4: *Domestic MSS. Rolls House*.

³ Bedford had formed a strong opinion as to the impolicy of Elizabeth's attitude. She had herself written to explain her views to him. "Although," she said, "apparent arguments may be made that the neglecting of that Queen's estate in this her captivity, by supporting of the others, might tend greatly to our particular profit and surety — yet finding the same not agreeable to our princely honour, nor the satisfaction of our conscience, we cannot agree to certain demands made to us for the contrary, whereof we have thought good to let you understand our meaning." — Elizabeth to the Earl of Bedford, July 20.

Bedford, commenting to Cecil on this letter, says: "Those that serve must be directed always, though oftentimes it be to their great grief to put

Meantime events in Scotland had been moving with accelerating speed. Each post which came in from England brought fiercer threats from Elizabeth, which all the warnings of her Council could not prevent her from sending. It might have been almost supposed that with refined ingenuity she was choosing the means most likely to bring about the catastrophe which she most affected to dread.¹

The letters from Edinburgh were all to the same purpose, that the louder Elizabeth menaced the more obstinate became the Lords. They would tolerate no interference between themselves and the imprisoned Queen. It was a Scottish question, which Scots and Scots alone should deal with. They would send the little James to be educated in England — but on one condition only.

“Let your Queen,” said Maitland to the English Ambassador, “exalt our Prince to the succession of the

in execution all that they be commanded. I am sorry to see that her Majesty is no better affected to the Lords in Scotland. How much it shall stand us in stead to embrace their gentle offers and good wills, will one day appear.” — Bedford to Cecil, July 25 and August 1: *Border MSS.*

Sir Walter Mildmay, writing also to Cecil on the same subject, says: “The matters in Scotland are come to a far other conclusion than as I perceived by your first was looked for here; but surely to none other than was like to follow, the case itself and the proceedings considered. A marvellous tragedy, if a man repeat it from the beginning, showing the issue of such as live not in the fear of God.” — Mildmay to Cecil, August 4: *Domestic MSS.*

To Mildmay also it seemed false wisdom to attempt to arrest or change the natural retribution for crime.

¹ “Her Majesty remains in her first opinion; we have shown her that if the Lords are left out of hope of her Majesty, it will not only be a means of the greatest extremity to that Queen, but also a perpetual loss of those which neither she, nor hers, are like to recover again. It is showed her further, that the thing which she would fainest should not come to pass of all other things is by this her manner of dealing most likely to be brought to pass the sooner against her. She answers still she will not comfort subjects against their Prince.” — Leicester to Throgmorton, July 22: *Comway MSS.*

crown of England, for fault of issue of her Majesty's body. That taking place, he shall be as dear to the people of England as to the peop'e of Scotland, and the one will be as careful for his preservation as the other. Otherwise it will be reported that the Scottishmen have put their Prince to be kept in safety as those who commit the sheep to be kept by the wolves." ¹

On the 24th of July a full meeting of the Council was held in the Tolbooth. Throgmorton, July 24. compelled to obey the instructions which he received from home, demanded audience, and in his mistress's name required them formally to release their Queen. Without condescending to notice his request, they also communicated formally the decision at which they had themselves arrived.

"In consideration of the Queen's misbehaviour," her public misgovernment, and her private and personal enormities, "they could not permit her any longer to put the realm in peril by her disorders." If she would resign the crown, "they would endeavour to preserve both her life and honour, both which otherwise stood in great danger." If she refused, the Prince would be crowned, and she herself, in compliance with the demand of the General Assembly, would be placed on her trial for her husband's murder, and for other crimes.² She would be indicted on three several counts:—"The breach of the laws of the realm," the statute of religion of 1560, which had

¹ Throgmorton to Leicester, July 26: *MSS. Scotland*.

² "The General Assembly hath made request that the murder of the late King may be severely punished, according to the Law of God, according to the practice of their own realm, and according to the law which they call *Jus Gentium*, without respect of any person."—Throgmorton to Elizabeth, July 25: *Commons MSS*

been passed in her absence and which she had never yet ratified, but which, nevertheless, they assumed to be binding upon her; "incontinency with Bothwell as with others, having sufficient evidence against her" in each particular case; and thirdly, the murder, in which "they said they had as apparent proof against her as might be, as well by the testimony of her own handwriting which they had recovered, as also by sufficient witnesses."

"Jus gentium" as well as precedent, there might perhaps be for the essentials of this proceeding. The doctrine of the responsibility of princes to their subjects had been preached thirty years before by Reginald Pole, when the Catholics were at issue with Henry VIII.; but kings and queens, when they had committed crimes, had been brought to justice so far by the wild method of assassination, and the establishment of a formal court in which a prince regnant could be indicted, was a new feature in European history. The messenger chosen to carry to Lochleven the intimation of the Council's intentions was the rugged Lindsay, the man of few words, who would have fought Bothwell at Carberry, and whom Mary Stuart had sworn to hang. Ruthven went with him, son of the hard earl who had been the first to seize Ritzio in her cabinet, and Robert Melville the diplomatist. These three represented the three parties into which the Lords were divided. Lindsay was the mouth-piece of the fiery zealots of the Assembly; Ruthven belonged to the more moderate faction of Morton and Mar; while Melville, as the secret agent of Maitland and Throgmorton, carried a note from the latter concealed in the scabbard of his sword, advising Mary to comply with any demand which should be presented to her,

and assuring her that no act which she might do under such compulsion could prejudice her rights.

Short time was allowed her for reflection. The same morning on which the Council communicated their purpose to the English Minister, Lindsay repaired to Lochleven. Persuasion was to be tried first, and Melville was admitted alone to the Queen's presence. He found her still unbroken — at times desponding, at times "speaking as stout words as ever she did."¹ Having an unexpected opportunity of speaking privately to her, he gave her Throgmorton's message, and added another directly from Elizabeth, with which he had been charged also, if he was able to give it; that "at all times she might count upon a sure friend in the Queen of England."

These fatal words — the prime cause of Elizabeth's long troubles in after years — "were no small comfort to her in her grief."² She said she would rather be in England under Elizabeth's protection, "than obliged to any prince in Christendom." Her proud blood boiled at the indignities which were thrust upon her, and in her first passion she fought fiercely against all that Melville could urge. But his arguments, coupled with the dreadful recollection of the Sunday night which followed her capture at Carberry, told at last upon her. The Council had sent three instruments for her signature: one her own abdication; another naming the Earl of Murray Regent, or, if Murray should refuse the offer, vesting the government in a Council; a third empowering Lindsay and the Earl of Mar and Morton to proceed to the coronation of her son. It has been said that when they were

¹ Bedford to Cecil, August 10: *Border MSS.*

² Sir R. Melville to Elizabeth, July 29: *MSS. Scotland*

laid before her and she hesitated to sign them, Lindsay clutched her arm and left the print of his gauntleted hand upon the flesh; that having immediate death before her if she refused, she wrote her name at last with a scornful allusion to his brutality, and a contemptuous intimation of the worthlessness of concessions so extorted. The story rests on faint authority. If the Queen of Scots had hinted that she would not consider herself bound by the act to which she was setting her hand, her life would unquestionably have been forfeited; and however violent the intentions of Lindsay's party, it appears certain that she was not informed that her life was in immediate danger."¹

However it was — whether in fear, or, as is far more likely, relying secretly on the assurance that an abdication obtained from her in her present condition would have no legal validity — she signed the papers, and Lindsay returned the same night with them to Edinburgh. Yet her peril was scarcely diminished. The instrument for the coronation of the Prince, it was understood, would be immediately acted on. Conscious of the effect which such an act would produce on Elizabeth, Throgmorton interceded with Maitland at least for a few days' delay. Maitland said that for himself he wished what the Queen of England wished; but "he was in place to know more than Throgmorton knew," and if Throgmorton meddled or

¹ The following mutilated fragment of a note addressed to her by Throgmorton remains in the Rolls House. It is dated the 23th of July, four days after her abdication: —

"Madam, I have received your memoir. I cannot obtain lords to have access to your Majesty: and nevertheless . . . assure yourself the Queen my Sovereign hath great . . . your good, and relieve you of your calamity and peril, which I find greater than my Sovereign doth suspect. It behoveth somewhat to eschew the personal danger towards you, which is *much greater than your Majesty doth understand.*"

used "threatening speech," it would be the Queen's death-warrant, and he could only intreat him, if he valued her preservation, to be silent. On the afternoon of the 25th he was conducted again to the Tolbooth.

There stood or sate before him that stern body of
July 25. fierce men — some who, in the fervour of godliness, had made the Scottish Reformation — some, the most of them, who had played with it for mere worldly purposes, but had all united on the purpose which they had then in hand. There they were, earls, barons, lords, and gentlemen, in armour every one, with their long boots and long steel spurs, ready to mount and ride. He was told briefly that the Queen had resigned, that they were going forthwith to Stirling to crown the Prince, and he was invited to accompany them.

Notwithstanding Maitland's caution, he dared not be silent. Solemnly, in the name of his mistress, he protested against an act which would bring down upon them the indignation of Europe. In his own person he pleaded with such of them as he privately knew or could hope to influence. At least he urged them to wait for the return of Murray; and as to the coronation, he declared, that he neither might nor would "be present at any such doings."

They were prepared for his remonstrances, and prepared to defy them. The Lords, who sate in front, said briefly, that they must do their duty; the realm could not be left without a prince, and the government would be administered for the future "by the wisest of the nobility." A loud cry rose from the crowd of gentlemen who stood behind, that "the realm could

not be governed worse than it had been ; the Queen was advised by the worst Council or no Council."

The Lords rose : " My Lord," they said, " we will trouble you no further ; the day passeth away, and we have far to ride." Their horses were before the gate ; they mounted, and the iron cavalcade streamed away across the Grassmarket. Three days later, so far as subjects could make or unmake their sovereign, the reign of James VI. had commenced.

Throgmorton could only write to request his recall. He dreaded now that Elizabeth would reply to so daring a contempt of her commands by some open act of hostility ; and that, whatever else might come of it, Mary Stuart's doom would then be sealed. " As the case stands with this miserable Queen," he wrote the morning after the Lords' departure, " it shall be to little purpose to me to have access to her, or to treat with her according to my instructions. It is to be feared that this tragedy will end in the Queen's person after this coronation, as it did begin in the person of David the Italian and the Queen's husband." ¹

Yet Throgmorton's efforts had not been wholly thrown away : Mary Stuart's throne was lost irrecoverably, and her life was hanging by a thread ; but both her life and the exposure and infamy which would accompany her public trial might yet be prevented, if Elizabeth could only be kept quiet. To this Mary Stuart's best friends in Scotland, and Elizabeth's wisest Ministers at home, had now to address themselves.

Sir Robert Melville wrote directly to the Queen of England : — " What may yet fall out to the worst," he said, " I am in great doubt. Your Majesty may

¹ Throgmorton to Cecil, July 26: *MSS. Scotland.*

be remembered that at my last being with your Highness I feared this extremity, and could give no better advice for my Sovereign's weal than by gentle dealing with these Lords, in whose hands lies both to save and to spill. The greater number be so bent on rigour against my mistress, that extremes had been used if your Highness's Ambassador had not been present, who did so utter both his wisdom and affection to her Majesty, that he only did put aside the present inconvenience, and did so procure the matter as both life and honour have been preserved."¹

Preserved they were for the moment; but with the first move of an English soldier towards Scotland — with the first symptoms of an active intention to restore Mary Stuart to her throne by force — it was equally certain that they would not be preserved. The Lords would not expose themselves to the risk of any such contingency. Throgmorton, not daring to address his mistress herself, applied himself to Leicester. "He could but deplore," he said, "the dangerous discommodious opinion" in which her Majesty had fixed herself; an opinion which would be at once politically ruinous to England, and fatal to Mary Stuart herself. "Whether it was fear, fury, or zeal which had carried the Lords so far," he could not tell; but this he "could boldly affirm," "that nothing would so soon hasten her death as the doubt that the Lords might conceive of her redemption to liberty and authority by the Queen's Majesty's aid."²

In England, though with extreme difficulty and with but limited means, the Council were labouring to the same purpose. Elizabeth for a time seems to have

¹ Sir R. Melville to Elizabeth, July 29: *MSS. Scotland.*

² Throgmorton to Leicester, July 31: *MS. Ibid.*

been utterly ungovernable. Her imagination had painted a scheme in which she was to appear as a beneficent fairy coming out of the clouds to rescue an erring but unhappy sister, and restore her to her estate, with a wholesome lecture on her past misconduct. It was an attitude pleasing to her fancy and gratifying to her pride, and all was shattered to the ground. Throgmorton no longer even wished to see Mary Stuart. To read to her Elizabeth's admonition "appeared too hard, considering her calamity and temptation:"¹ and the proud Queen, who could never realise that the Scots were not her own subjects; writhed under her defeat.

Cecil, who understood his mistress best, ventured only quiet remonstrances "when opportunity offered itself," and modified the violence which he could not wholly check. Those who were at a distance from the Court were more outspoken. Sir Walter Mildmay "could not conceive what moved the Queen to strive against the stream, and trouble herself with unnecessary quarrels." The Earl of Bedford, from Berwick, remonstrated on grounds of public morality, and insisted on the practical mischief which was already resulting from it. Bothwell was still at large. The want of settled government in Scotland had let loose the Border thieves, who were his sworn friends and allies; on the 15th of July, "by procurement of the Earl of Bothwell, a thousand horse had crossed the marches and pillaged Northumberland;" yet because the Border thieves called themselves the Queen of Scots' friends; Elizabeth had distinctly forbidden the English marchers to retaliate. "The marchers," she had told Bedford, "could not be allowed to redress

¹ Throgmorton to Leicester, July 31: *MSS. Scotland.*

their own injuries ;”¹ nor would she permit the regular forces at Berwick to redress them either, lest by the just execution of the Border laws, she should lend even this remote semblance of countenance to the Lords. The wardens all along the line from Carlisle to Berwick had written for instructions in anger and perplexity.² Never in all recent experience had the Border been in such confusion ; yet Elizabeth’s displeasure had been reserved for Bedford, whom she accused of having taken part against the Queen of Scots. The old Earl proudly acknowledged the truth of the charge. “Wishing the Lords well,” he

August.

said, “I cannot but say that I have favoured them and their actions, because I see that it is good and honourable, and their Queen’s doings abominable and to be detested.”³

It would have been well if Elizabeth had rested here ; but after her conversation with Murray, and not liking the language in which he replied to her menaces, she ventured upon a step, which, if it had been likely to succeed — as in the end, and when circumstances changed, it succeeded but too fatally — might have created, and was intended to create, a civil war in Scotland. She had directed Throgmorton when she sent him on his commission, if he failed with the Confederate Lords, to address himself to the Hamiltons. She had been warned of the game which the Hamiltons were playing, but she believed that she could tempt them through their ambition to declare themselves for the Queen ; and while Throgmorton was busy with the Lords, she attempted through some

¹ Elizabeth to Bedford, July 20: *Border MSS.*

² Scrope and Sir John Foster to Cecil, July, 1567; Bedford to Cecil, July 13; July 15; July 19: *MSS. Border.*

³ Bedford to Throgmorton, August 4: *Conway MSS.*

other agent to work upon their adversaries. Her advances were not successful.

"I understand by a very sure friend," Bedford wrote to Cecil, "that her Majesty does work with the Hamiltons against the Lords, and that somewhat has been offered to them in that behalf. Her Majesty has spent much money to rid the French out of this country, and this is the next way to bring them in again, and breed her Majesty great disquietness in the end — what else I dare not say. Her Majesty is a wise princess, and you and the rest be wise councillors. As soon as the Hamiltons understood thereof they sent to the Lords and offered the sooner to agree; so that thus little was saved, for this was the way to have one Scotsman cut another's throat."¹

The effect indicated by Bedford was brought more plainly before Throgmorton, who himself also knowing what Elizabeth expected of him, "had put out feelers in the same direction."² The Hamiltons, as Bedford truly said, immediately betrayed to the Lords the advances which had been made to them. So wild Elizabeth's movements seemed to both parties, that each assumed she must be influenced by some sinister motive. The Hamiltons imagined that she wished to weaken Scotland by a civil war; Maitland, who more respected her ability than her principles, suspected her of an insidious desire to provoke them to make thus an end of the Queen."³

¹ Bedford to Cecil, July —, 1567: *Border MSS.*

² On the 6th of August Leicester wrote to him to say that "her Majesty did will that he should make all search and enquiry to know what party might be made for the Queen, whether the house of Hamilton did stand for her or no, and that as much encouragement as was possible might be given to them for their better maintenance therein." — *Comewy MSS.*

³ Throgmorton, after the coronation, in obedience to orders from home, had given a severe message to Maitland. "Yea," saith he, "it is you that

Both concurred in believing that she meant ill to them and to Scotland, and, in consequence, instant and sinister overtures came in from all the noblemen who had hitherto held aloof from the Confederates. The true objects of the Hamiltons, long suspected, now began to show themselves. They cared nothing for the Queen; they cared much for the greatness of their house, and something they cared for Scotland. They had no humour to fill the country with blood to please their "auld enemies;" and if the Confederate Lords would resolve finally to abandon the detested alliance with England, return to their old traditions, accept France for their patron, and admit the Hamilton succession, the prisoner at Lochleven might cease to be a difficulty. Her life, in fact, was the only obstacle to an immediate union of parties. Were she once dead no question could be raised about her. So long as she lived there was the fear that she might one day be restored by Elizabeth; and if the Hamiltons came over to the Lords while this danger continued, "they would lose her thanks for their former well doings, incur as much danger as those who had been first and deepest in the action against her, and suffer most, having most to lose." "Let the Lords proceed," they said; "let them provide for themselves and such as would join with them, that they should come to no dangerous reckoning — (meaning thereby the dispatch of the Queen, for they said they could not honour two

seek to bring her death to pass, what shew soever the Queen your mistress and you do make to save her life and set her at liberty. The Hamiltons and you concur together — you have nothing in your mouths but liberty, and nothing less in your hearts. I have heard what you have said to me. I assure you if you should use this speech unto them which you do unto me, all the world could not save the Queen's life three days to an end — and as the case standeth, it will be much ado to save her life." — Throgmorton to Elizabeth, August 9: *MSS. Scotland.*

suns) — and it should not be long ere they would accord and run all one course.” These were the words which on the 9th of August were reported to Throgmorton by Murray of Tullibardine, as a communication which had been just received from the counter-confederacy at Hamilton Castle. Throgmorton had heard something of it before. The Archbishop was said to have promoted the Bothwell marriage merely to ruin the Queen; yet selfishness and baseness so profound seemed scarcely credible when laid out in black and white.

“Surely,” Throgmorton said, “the Hamiltons could make more by the Queen’s life than by her death. They might make a better bargain by marrying her to the Lord of Arbroath.”

The alternative had been considered, Tullibardine replied, but after careful thought had been laid aside. “They saw not so good an outgate by this device as by the Queen’s destruction; for she being taken away they accounted but the little King betwixt them and home. They loved not the Queen: they knew she had no great fancy to any of them, and they thus much feared her, the more because she was young and might have many children, which was the thing they would be rid of.”

“My Lord,” he continued, as he saw Throgmorton still half incredulous, “never take me for a true gentleman if this be not true that I tell you. The Archbishop of St. Andrew’s and the Abbot of Kilwinning¹ have proposed this much to me within these forty-eight hours.”²

The substantial truth of Tullibardine’s words was

¹ Gawen Hamilton.

² Throgmorton to Elizabeth, August 9: *MSS. Scotland*.

easily ascertained. Both the Hamiltons and Lord Huntly had made the same proposals, had suggested the same measures through separate messengers; and perplexed and fatally disheartened, Throgmorton went once more to Mar and Maitland, on whose general moderation he believed that he could rely. From neither of them, however, could he gather any comfort. Mar told him that he would do what he could for the Queen in the way of persuasion, "but to save her life," he said, "by endangering her son or his estate, or by betraying my marrows, I will never do it, my Lord Ambassador, for all the gowd in the world."¹

Maitland was scarcely less discouraging, and replied to his appeal with mournful bitterness.

"My Lord," he said, "we know all the good purposes which have passed between you and the Hamiltons and the Earl of Argyle and Huntly. You know how I have proceeded with you since your coming hither; I have given you the best advice I could to prevent extremity, and either the Queen your sovereign will not be advised, or you do forbear to advise her. I say unto you, as I am a Christian man, if we which have dealt in this action would consent to take the Queen's life from her, all the Lords which hold out and lie aloof from us would come and join with us within two days. My Lord Ambassador, if you should use the speech to the Lords which you do to me, all the world could not save the Queen's life three days to an end."²

At length, and after weary expostulations, Throgmorton succeeded in extracting a promise "that the

¹ Throgmorton to Leicester, August 9: *MSS. Scotland*.

² Throgmorton to Elizabeth, August 9; Throgmorton to Cecil, August 2: *MSS. Ibid.*

woeful Queen should not die a violent death, unless some new accident occurred," before the coming of Murray, who was now daily expected. It was high time indeed for Murray to arrive. Two days after, there was a scene at Westminster, which, if the Lords had heard of it before Murray was on the spot to control them, would have been the signal for the final close of Mary Stuart's earthly sufferings. On the 11th of August, "at four o'clock in the afternoon," Elizabeth sent for Cecil, "and entered into a great offensive speech," reproaching him for having as yet contrived no means for the rescue or protection of the Queen of Scots. Cecil giving evasive answers, the Queen produced a letter which she required him to send to Throgmorton. It was to inform the Lords that whatever other Princes might do or forbear to do, she for herself, "if they continued to keep their sovereign in prison, or should do or devise anything that might touch her life or person, would revenge it to the uttermost upon such as should be in any wise guilty thereof." She told Cecil that she would immediately declare war. She insisted that Throgmorton should deliver her words as an immediate message from herself, and that "as roundly and as sharply as he could, for he could not express it with more vehemency than she did mean and intend."¹

It was Cecil's duty to speak plainly, and furious as Elizabeth was, he did not hesitate. He exhausted every kind of direct argument. At length when nothing which he could say would move her, he suggested what Maitland had already hinted as the belief which was growing up in Scotland, "The malice of the world would say that she had used severity to the

¹ Elizabeth to Throgmorton, August 11: *Conway MSS.*

Lords to urge them to rid away the Queen." Such an interpretation of her conduct had not occurred to her. Full of her immediate object she had forgotten that her past artifices might recoil upon her when she least deserved it. She hesitated, and at the moment an opportune packet came in from Edinburgh assuring her that a single hostile move would be the Queen's death-warrant. Even this, and the too possible calumny, did not wholly convince her. She still insisted that her letter should be sent; but she so far modified her orders that she allowed the ambassador "to use discretion in the persons to whom it should be shown." She named Murray, who by this time she knew must have arrived, and Maitland, "in whom with the other she reposed most trust to preserve the Queen."¹

She had counted rightly on Murray, though to his face she had abused and threatened him. One word from him, or no word—for his silence would have been enough—and his sister would have had as short a shrift as she had allowed to Darnley. The same 11th of August, while Elizabeth was storming at Westminster, he rode into Edinburgh uncertain whether to accept the Regency, to which he learnt at Berwick that he was to be raised; uncertain how to act on any side till he had seen his sister's letters with his own eyes—till he had spoken with his sister himself.

His selection as Regent spoke well for the intentions of the Confederates. He was the only prominent nobleman who had carried himself innocently and honourably through the wild doings of the past years. He was a Calvinist, yet he was too generous to be a fanatic, and the Catholic Courts in Europe respected the integrity which they had tried and failed to cor-

¹ Cecil to Throgmorton August 11: *Conway MSS.*

rupt. His appointment would be unpalatable to the Hamiltons, yet they would find a difficulty in opposing it. In the minority of the sovereign they claimed the Regency by proximity of blood to the crown, yet until they had recognised the Queen's deposition they could not contend for the administration of her government; while the French, to whom they might have looked for support, were willing and eager to give their help to Murray — if Murray in turn would desert the English alliance.

And what cause had Murray to prefer the friendship of a sovereign who had betrayed him into rebellion, and then repudiated her own instructions — who had reproached him openly in her own court for conduct which she had herself invited him to pursue, and had then left him to bear as he might the consequences of having consented to serve her? Why should he prefer Elizabeth, who had even now dismissed him from her presence with menaces and "hard words," to Catherine de Medici and Charles, who had loaded him with honours, tempted him with presents, and were ready to support him with the armed hand of France in taking the place to which he was called by his country? It would seem as if he could have given no intelligible reason, except there were objects which he preferred to his own personal interest. The hand of France was still extended to him, and every practical difficulty would have been removed by his acceptance of it. Although he had stolen away from Paris, Catherine had shown no resentment. De Lignerolles overtook him between London and Berwick, but only to bring him a magnificent present, and to renew the offer of the pension which he had refused. While Elizabeth was flattering herself that Catherine would

go along with her; that troops which were reported to be assembling in Normandy under M. de Martigues were to be used in assisting her to crush the Confederate Lords, De Lignerolles accompanied Murray to Edinburgh, where he assured Throgmorton "that the whole Protestants of France would live and die in those men's quarrels;" that if De Martigues came, "it would be with a good force to succour them."¹ He explained distinctly that while his formal instructions were to intercede for the liberty of the Queen, yet if the Lords refused, "they being noblemen of another country, and not the King's subjects but his friends, the King could do no more but be sorry for his sister's misfortunes." He told Maitland "that the King his master was as careful for their safeties as they themselves could be, and to that end advised them to provide substantially. France cared only for the old league, and could be as well contented to take it of the little King as otherwise."²

It would have perhaps been better for the interests of Europe if the support thus offered by France had been accepted, if Murray's integrity had been less, or his political insight had been greater. If the Scotch noblemen, supported by the nearest relatives of the Queen, had brought her to trial for her crimes and publicly executed her, she at least would have ceased to be an element of European discord. Her claims on England and the question of her guilt would have at once and for ever been disposed of. The French Government would have insensibly committed themselves on the side of the Reformation, by uniting with a party who had been its great promoters in another country.

¹ Throgmorton to Cecil, August 12: *MSS. Scotland.*

² *Ibid.*

Their dependence upon the Guises would have been weakened; their connections with the Huguenots would have been drawn closer; the smouldering remnant of the Catholic faction in Scotland would have been extinguished; and England and France, no longer divided by creed, might have been drawn together with Scotland as a connecting link, and hand in hand have upheld in Europe the great interests of freedom.

Other consequences, it is true, might have followed. Mary Stuart, in life or death, was the pivot of many possibilities; and speculations "as to what might have been" are usually worthless; yet this particular result, looked at by the light of after events, appears so much more likely than any other, that the loss of an opportunity, which, if caught and used, might have prevented such tremendous misfortunes, cannot be passed over without some expression of regret.

For the two first days after Murray's arrival it seemed as if France would gain the day. He had left Elizabeth foaming with indignation at the conduct of the Lords; he knew that it would be idle to ask her to recognise a government of which he was the head; while Catherine was ready to receive a minister from him at the French Court, and Maitland was already spoken of as the person who was to be sent to Paris. When the casket and its contents were laid before him, "none spoke more bitterly against the tragedy and the players therein than Murray; none showed so little liking to such horrible sins."¹ He expressed "great commiseration towards his sister," and he hesitated about the Regency; yet it was clear that, in spite of Elizabeth, "he intended to take his fortune with

¹ Throgmorton to Cecil, August 12: *MSS. Scotland, Rolls House*

the Lords." He told Throgmorton that "he would not gladly live in Scotland if they should miscarry or abandon his friendship."

Before he formed a final resolution he insisted that he must see the Queen, and the Lords, after some hesitation, consented. He "showed himself much perplexed; honour and nature moving him one way, his duty to his friends and to religion drawing him the other." Time, at any rate, would be gained, and there was no longer a fear, as there had been a few days previously, that the Queen would be secretly murdered. Her friends could only hope that Elizabeth would give the Lords no fresh provocation, and would be brought to consider the situation more temperately.

"I trust," Throgmorton wrote on the 14th to Leicester, "that the woeful lady hath abidden the extremity of her affliction; and the way to amend her fortune is for the Queen's Majesty to deal in her speech more calmly than she doth, and likewise not to let them see that her Majesty will shake off all their friendship, for surely that will bring a dangerous issue. Scotland, and all the ablest and wisest of the nation, will become good French, which will breed and nourish a cumbrous sequel to her Majesty and her realm."¹

Elizabeth too, on her side, was "perplexed," as reason alternated with passion. She was able to acknowledge Murray's difficulties, and she feared at times "he would be in more peril himself than be able to do anything for his sister; she doubted the matter to be so handled as he must either endanger himself or dishonour himself:" but she trusted that "he would

¹ MSS. Scotland, Rolls House.

show himself such an one as he seemed to her he would be.”¹ That he would dishonour himself there was little likelihood, and for personal danger Murray cared as much for it as noble-minded men are in the habit of caring; but his position was one in which more than moral qualities were wanted. For the work cut out for him “he had too much of the milk of human kindness.”

The curtain rises for a moment over the interior of Mary Stuart's prison-house. When the first rage had passed away, she had used the arms of which nothing could deprive her; she had flung over her gaolers the spell of that singular fascination which none who came in contact with her failed entirely to feel. She had charmed even the lady of Lochleven, to whose gentle qualities romance has been unjust; and, “by one means or another she had won the favour and goodwill of the most part of the house, as well men as women, whereby she had means to have intelligence, and was in some towardness to have escaped.”² So alarming an evidence of what she might still do to cause disturbance of course increased her danger, and for the two weeks which followed she was confined a close prisoner in the rooms set apart for her use.

The island on which the castle stands was then something under an acre in extent. The castle itself consisted of the ordinary Scotch tower, a strong stone structure, five and twenty feet square, carried up for three or four stories. It formed one corner of a large court from ninety to a hundred feet across. The basement story was a flagged hall, which served at the same time for kitchen and guard-room. The two or

¹ Leicester to Throgmorton, August 6: *Conway MSS.*

² Throgmorton to Elizabeth, August 5: *MSS. Scotland.*

three rooms above it may have been set apart for the lord and lady and their female servants. The court was enclosed by a battlemented wall eighteen or twenty feet high, along the inner sides of which ran a series of low sheds and outhouses, where the servants, soldiers, and retainers littered in the straw. In the angle opposite the castle was a round turret, entered, like the main building, from the court; within it was something like an ordinary lime-kiln from seven to eight feet in diameter; the walls were five feet thick, formed of rough hewn stone rudely plastered, and pierced with long narrow slits for windows, through which nothing larger than a cat could pass, but which admitted daylight and glimpses of the lake and the hills. This again was divided into three rooms, one above the other; the height of each may have been six feet; in the lowest there was a fireplace, and the windows show marks of grooves, which it is to be hoped were fitted with glass. The communication from room to room must have been by ladders through holes in the floors, for there was no staircase outside, and no space for one within.

Here it was, in these three apartments, that the Queen of Scots passed the long months of her imprisonment. Decency must have been difficult in such a place, and cleanliness impossible. She had happily a tough healthy nature, which cared little for minor discomforts. At the worst she had as many luxuries as the wives and daughters of half the peers in Scotland. At her first coming she had been allowed to walk on the battlements and on the terrace outside the gate; but since her attempt to escape she had been strictly confined to her tower; and she was still a close prisoner there when, on the 15th of August, the Earl of

Murray, accompanied by Athol, Morton, and Lindsay, arrived at the island.

The brother and sister met without the presence of witnesses; and the character of the interview can be gathered from what one or the other cared to reveal. This only Throgmorton was able to tell. The Queen received Murray "with great passion and weeping," which however produced no effect. Murray understood her tears by this time as well as Knox. He sat with her for several hours, but he was cold and reserved. She was unable to infer from his words "either the ill which he had conceived of her or meant towards her." She tried to work upon his weakness, and she failed. But the meeting did not end there: in the evening, "after supper," they were again together, and then it seems that Murray spoke out his whole heart. Deep into the night, until "one of the clock," they remained; the young, beautiful, brilliant Queen of Scotland, fresh from acts

"That blurred the grace and blush of modesty," —

fresh from "the enseamed bed" of a brutal cutthroat, and the man in all the world who loved her as his father's daughter, who had no guilt upon his own heart, like so many of those who were clamouring for her death, to steel his heart towards her, who could make allowances only too great for the temptations by which she had been swept away.

"Plainly without disguising he did discover unto her all his opinions of her misgovernment, and laid before her all such disorders as might either touch her conscience, her honour, or her surety." "He behaved himself rather like a ghostly father unto her than like a councillor," and she for the time was touched or

seemed to be touched. Her letters had betrayed "the inmost part of her" too desperately for denial. "Sometimes," says Throgmorton, "she wept bitterly ; sometimes she acknowledged her unadvisedness ; some things she did confess plainly ; some things she did excuse, some things she did extenuate."¹ What Throgmorton could not venture to report more plainly to Elizabeth, Lady Lennox added to the Spanish Ambassador : — "The Queen of Scots admitted to her brother that she knew the conspiracy for her husband's murder."²

He left her for the night, "in hope of nothing but God's mercy, willing her to seek to that as her chiefest refuge." Another interview in the morning ended less painfully. It has pleased the apologists of the Queen of Scots to pretend an entire acquaintance with Murray's motives ; to insist that he had intended to terrify her, merely that she might again consent to make over the government to him. How, in the sense of these writers, the government of Scotland could have been an object of desire either to him or to any man, is less easy to explain. A less tempting prospect to personal ambition has been rarely offered, — a Regency without a revenue, over a country which was a moral, social, and religious chaos. He had the certain hatred of half the nobility before him if he allowed the Queen to live ; the certain indignation and perhaps the open hostility of Elizabeth if he accepted the government ; the imminent risk of an early and violent death.

¹ Throgmorton to Elizabeth, August 20: Keith.

² "Milady Margarita me ha enviado á decir que luego que el Conde de Murray llegó á Escocia fué á hablar á la Reyna la qual trató con el de su delibracion, encomandandole to que toea á su vida y negocios; y que la Reyna habia confesado que supó el trato de la muerte de su marido." — De Silva to Philip, August 30: *MS. Sinancas*.

With these conditions before him, ambition, unless to save his sister, or at his own deadly peril to bring his country out of the anarchy in which it was weltering, could have had but little influence with Murray, and ambition such as that does not compass its ends with baseness.

He had forced her to see both her ignominy and her danger, but he would not leave her without some words of consolation. He told her that he would assure her life, and if possible he would shield her reputation, and prevent the publication of her letters. Liberty she could not have, neither would she do well at present "for many respects" to seek it. He did not wholly believe her professions of penitence: he warned her "that if she practised to disturb the peace of the realm, to make a faction in it, to escape from Lochleven, or to animate the Queen of England or the French King to trouble the realm;" finally, "if she persisted in her affection for Bothwell," — his power to protect her would be at an end. If, on the contrary, "she would acknowledge her faults to God; if she would lament her sins past, so as it might appear that she detested her former life and intended a better conversation and a more modest behaviour;" "if she would make it evident that she did abhor the murder of her husband, and did mislike her former life with Bothwell, and minded no revenge to the Lords and others who had sought her reformation," — all might yet be well, and she might hope eventually to recover her crown.

"She took him in her arms and kissed him." They spoke of the government: she knew that in his hands, and his only, her life would be in no danger, and she implored him not to refuse it. He told her distinctly

the many objections — he knew that it would be a post of certain peril — but she pressed him, and he consented. Then “giving orders for her gentle treatment and all other good usage,” he took his leave, with new fits of tears, kisses, and embraces.¹

“Kisses and embraces!” and from that moment, as Mary Stuart had hated Murray before, so thenceforth she hated him with an intensity to which her past dislike was pale and colourless. He had held a mirror before her in which she had seen herself in her true depravity; he had shown her that he knew her as she was, and yet he spared her; while she played upon his affections she despised him as imbecile, and the injury of his kindness she never forgave.

Even in the eyes of men of the world his conduct was profoundly imprudent.

“The Earl of Murray,” said James Melville, who understood Mary Stuart as well as he, “instead of comforting his sister, entered with her Majesty in reproaches, giving her such injurious language as was like to break her heart: we who blamed him for this lost his favour. The injuries were such as they cut the thread of love betwixt the Queen and him for ever.”²

The men of the world would have killed her, or made friends with her: had Murray been as they he would have seen the force of the alternative, but he would not have fulfilled his duty better as an affectionate brother or a Christian nobleman.

Murray then was to be Regent, and the Queen of Scots’ deposition was to be confirmed, with Elizabeth’s pleasure or without. The state of Scotland demanded

¹ Throgmorton to Elizabeth, August 20.

² *Memoirs of Sir James Melville.*

it — his sister's safety demanded it, fume or fret as sovereign princes might at the example. The theory that when rulers misconduct themselves, subjects must complain to God, and if God took no notice must submit as to a divine scourge, was to find no acceptance. The study of the Old Testament had not led the Scots to any such conception of what God required of them. 'The Lord Regent,' reported Throgmorton, three days later, "will go more stoutly to work than any man hath done yet; for he seeks to imitate rather some who have led the people of Israel than any captain of our days. As I can learn, he meaneth to use no dallying, but either he will have obedience to this young King of all estates in this realm, or it shall cost him his life. He is resolved to defend the Lords and gentlemen that have taken this matter in hand, though all the princes in Christendom would band against them." ¹

Thus the difficulties which lay before him were not long in showing themselves. Since the Queen was to be allowed to live, the Hamiltons and their friends considered that they would best consult their own interests by holding aloof. Elizabeth, even before she heard that he had made his decision, sent him word that she would never recognise his government, and threatened him with "public ignominy." ²

To the Hamiltons he replied, "that there should be no subject nor place within the realm exempted from the King's authority," or from obedience to himself as Regent there. ³ To Elizabeth he said, that his course "was now past deliberation," and "for ignominy and

¹ Throgmorton to Cecil, August 20: *MSS. Scotland*.

² Cecil to Throgmorton: *Comery MSS.*

³ Throgmorton to Elizabeth, August 23.

calumniation, he had no other defence but the goodness of God, his upright conscience, and his intent to deal sincerely in his office. If that would not serve he had no more to say, for there was none other remedy but he must go through with the matter."¹

Throgmorton asked him whether there was a hope that the Queen would be released. He replied that as long as Bothwell was at large and unpunished, it could not be spoken of, and "they would not merchandise for the bear's skin before they had caught the bear." The Queen's liberty would depend upon her own behaviour: "if she digested the punishment of the murderer," without betraying "any wrathful or revengeful mind," and if Elizabeth would seek the quiet of Scotland, and not endeavour to trouble him "by nourishing contrary factions," the Lords would be more compliant than for the present they were disposed to be.² Meanwhile her life and her reputation were for the present safe. The publication of the letters would, at any moment, serve as his complete defence against public censure; he would forbear from using this advantage as long as he was let alone; but Murray, or Maitland for him, warned the English Ambassador that if Elizabeth "made war upon them," "they would not lose their lives, have their lands forfeited, and be reputed rebels throughout the world, when they had the means in their hands to justify themselves, however sorry they might be for it."³

The gauntlet was thus thrown down to Elizabeth. If she hesitated to take it up, and to send an army by way of reply into Scotland, it was from no want of will to punish the audacious subjects who had dared to

¹ Throgmorton to Cecil, September 1: *MSS. Scotland*.

² *Ibid.*

³ Throgmorton to Elizabeth, August 22: Keith.

depose their sovereign. So angry was she that when Cecil and his friends remonstrated with her, she reproached them with themselves meditating disloyalty; and those Ministers who had laboured for years in drawing Scotland and England together, and smoothing the way for a more intimate union, saw their exertions shipwrecked against the Queen's theories of the sacredness of princes.¹ To avoid forcing Murray upon France, Cecil ventured to hint that she should receive a minister at the Court from him. She told Cecil he was a fool² for suggesting anything "so prejudicial to the Queen," and she sought a more congenial adviser in De Silva; who, however well he thought of Murray, and whatever ill he knew of the Queen of Scots, was too glad of an opportunity to encourage a quarrel among Protestants.

"The Queen," De Silva wrote, "assured me that she not only meant to set the Queen of Scots at liberty, but was determined to use all her power to punish the Confederate Lords. She said she would send some one to the King of France to tell him what she was

¹ "The Queen's Majesty is in continual offence against all these Lords, and we here cannot move her Majesty to mitigate it, do what we can, or to move her to hide it more than she doth. But surely the more we deal in it the more danger some of us find in her indignation; and specially in conceiving that we are not dutifully minded to her Majesty as our Sovereign; and where such thorns be, it is no quiet treading. For howsoever her Majesty shall in this cause (touching her so nearly as it seemeth she conceiveth, though I trust without any just cause) be offended with my arguments, I will, after my opinions declared, obey her Majesty to do that which is my office. Very sorry I am to behold the likelihood of the loss of the fruit of seven or eight years' negotiations with Scotland, and now to suffer a divorce between this realm and that, where neither of the countries shall take either good or pleasure thereof. If religion may remain, I trust the divorce shall be rather in words and terms than in hearts; and of this I have no great doubt."—Cecil to Throgmorton, August 20: *Conway MSS.*

² "Noting in me no small folly."—*MS. Ibid.*

though their devices may vary amongst themselves for the compassing hereof, according to the accidents of the times, and according to the impediments which they shall find by means of the Queen's Majesty's actions and government, yet all their purposes shall wholly and only tend to make the Queen of Scots Queen of this realm, and to deprive our sovereign lady thereof. And in these their proceedings there are two manner of things to be considered, the one of which is far worse than the other. The one is intended by them that, either for malicious blindness in religion or for natural affection to the Queen of Scots or the Lord Darnley, do persuade themselves that the said Queen of Scots hath presently more right to the Crown than our sovereign the Queen, of which sort be all their kindred of both sides and all such as are devoted to the Papacy either in England, Scotland, Ireland, or elsewhere. The other is meant of them which less maliciously are persuaded that the Queen of Scots hath only right to be the next heir to succeed the Queen's Majesty and her issue, of which sort few are without the realm but here within; and yet of them not so many as are of the contrary. And from these two sorts shall the devices and practices proceed.

“From the first are to be looked for these perils. It is to be doubted that the devil will infect some of them to imagine the hindrance of our dearest sovereign lady by such means as the devil will suggest to them; although it is to be assuredly hoped that Almighty God will — as hitherto He hath — graciously protect and preserve her from such dangers.

“There will be attempted by persuasions, by bruits and rumours and such like to alienate the minds of good subjects from the Queen's Majesty, and to con-

ciliate them to the Queen of Scots, and in this behalf the frontier and the north will be much solicited and laboured. There will be attempted tumults and rebellions, specially in the north towards Scotland, so as thereupon may follow some open extremity by violence. There will be by the said Queen's Council and friends a new league made with France or Spain that shall be offensive to this realm and a furtherance to their title; and it is also likely they will set on foot as many practices as they can, both upon the frontier and in Ireland, to occasion the Queen's Majesty to continue her charges, thereby to retain her from being wealthy or potent. From the second is not much to be feared; but they will content themselves to serve notably the Queen's Majesty and so to impeach her not to marry; but to hope that the Queen of Scots shall have issue, which they will think to be more plausible to all men because thereby the Houses of England and Scotland shall be united in one, and thereby the occasions of war shall cease; with which persuasions many people may be seduced and abused to incline themselves to the Queen of Scots." ¹

The several points thus prepared by Cecil for the consideration of the Council were enlarged in the discussion which ensued on them.

"By some it was thought plainly that the peril was greater by the marriage with the Lord Darnley than with the mightiest prince abroad; " a stranger would have few friends in England; the Lord Darnley being an English subject, " whatever power he could make by the faction of the Papists or other discontented persons would be

*Especially
 dangers anticipated
 from the
 Darnley
 marriage.*

¹ *Cotton MSS. Calig. B. 10.*

so much deducted from the power of the realm." "A small faction of adversaries at home was more dangerous than thrice their number abroad;" and it was remembered that "foreign powers had never prevailed in England but with the help of some at home."

It "had been observed and manifestly seen before this attempt at marriage that in every corner of the realm the factions that most favoured the Scottish title had grown stout and bold;" "they had shown themselves in the very Court itself;" and unless checked promptly "they would grow so great and dangerous as redress would be almost desperate." "Scarcely a third of the population were assured to be trusted in the matter of religion, upon which only string the Queen of Scots' title did hang;" and "comfort had been given to the adversaries of religion in the realm to hope for change," "by means that the bishops had dealt straightly with some persons of good religion because they had forborne to wear certain apparel and such like things—being more of form and accident than any substance." "The pride and arrogancy of the Catholics had been increased" by the persecution of the Protestants; while if the bishops attempted to enforce conformity on the other side "the judges and lawyers in the realm being not the best affected in religion did threaten them with premonition, and in many cases letted not to punish and defame them," "so that they dared not execute the ecclesiastical laws."

For much of all this the Queen was responsible. She it was who more than any other person had nursed "the Scottish faction" at the Court. If the bishops had been too eager to persecute the Catholics, it was she who had compelled Parker to suspend the ablest of

Effect of the
persecution
of the
English
Protestants.

the Protestant ministers: "But the sum of the perils was made so apparent as no one of the Council could deny them to be both many and very dangerous." They were agreed every one of them that the Queen must for the present relinquish her zeal for uniformity, and that the prosecutions of the clergy must cease till the question could be reconsidered by Parliament; they determined to require the oath of allegiance of the judges, "so that they should for conscience' sake maintain the Queen's authority," to replace the nonjuring bishops in the Tower, to declare forfeited all benefices held by ecclesiastics who were residing abroad, and to drive out a number of seditious monks and friars who had fled across the Border from Scotland and were serving as curates in the northern churches. Bedford meanwhile should go down to Berwick, taking additional troops with him; the "powers of the Border" should be held in readiness to move at an hour's notice; and a reserve be raised in London to march north in case of war. Lennox and Darnley might then be required to return to England on their allegiance. If they refused they would be declared traitors, and their extradition demanded of the Queen of Scots under the treaties.

The Council
advise
vigorous
measures.

So far the Council was unanimous. As to what should be done if the Queen of Scots refused to surrender them, opinions were divided. The bolder party were for declaring immediate war and sending an army to Edinburgh; others preferred to wait till events had shaped themselves more distinctly; all however agreed on the necessity of vigour, speed, and resolution. "No persons deserving of mistrust were to be suffered to have any rule of her Majesty's subjects or lands in the north;" they might "retain their fees," "but more

trusty persons should have the rule of their people." The Earl of Murray and his friends should be comforted and supported; and "considering the faction and title of the Queen of Scots had for a long time received great countenance by the Queen's Majesty's favour shown to the said Queen and her ministers," the Council found themselves compelled to desire her Majesty "by some exterior act to show some remission of her displeasure to the Lady Catherine and the Earl of Hertford."

Further — for it was time to speak distinctly, and her Majesty's mode of dealing in such matters being better known than appreciated — she was requested after considering these advices to choose which of them she liked, and put them in execution *in deeds, and not pass them over in consultations and speeches*.¹

Nor did the Council separate without returning once more to the vexed question of the The Queen's marriage. Queen's marriage. So long as she remained single they represented gravely that "no surety could be devised to ascertain any person of continuance of their families and posterities." The French affair had dragged on. Elizabeth had coquetted with it as a kitten plays with a ball. The French ambassador, De Foix, on the 2d of May made an effort to force an answer from her, one way or the other. "The world," he said, "had been made in six days, and she had already spent eighty and was still undecided." Elizabeth had endeavoured to escape by saying that the world "had been made by a greater artist than herself; that she was constitutionally irresolute, and had

¹ The words in italics are underlined in the original.

Summary of consultations and advices given to her Majesty, June, 1565: *Cotton MSS., Calig. B. 10.* Debates in Council, June 4, 1565: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

lost many fair opportunities by a want of promptitude in seizing them." Four days later, on the receipt of bad news from Scotland, she wavered towards acceptance: she wrote to Catherine de Medici to say "that she could not decline an offer so generously made; she would call Parliament immediately, and if her subjects approved she was willing to abide by their resolution."¹

A Parliamentary discussion could not be despatched in a moment. The Queen-mother on receiving Elizabeth's letter asked how soon she might expect an answer; and when Sir T. Smith told her that perhaps four months would elapse first, she affected astonishment at the necessity of so much ceremony. If the Queen of England was herself satisfied she thought it was enough.

"Madam," replied Smith, "her people be not like your people; they must be trained by doulceur and persuasion, not by rigour and violence. There is no realm in Christendom better governed, better policed, and in more felicity of quiet and good order, than is the realm of England; and in case my sovereign should go to work as ye say, God knows what would come of it; you have an opinion that her Majesty is wise; her answer is very much in a little space and containeth more substance of matter than multitude of words."²

Catherine de Medici but half accepted the excuse, regarding it only as a pretext for delay. Yet Elizabeth was probably serious, and had the English Council been in favour of the marriage, in her desperation at the attitude of Mary Stuart she might have felt

¹ "La response de la Reyne," May 6: *French MSS. Rolls House.*

² Smith to Elizabeth, May, 1565: *MS. Ibid.*

herself compelled to make a sacrifice which would insure for her the alliance of France. Paul de Foix one day at the end of May found her in her room playing chess.

“Madam,” he said to her, “you have before you the game of life. You lose a pawn; it seems a small matter; but with the pawn you lose the game.”

Elizabeth
and the
French am-
bassador.

“I see your meaning,” she answered. “Lord Darnley is but a pawn, but unless I look to it I shall be checkmated.”

She rose from her seat, led the ambassador apart, and said bitterly she would make Lennox and his son smart for their insolence.

De Foix admitted and made the most of the danger; “her enemies,” he allowed, “all over the world were wishing to see Mary Stuart and Darnley married,” and unfortunately there were also clearsighted able English statesmen who desired it as well, as a means of uniting the crowns. “But your Majesty,” he added, has in your hands both your own safety and your rival’s ruin. France has been the shield of Scotland in its English wars. Take that shield for yourself. The world is dangerous, the strongest will fare the best, and your Majesty knows that the Queen of Scots dreads no one thing so much as your marriage with the most Christian King.”

With mournful irony Elizabeth replied that she did not deserve so much happiness.¹ The English Council in pressing her to take a husband was thinking less of a foreign alliance than of an heir to the Crown; and the most Christian King was unwelcome to her advisers, for the reason perhaps for which she would

¹ Paul de Foix to the Queen-mother, June 2: Tenlet, Vol. II.

have preferred him to any other suitor. The full-grown, able-bodied Archduke Charles was the person on whom the hearts of the truest of her statesmen had long been fixed. The Queen referred De Foix to the Council; and the Council on the 2d of June informed him "that on mature consideration and with a full appreciation of the greatness of the offer, the age of the King of France, the uncertainty of the English succession, and the unlikelihood of children from that marriage for several years at least, obliged them to advise their mistress to decline his proposals."¹

The next day Elizabeth sent for the ambassador of the Duke of Wirtemberg who was acting in England in behalf of Maximilian. She told him that she had once resolved to live and die a maiden Queen; but she deferred to the remonstrances of her subjects, and she desired him to tell the Emperor that she had at last made up her mind to marry.² She had inquired of the Spanish ambassador whether the King of Spain still wished to see her the wife of his cousin. The ambassador had assured her that the King could not be more anxious if the Archduke had been a child of his own. She said that she could not bind herself to accept a person whom she had never seen; but she expressed her earnest wish that the Archduke should come to England.

Elizabeth holds out hopes that she will take the Archduke after all.

The minister of Wirtemberg, in writing to Maximilian, added his own entreaties to those of the Queen; he said that "there was no fear for the Archduke's honour; the Queen's situation was so critical that if

¹ Mignet's *Mary Stuart*, Vol. I. p. 146.

² "Se constituisset nunc nubera."

the Archduke would consent to come she could not dare to affront the imperial family by afterwards refusing his hand.”¹

¹ Adam Schetowitz to Maximilian, June 4, 1565: *Burleigh Papers*, Vol. I.

CHAPTER IX.

THE two Queens were again standing in the same relative positions which had led to the crisis of 1560. Mary Stuart was once more stretching out her hand to grasp Elizabeth's Crown. From her recognition as heir presumptive the step to a Catholic revolution was immediate and certain; and Elizabeth's affectation of Catholic practices would avail little to save her. Again, as before, the stability of the English Government appeared to depend on the maintenance of the Protestants in Scotland; and again State of parties in Scotland. the Protestants were too weak to protect themselves without help from abroad. The House of Hamilton was in danger from the restitution of Lennox and the approaching elevation of Darnley; the Earl of Lennox claimed the second place in the Scotch succession in opposition to the Duke of Chatelherault; and the Queen of Scots had avowed her intention of entailing her Crown in the line of the Stuarts. Thus there were the same parties and the same divisions. But the Protestants were split among themselves, among the counter influences of hereditary alliance and passion. The cession of her claims on the Earldom of Angus by Lady Margaret had won to Darnley's side the powerful and dangerous Earl of Morton, and had alienated from Murray the kindred houses of Ruthven and Lindsay. There was no longer an Arran marriage to cajole the patriotism of the many noblemen to whom

the glory of Scotland was dearer than their creed : and all those whose hearts were set on winning for a Scotch prince or princess the English succession, were now devoted to their Queen. Thus the Duke of Chatelherault, with the original group who had formed the nucleus of the Congregation, — Murray, Argyle, Glencairn, Boyd, and Ochiltree, — found themselves alone against the whole power of their country.

Secure on the side of France, Elizabeth would have been less uneasy at the weakness of the Protestants had the loyalty of her own subjects been open to no suspicion ; but the state of England was hardly more satisfactory than that of Scotland. In 1560 the recent loss of Calais and the danger of foreign invasion had united the nation in defence of its independence. Two thirds of the peers were opposed at heart to Cecil's policy ; but the menaces of France had roused the patriotism of the nation. Spain was then perplexed and neutral ; and the Catholics had for a time been paralyzed by the recent memories of the Marian persecution.

Now, although the dangers were the same, Elizabeth's embarrassments were incomparably greater. The studied trifling with which she had disregarded the general anxiety for her marriage had created a party for the Queen of Scots amidst the most influential classes of the people. The settlement of the succession was a passion among them which amounted to a disease ; while the union of the Crowns was an object of rational desire to every thoughtful English statesman. The Protestants were disheartened ; they had gained no wisdom by suffering ; the most sincere among them were as wild and intolerant as those who had made the reign

Strength of
Mary
Stuart's
position.

of Edward a byeword of mismanagement; the Queen was as unreasonable with them on her side as they were extravagant on theirs; while Catholicism, recovering from its temporary paralysis, was reasserting the superiority which the matured creed of centuries has a right to claim over the half-shaped theories of revolution. Had Mary Stuart followed the advice which Alva gave to her messenger at Bayonne, had she been prudent and forbearing, and trusted her cause to time till Philip had disposed of the Turks and was at leisure to give her his avowed support, the game was in her hands. Her choice of Darnley, sanctioned as it was by Spain, had united in her favour the Conservative strength of England; and either Elizabeth must have allowed the marriage and accepted the Queen of Scots as her successor, or she must have herself yielded to pressure, fulfilled her promises at last, and married the Archduke Charles.

This possibility and this alone created Mary's difficulties. She knew what Philip's engagements meant; she knew that Spain desired as little as France to see England and Scotland a united and powerful kingdom; and that if Elizabeth could be recalled out of her evil ways by a Catholic alliance, the cabinet of Madrid would think no more of Darnley or herself. She would have to exchange an immediate and splendid triumph for the doubtful prospect of the eventual succession should her rival die without a child.

Nor did Elizabeth herself misunderstand the necessity to which she would be driven unless Mary Stuart saved her by some false move. She had played so often with the Archduke's name that her words had ceased to command belief; but at last she was thinking of him seriously — the more seriously perhaps, be-

cause many Englishmen who had before been most eager to provide her with a husband were now as well or better satisfied with the prospect of the succession of the Queen of Scots.

“The Queen,” De Silva wrote on the 8th of June to Philip, “has taken alarm at the divisions among her subjects. A great many of them she is well aware are in favour of Lord Darnley and Mary Stuart. Several of the most powerful noblemen in England have long withdrawn from the Court, and are looking to this marriage for the union of the two Crowns. The Queen must now come to a resolution about the Archduke Charles. She understands fully that a marriage with him is the sole means left to her of preserving her alliance with your Majesty, of resisting her enemies, and of preventing a rebellion. She detests the thought of it; and yet so strange is her position that she dares not encounter Parliament for fear her excuses may be accepted. The people have ceased to care whether she marries or remains single; they are ready to entail the Crown on the King and Queen of Scotland.

“Her hope at present is to throw Scotland into confusion with the help of the Duke of Chatelherault, who cannot endure that the House of Lennox should be preferred to the Hamiltons. She is frightening the Huguenots in France by telling them that if the Queen of Scots obtains the English Crown she will avenge her uncle’s death and assist the Catholics to extirpate them. She will temporize till she see how her tricks succeed. If she can save herself by any other means she will not marry.”¹

¹ “Por las Cartas de Londres, de viii. Junio, 1565”: *MS. Simancae*.

Mary
Stuart's
friends in
England.

The two players were not ill-matched, though for the present the Queen of Scots had the advantage. "The matter," said Sir Thomas Smith, "was not so suddenly done as suddenly it did break out; the practice was of an elder time. It was finely handled to make the Queen's Majesty a labourer for the restitution of the father and a sender in of the son."¹ Elizabeth had been outmanœuvred and had placed herself in a perilous dilemma. Half the Council had advised her to demand the extradition of Darnley and Lennox, and declare war if it was refused. She had rejected the bolder part of the advice; but she had allowed Throgmorton to promise Murray and his friends that if they interfered by force to prevent the marriage they should be supported by England; and if they rose in arms and failed, and if they called upon her to fulfil her engagements, she would have to comply and run all hazards, or she would justify the worst suspicions which the Scotch Protestants already entertained of her sincerity, and convert into enemies the only friends that she possessed among Mary Stuart's subjects.

In the first outburst of her anger she seemed prepared to dare everything. After the departure of Throgmorton from Scotland, the Queen of Scots sent Hay of Balmerinloch with a letter in which she protested with the most innocent simplicity that in all which she had done she had been actuated only by the purest desire to meet her dear sister's wishes; that she was alike astonished and grieved to hear that she had done wrong; but that as Elizabeth was dissatisfied she would refer the question once more to a commission; and on her own side she proposed the unus-

¹ Smith to Cecil, July 3: *French MSS. Rolls House.*

picious names of Murray, Maitland, Morton, and Glencairn.¹

Had Elizabeth complied with this suggestion she would have committed herself to an admission that a question existed, and that the Darnley marriage was not wholly intolerable. She had no intention of admitting anything of the kind. She replied with requiring Lennox and Darnley on their allegiance to return immediately to England; and the Queen of Scots' letter she answered only with a request that they might be sent home without delay.

Elizabeth
requires
Lennox and
Darnley to
return to
England.

Neither Lennox nor Mary expected such peremptory dealing. The order of return was short of a declaration of war, and some of those who knew Elizabeth best did not believe that war was coming;² but Mary Stuart knew too well her own intentions to escape misgivings that the Queen of England might be as resolute as herself. When Randolph presented the letter with the message which accompanied it, she burst into tears; Lennox was silent with dismay; Darnley alone, too foolish to comprehend the danger, remained careless and defiant,³ and said shortly "he had no mind to return." Mary Stuart, as soon as she could collect herself, said she trusted that her good sister did not mean what she had written. Randolph replied that

¹ The Queen of Scots to the Queen of England, June 14: Keith.

² Paul de Foix to Catherine de Medici, June 18: Teulet, Vol. II.

³ A sad and singular horoscope had already been cast for Darnley. "His behaviour," Randolph wrote to Cecil, "is such that he is come in open contempt of all men that were his chief friends. What shall become of him I know not; but it is greatly to be feared he can have no long life amongst this people. The Queen being of better understanding, seeketh to frame and fashion him to the nature of her subjects; but no persuasion can alter that which custom hath made in him. He is counted proud, disdainful, and suspicious, which kind of men this soil of any other can least bear." Randolph to Cecil, July 1: *Cotton MSS. Calig. B. 10*. Printed in Keith.

she most certainly did mean it; and speaking plainly as his habit was, he added "that if they refused to return, and her Grace comforted them in so doing, the Queen his mistress had both power and will to be revenged on them, being her subjects."

From the Court Randolph went to Argyle and Murray, who had ascertained meanwhile that there was no time to lose; the Bishop of Dunblane had been sent to the Pope; Mary Stuart had obtained money from Flanders; she had again sent for Bothwell, and she meant immediate mischief. The two earls expressed their belief that "the time was come to put to a remedy." "They saw their sovereign determined to overthrow religion received, and sore bent against those that desired the amity with England to be continued, which two points they were bound in conscience to maintain and defend." They had resolved therefore "to withstand such attempts with all their power, and to provide for their sovereign's estate better than she could at that time consider for herself." They intended to do nothing which was not for their mistress's real advantage; Sir Nicholas Throgmorton had assured them of the Queen of England's "godly and friendly offer to concur with and assist them;" the Queen of England's interest was as much concerned as their own; and they "humbly desired the performance of her Majesty's promises:" they did not ask for an English army; if her Majesty would give them three thousand pounds they could hold their followers together, and would undertake the rest for themselves; Lennox and Darnley could be seized and "delivered into Berwick," if her Majesty would receive them.

To these communications Randolph replied with re

Randolph in Elizabeth's name encourages the Protestant noblemen to rebel.

newed assurances that Elizabeth would send them whatever assistance they required. He gave them the warmest encouragement to persevere; and as to the father and son whom they proposed to kidnap, the English Government, he said, "could not and would not refuse their own in what sort soever they came."¹

The Queen of Scots was not long in receiving intelligence of what the Lords intended against her. She sent a message to her brother requesting that he would meet her at Perth. As he was mounting his horse a hint was given him that if he went he would not return alive, and that Darnley and Ritzio had formed a plan to kill him. He withdrew to his mother's castle at Lochleven and published the occasion of his disobedience. Mary Stuart replied with a countercharge that the Earl of Murray had purposed to take her prisoner and carry off Darnley to England. Both stories were probably true: Murray's offer to Randolph is sufficient evidence against himself. Lord Darnley's conspiracy against the Earl was no more than legitimate retaliation. Civil war was fast approaching; and it is impossible to acquit Elizabeth of having done her best to foster it. Afraid to take an open part lest she should have an insurrection on her own hands at home, she was ready to employ to the uttermost the assistance of the Queen of Scot's own subjects, and she trusted to diplomacy or accident to extricate herself from the consequences.

On receiving Randolph's letter, which explained with sufficient clearness the intentions of the Protestant noblemen, she not only did not find fault with the engagements to which he had committed her, but she

¹ Randolph to Cecil, July 2 and July 4: *Cotton MSS. Calig. B. 10*. Printed in Keith.

directed him under her own hand to assure them of her perfect satisfaction with the course which they were preparing to pursue. She could have entertained no sort of doubt that they would use violence; yet she did not even conceal her approbation under ambiguous or uncertain phrases. She said that they should find her "in all their just and honourable causes regard their state and continuance;" "if by malice or practice they were forced to any inconveniency, they should find no lack in her;" she desired merely that in carrying out their enterprise they would "spend no more money than their security made necessary, nor less which might bring danger."¹

As the collision drew near, both parties prepared for it by endeavouring to put themselves right with the country. No sooner was it generally known in Scotland that the Queen intended to marry a Catholic than the General Assembly rushed together at Edinburgh. The extreme Protestants were able to appeal to the fulfilment of their predictions of evil when Mary Stuart was permitted the free exercise of her own religion. Like the children of Israel on their entrance into Canaan, they had made terms with wickedness: they had sown the wind of a carnal policy and were now reaping the whirlwind. A resolution was passed —
to which Murray, though he was present, no longer raised his voice in opposition — that the sovereign was not exempt from obedience to the law of the land, that the mass should be put utterly away, and the reformed service take the place of it in the royal chapel.

July.
Measures of
the General
Assembly.

Mary Stuart had been described by Randolph as so much changed that those who had known her when

¹ Elizabeth to Randolph, July 10: Printed in Keith.

she was under Murray's and Maitland's tutelage were astonished at the alteration ; manner, words, features, all were different ; in mind and body she was said to be swollen and disfigured by the tumultuous working of her passions.

So perhaps she may have appeared in Randolph's eyes ; and yet the change may have been more in Randolph's power of insight than in the object at which he looked. Never certainly did she Skill and energy of Mary Stuart. show herself cooler or more adroit than in her present emergency. She replied to the Assembly with returning from Perth to Edinburgh ; and as a first step towards recovering their confidence she attended a Protestant sermon. To the resolution of the General Assembly she delayed her answer, but she issued circulars protesting that neither then nor at any past time had she entertained a thought of interfering with her subjects' religion ; the toleration which she had requested for herself she desired only to extend to others ; her utmost wish had been that her subjects might worship God freely in the form which each most approved.¹

A Catholic sovereign sincerely pleading to a Protestant Assembly for liberty of conscience might have been a lesson to the bigotry of mankind ; but Mary Stuart was not sincere ; and could the Assembly have believed her they would have thought her French teaching was bearing fruits more deadly than Popery itself. The Protestant respected the Catholic as an honest worshipper of something, though that something might be the devil. "Liberty of conscience" was the crime of the Laodiceans, which hell and heaven alike rejected.

¹ Circular by the Queen, July 17.

The attendance of Mary Stuart at sermon produced as little effect on the Congregation as Elizabeth's candles and crucifixes on the hatred of the English Papists. The elders of the Church dispersed; Argyle, Murray, and their friends withdrew to Stirling; and on the 18th of July they despatched a messenger to Elizabeth with a bond, in which they pledged themselves to resist all attempts either to restore the Catholic ritual or to dissolve the English alliance. From their own sovereign they professed to hope for nothing but evil. They looked to the Queen of England "as under God protectress most special of the professors of religion;" and they thanked her warmly for the promises of help on which it was evident that they entirely relied.¹

They relied on those promises; and to have doubted them would have been nothing less than a studied insult. The English ambassador was ordered a second time, and more imperiously, to command Lennox and Darnley to go back to England; while avowedly by the direct instructions of his mistress he laid her thanks and wishes before the Lords in a formal and written address.²

RANDOLPH TO THE LORDS OF SCOTLAND.³

July, 1565.

"Right Honourable and my very good Lords, — It is not out of your remembrance that Sir Nicholas

¹ "Understanding by your Highness's ambassador, Sir N. Throgmorton, and also by the information of your Majesty's servant Master Randolph, the good and gracious mind which your Majesty with continuance beareth, to the maintenance of the Gospel and us that profess the same," &c. — *The Lords in Stirling to the Queen of England, July 18: Keith, Vol. II. p. 329.*

² It is necessary, at the risk of being tedious, to dwell on these particulars of Elizabeth's conduct. Each separate promise was as a nail which left a rent in her reputation when she endeavoured to free herself.

³ *Lansdowne MSS. 8.*

Throgmorton being at Stirling, ambassador for the Queen's Majesty my mistress to the Queen's Majesty your sovereign, it was declared at good length both to her Grace's self and also to you of her honourable Council, what misliking the Queen my mistress hath that the Lord Darnley should join marriage with the Queen your sovereign, for divers and weighty reasons; of which some were there presently rehearsed, others for great and weighty respects left unspoken, until occasion better serve to utter her Majesty's griefs for the strange manner of dealing that hath been used towards her, divers ways and by divers persons, contrary to that expectation she had. The Queen your sovereign having answered that she would in no wise alter her determination, the Queen my mistress commanded this resolution and answer to be propounded in Council, and to be considered according to the weight thereof, being touched thereby as well in honour as that it was against the repose and tranquillity of her Majesty's realm. And her Majesty's Council remaining in that mind that before they were of — which is that divers ways it must needs be prejudicial to the amity of the two countries, that it tendeth greatly to the subversion of Christ's true religion received and established in them both, they have not only received that with content which your lordships have subscribed with your hands, but also have become suitors to your Majesty that she will provide for her own surety and the surety of the realm against all practices and devices, from wheresoever they be intended.

“And forasmuch as nothing is more needful for both the realms than the continuance of a good and perfect amity between them and those whose hearts

Randolph
again prom-
ises the
Lords as-
sistance
from Eng-
land.

God hath united in one true and perfect doctrine, they have also desired that it will please her Majesty that she will have consideration of the Protestants and true professors of religion in this realm of Scotland, that Christ's holy word may be continued amongst them, and the amity remain betwixt both the countries. And because of all the apparent troubles that may ensue, as well for the subversion of Christ's word in both the countries as also for the breach of amity, the Earl of Lennox, and his son the Lord Darnley, are known to be the authors, and many of their practices, as well in England, Scotland and further parts, to that end discovered, it pleased the Queen my mistress to begin at the root and ground of all these mischiefs, and thereof hath presently sent her express commandment to them both, charging them to leave the realm of Scotland and repair unto her presence as they will avoid her Majesty's indignation; in refusing of which they shall give further occasion for her to proceed against them and their assisters than willingly she would.

"And to the intent it may be further known what the Queen's my mistress's purpose is if they do contrary to this charge of her Majesty, I am commanded to assure all persons here that the Queen my mistress meaneth to let the Queen your sovereign well understand by her deeds how she can measure this dishonourable kind of dealing and manner of proceeding; and according to the effect of such answers as shall be given unto me, as well from the Queen's Majesty your sovereign as from the Earl of Lennox and his son, and what thereof shall follow, her Majesty meaneth to let it manifestly appear unto the world how to use her towards such as so far forget themselves.

"To give also declaration of the tender care and

good consideration the Queen my sovereign has over all those of this nation that mind to keep the realm without alteration of the religion received and will not neglect her Majesty's friendship, I am commanded to assure all such as persist therein that it is fully resolved and determined to concur with them and assist them as either need or occasion shall press them.

"This, my Lords, being the effect of that which I know to be my mistress's will and express commandment, given unto me to communicate unto your lordships as I saw cause, and knowing now the time most fit for that purpose, I thought good to send this same to you in writing."

In strict conformity with these promises the Earl of Bedford returned to his charge on the Border; the Earl himself was under the impression that if the Lords were in extremity he was to enter Scotland; and so satisfied and so confident was Murray that he wrote to Bedford on the 22d of July "as to one to whom God had granted to know the subtle devices of Satan," telling him that the force on which the Queen of Scots most relied lay among the Maxwells, the Humes, and the Kers of the Border, and begging him, as if he was already an auxiliary in the field, "to stay off their power."¹

Randolph presented his second demand for the return of the two noblemen to England. He spoke first to Mary Stuart, who, half frightened, half defiant, found herself on the edge of a conflict to which her own resources were manifestly inadequate, while she could not but feel some uncertainty after all, how far she could rely on the secret promises of her English

¹ Murray to Bedford, July 22: Keith.

friends. She complained passionately that she had been trifled with; she spoke of Henry the Eighth's will, which she dared Elizabeth to produce, in obvious ignorance that had Elizabeth consented, her hopes of a peaceable succession would be gone forever. Randolph told her she was "abused." She threatened that if the English Parliament meddled with the rights either of herself or of Darnley, she would "seek friends elsewhere," and would not fail to find them.

Randolph knew Mary well and knew her manner. He saw that she was hesitating, and he once more attempted expostulation. "The Queen of England," he truly said, "had been her kindest friend. She might have compelled her to ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh; but she had passed it over; she had defended her claims when the Scotch succession had not another supporter; unless she had taken the crown from off her own head and given it to her, she could have done no more than she had done."

Randolph's
expostulation
with
Mary Stuart.

Mary appeared to be moved. She asked if nothing could induce Elizabeth to allow her marriage with Lord Darnley. Randolph replied that after the attitude which she had assumed, the conditions would be stringent. A declaration would have to be made by herself and the Scotch Parliament that she made no pretensions to the English crown during the life of Elizabeth or her children; she must restore to her Council the Protestant noblemen with whom she had quarrelled; and she must conform¹ to the religion established by law in Scotland.²

¹ It is interesting to observe how the current of the Reformation had swept Elizabeth forward in spite of herself.

² "Qu'elle entretienne la religion qui est aujourd'hui au Royaulme, et en ce faisant receyve, en sa bonne grace, et en leur premier estat ceulx qu'elle a aliéné d'elle; et qu'elle luy face declaration, autorisée par son Parlement

It was to ask Mary Stuart to sacrifice ambition, pride, revenge — every object for which she was mating herself with the paltry boy who was the cause of the disturbance. She said “she would make no merchandize of her conscience.” Randolph requested in Elizabeth’s name that she would do no injury to the Protestant lords who were her “good subjects.” She replied that Elizabeth might call them “good subjects;” she had found them bad subjects, and as such she meant to treat them.

The turn of Lennox and Darnley came next. The ambassador communicated Elizabeth’s commands to them, and demanded a distinct answer whether they would obey or not. Lennox, to whom age had taught some lessons of moderation, replied that he was sorry to offend; but that he might not and durst not go. He with some justice might plead a right to remain; for he was a born Scot and was living under his first allegiance. Darnley, like a child who has drifted from the shore in a tiny pleasure boat, his sails puffed out with vanity, and little dreaming how soon he would be gazing back on England with passionate and despairing eyes, replied “that he acknowledged no duty or obedience save to the Queen of Scots whom he served and honoured;” “and seeing,” he continued, “that the other your mistress is so envious of my good fortune, I doubt not but she may also have need of me, as you shall know within few days: wherefore to return I intend not; I find myself very well where I am, and so I purpose to keep me; and this shall be for your answer.”

“You have much forgotten your duty, sir, in such

qu'elle ne pretend rien au Royaulme d'elle, ne de sa posterité. — *Analyse d'une dépêche de M. de Foix au Roy, August 12: Teulet, Vol. II.*

despiteful words," Randolph answered; "it is neither discreetly spoken of you nor otherwise to be answered by me than that I trust to see the wreck and overthrow of as many as are of the same mind."

So saying the stout servant of Elizabeth turned on his heel "without reverence or farewell."¹

Elizabeth's attitude and Randolph's language were as menacing as possible. But experience had taught Mary Stuart that between the threats and the actions of the Queen of England there was always a period of irresolution; and that with prompt celerity she might crush the disaffection of Scotland while her more dangerous enemy was making up her mind. She filled Edinburgh with the retainers of Lennox and Huntly; she summoned Murray to appear and prove his accusations against Darnley under pain of being declared a traitor; she sent a message through De Silva to Philip that her subjects had risen in insurrection against her, with the support of the Queen of England, to force her to change her religion;² and interpreting the promise of three months' delay which she had made to Throgmorton as meaning a delay into the third month, she resolved to close one element of the controversy and place the marriage itself beyond debate. On the evening of the 28th of July, Edinburgh was informed by trumpet and proclamation that the Queen of Scots having determined to take to herself as her husband Henry Earl of Ross and Albany, the said Henry was thenceforth to be designated King of Scotland, and in all acts and deeds his name would be associated with her own.³ The crowd listened in silence.

¹ Randolph to Cecil, July 21: *Cotton MSS., Calig. B. 10.*

² De Silva to Philip, July 28: *MS. Simancas.*

³ The title was a mere sound. The crown matrimonial could be conferred only by Act of Parliament; nor would Mary Stuart share the reality of her

A single voice cried "God save his Grace!" but the speaker was Lennox.

The next day, July the 29th, being Sunday, while the drowsy citizens of Edinburgh were still in their morning sleep, Mary Stuart became the wife of Darnley. The ceremony took place in the royal chapel just after sunrise. It was performed by a Catholic priest and with the usual Catholic rites; the Queen for some strange reason appearing at the altar in a mourning dress of black velvet, "such as she wore the doleful day of the burial of her husband." Whether it was an accident — whether the doom of the House of Stuart haunted her at that hour with its fatal foreshadowings — or whether simply for a great political purpose she was doing an act which in itself she loathed, it is impossible to tell; but that black drape struck the spectators with a cold, uneasy awe.

But such dreamy vanities were soon forgotten. The deed was done which Elizabeth had forbidden. It remained to be seen to what extremity Elizabeth in her resentment would be provoked. The Lords had been long waiting at Stirling for a sign from Berwick; but no sign came, and when the moment of extremity arrived Bedford had no definite orders. They remembered 1559, when they had been encouraged by similar promises to rebel, and when Elizabeth had trifled with her engagements so long and so dangerously. Elizabeth had given her word; but it was an imperfect security; and the uncertainty produced its inevitable effect in disheartening and dividing them. "Though your intent be never so good to us," Ran-

power with a raw boy whose character she imperfectly knew. But Darnley was impatient for the name of king; "He would in no case have it deferred a day," and the Queen was contented to humour him.

dolph wrote to Leicester on the 31st of July, "yet we fear your delay that our ruin shall prevent your support; when council is once taken nothing is so needful as speedy execution: upon this we wholly depend; in her Majesty's hands it standeth to save our lives or suffer us to perish; greater honour her Majesty cannot have than that which lieth in her power to do for us."¹

Randolph
calls on Elizabeth
to
keep her
promise.

While the Congregation were thus held in suspense, Mary Stuart was all fire, energy, and resolution. She understood at once that Elizabeth was hesitating; she knew that she had little to fear from Argyle and Murray until they were supported in force from England; and leaving no time for faction to disintegrate her own supporters, or for the Queen of England to make up her mind, she sent letters to the noblemen on whom she could rely, desiring them to meet her in arms at Edinburgh on the 9th of August.

Elizabeth, as post after post came in from Scotland, lost her breath at the rapidity of the Queen of Scots' movements; and resolution became more impossible as the need of it became more pressing. On receiving the news that the marriage was actually completed, she despatched Tamworth, a gentleman of the bedchamber, to assure the Queen of Scots that whatever might be pretended to the contrary she had throughout been sincerely anxious to support her interests. The Queen of Scots had not given her the credit which she deserved, and was now "imagining something else in England to content her fancy, as vain persons sometimes would." Leaving much to Tamworth's discretion, she bade him nevertheless let the Queen of Scots see that her present in-

Mission of
Tamworth.

¹ Wright's *Elizabeth*, Vol. I.

tentions were thoroughly understood. "She was following the advice of those who were labouring to extirpate out of Scotland the religion received there;" the Protestants among her own subjects were to be destroyed "to gain the favour of the Papists in England;" "so as with the aid that they would hope to have of some prince abroad, and from Rome also upon pretence of reformation in religion, she might when she should see time attempt the same that she did when she was married to France." It was not for Elizabeth to say what might happen in Scotland; "but for any other device that the Queen of Scots might be fed withal, she might be assured before God she would find all designs, consultations, intelligences, and advices, from wherever they might come to her, far or near, to be vain and deceitful." Let her relinquish these idle imaginings, let her restore Murray to the Council and undertake to enter into no foreign alliance prejudicial to English interests, and she might yet regain the confidence of her true friends.

Had Tamworth's instructions gone no further they would have been useless without being mischievous; but a further message betrayed the fatal irresolution to which Elizabeth was yielding. A fortnight previously she had required the Queen of Scots to abandon her own creed; she now condescended to entreat that if her other requests were rejected the Scotch Protestants might at least be permitted to use their own religion without molestation.¹ She might have frightened Mary by a demonstration of force as prompt as her own. To show that she saw through her schemes, yet at the same time that she dared not venture beyond a feeble and hesitating protest, could but

August.
Weakness of
Elizabeth.

¹ Instructions to Tamworth, August 1: *MS. Rolls House.*

make the Queen of Scots desperate of further concealment, and encourage her to go forward more fearlessly than ever.

"Mary Stuart," when Tamworth came into her presence, "gave him words that bit to the quick." To the Queen of England's suspicions she said she would reply with her "own lawful demands." "The Queen of England spoke of imaginations and fancies;" "she was sorry her good sister thought so disdainfully of her as she would meddle with simple devices. If things went so that she was driven to extremities and practices, she would make it appear to the world that her devices were not to be set at so small a price." Playing on Elizabeth's words with a straightforward but irritating irony, she said "that by God's grace it should appear to the world that her designs, consultations, and intelligences would prove as substantial and no more vain and deceitful than such as her neighbours themselves had at any time taken in hand;" while, as to Murray's restoration, she had never yet meddled between the Queen of England and her subjects; but now, "induced by her good sister's example," "she would request most earnestly for the release and restoration to favour" of her mother-in-law, the Lady Margaret, Countess of Lennox.¹

Had Philip of Spain been at Mary's shoulder, he would have advised her to spare her sarcasms till an armada was in the Channel or till Elizabeth was a prisoner at her feet. As soon as she had made sure of Darnley, he would have recommended her to omit no efforts for conciliation. She need not have relinquished one emotion of hatred or one aspiration for revenge; but she would have been taught to wait upon

¹ Answer of the Queen of Scots to Tamworth: Printed in Keith.

time to soothe down the irritation which she had roused, to cajole with promises, and to compel Elizabeth by the steady if slow pressure of circumstances to give way step by step.

But Mary Stuart was young and was a woman. Her tongue was ready and her passions strong. Philip cared sincerely for Romanism, Elizabeth cared for English liberty, the Earl of Murray cared for the doctrines of the Reformation; Mary Stuart was chiefly interested in herself, and she was without the strength of self-command which is taught only by devotion to a cause. So confident was she that in imagination she had already seated herself on Elizabeth's throne. To the conditions of friendship offered by Tamworth she replied in language which could scarcely have been more peremptory had she entered London at the head of a victorious army. Not condescending to notice

what was demanded of herself, she required Elizabeth immediately to declare her by Act of Parliament next in the succession; and failing herself and her children, to entail the Crown on Lady Margaret Lennox and her children, "as the persons by the law of God and nature next inheritable." The Queen of England should bind herself "neither to do nor suffer to be done either by law or otherwise" anything prejudicial to the Scottish title; to abstain in future from all practices with subjects of the Scottish Crown; to enter no league and contract no alliance which could affect the Queen of Scots' fortunes unfavourably. On these terms, but on these alone, she would consent to leave Elizabeth in undisturbed possession during her own or her children's lifetime; she would abstain from encouraging the English Catholics to rise in rebellion in her behalf, and from

Conditions
demanded by
the Queen of
Scots.

inviting an invasion from Spain or France;¹ and she condescended to promise — to throw dust in the eyes of the Protestants in both countries — although she was receiving the support of the Pope and seeking the support of the King of Spain in the sole interests of Romanism — that in the event of herself and her husband succeeding to the throne of England, the religion established there by law should not be interfered with.

An answer every sentence of which must have stung Elizabeth like a whip-lash, might have for the moment satisfied Mary Stuart's passion; but her hatred of her sister of England was passing into contempt, and she believed she might trample upon her with impunity.

Tamworth, having received his message, desired to return with it to England. He applied for a passport, which was given him signed by Darnley as King of Scotland; and Elizabeth had forbidden him to recognize Darnley in any capacity but that of the Queen's husband. He desired that the wording might be changed: his request was refused. He requested that a guard might escort him to the Border: it could not be granted. He set out without attendance and without a safe-conduct: he was arrested and carried prisoner to Hume Castle.

The Lords at Stirling had been already so perplexed by Elizabeth's timidity that they had broken up and dispersed. Argyle and Murray retired to the western Highlands, and sent an earnest message that unless they could be immediately relieved they would be overthrown.² The arrest of Tamworth added to their dismay. Yet in spite of past experience they could

¹ Offer of the King and Queen of Scotland, by Mr. Tamworth, August, 1565: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

² Tamworth to Cecil and Leicester, August 10: *MS. Ibid*

not believe Elizabeth capable of breaking promises so emphatically and so repeatedly made to them. They wrote through Randolph that they were still at the Queen of England's devotion. They would hold out as long as their strength lasted; but it was already tasked to the uttermost, and if left to themselves they would have to yield to superior force.

The catastrophe came quicker than they anticipated. The friends of the Congregation were invited by circulars to meet at Ayr on the 24th of August. On the 25th the Queen of Scots — after a tempestuous interview with Randolph, who had demanded Tamworth's

Mary Stuart
takes the
field.

release — mounted her horse and rode out of Edinburgh at the head of 5000 men to meet her enemies in the field. Darnley, in gilt armour, was at her side. She herself carried pistols in hand and pistols at her saddlebow. Her one peculiar hope was to encounter and destroy her brother, against whom, above and beyond his political opposition, she bore an especial and unexplained animosity.¹

¹ "I never heard more outrageous words than she spoke against my Lord of Murray. She said she would rather lose her crown than not be revenged upon him. She has some further cause of quarrel with him than she cares to avow." — Randolph to Cecil, August 27: *MS. Rolls House*. Shortly after, Randolph imagined that he had discovered the "further cause." "The hatred conceived against my Lord of Murray is neither for his religion nor yet for that she now speaketh — that he would take the crown from her, as she said lately to myself — but that she knoweth that he knoweth some such secret fact, not to be named for reverence sake, that standeth not with her honour, which he so much detesteth, being her brother, that neither can he show himself as he hath done, nor she think of him but as of one whom she mortally hateth. Here is the mischief, this is the grief; and how this may be solved and repaired it passeth man's wit to consider. This reverence, for all that he hath to his sovereign, that I am sure there are very few that know this grief; and to have this obloquy and reproach of her removed, I believe he would quit his country for all the days of his life." — Randolph to Cecil, October 13: *MS. Ibid.*

The mystery alluded to was apparently the intimacy of Mary Stuart with Ritzio, which was already so close and confidential as to provoke calumny.

With the money sent her from abroad she had contrived to raise six hundred "harquebussmen," whom the half-armed retainers of the Lords could not hope to engage successfully. Passing Linlithgow and Stirling she swept swiftly round to Glasgow, and cut off the retreat of the Protestants into the western hills. A fight was looked for at Hamilton, where "a hundred gentlemen of her party determined to set on Murray in the battle, and either slay him or tarry behind lifeless."¹

Outnumbered — for they had in all but 1300 horse — and outmanœuvred by the rapid movements of the Queen, the Protestants fell back on Edinburgh, where they expected the citizens to declare for them. On the last of August, six days after Mary Stuart had left Holyrood, Chatelherault, Murray, Glencairn, Rother, Boyd, Kirkcaldy, and a few more gentlemen, rode with their servants into the West Port, and sending a courier to Berwick with a pressing treaty for help, they prepared to defend themselves. But the Calvinist shopkeepers who could be so brave against a miserable priest, had no stomach for a fight with armed men. The Queen was coming fast behind them like an avenging fury; and Erskine, who was

September.
The Lords in
Edinburgh.

In the face of Randolph's language it is difficult to say for certain that Mary Stuart had never transgressed the permitted limits of propriety; yet it is more likely that a person so careless of the opinions of others, and so warm and true in her friendships, should have laid herself open to remark through some indiscretion, than that she should have seriously compromised her character. It seems certain that Murray intended to have hanged Rizzio. Paul de Foix asked Elizabeth for an explanation of the Queen of Scots' animosity against her brother: —

"Elle s'estant ung peu tene, et secoué sa teste, me respondit que c'estoit pour ce que la Roynie d'Escosse avoit esté informé que le Comte de Murray avoit voullu pendre ung Italien nommé David qu'elle aymeroit et favorisoit, luy donnant plus de credit que ses affaires et honneur ne devoient." — Paul de Foix au Roy: Teulet, Vol. II.

¹ Randolph to Cecil, September 4: *MS. Rolls House*.

inclining to the royal side, began to fire on the Lords from the castle. "In the town they could find neither help nor support from any one;" and the terrified inhabitants could only entreat and even insist that they should depart. A fortnight before, a little money and a few distinct words from England would have sufficed to save them. Mary Stuart's courage and Elizabeth's remissness had by this time so strengthened the party of the Queen that "little good could now be done without greater support than could be in readiness in any short time." The Lords could only retire towards the Border and wait Elizabeth's pleasure. "What was promised," Randolph passionately wrote to Cecil, "your honour knoweth. Oh that her Majesty's mind was known! If the Earl of Bedford have only commission to act in this matter, both Queens may be in one country before long. In the whole world if there be a more malicious heart towards the Queen my sovereign than hers that here now reigneth, let me be hanged at my home-coming or counted a villain forever."¹

Randolph
prays Eliza-
beth to
declare her-
self.

Mary meanwhile had reëntered Edinburgh, breathing nothing but anger and defiance. Argyle was in his own Highlands wasting the adjoining lands of Athol and Lennox; but she scarcely noticed or cared for Argyle. The affection of a sister for a brother was curdled into a hatred the more malignant because it was unnatural. Her whole passion was concentrated on Murray, and after Murray on Elizabeth.

The day before she had left Holyrood for the west an Englishman named Yaxlee had arrived there from Flanders. This person, who has been already mentioned as in the service of Lady Lennox, had been em-

¹ Randolph to Cecil, September 4: *MS. Rolls House*,

ployed by her as the special agent of her correspondence with the continental courts: Lady Lennox being now in the Tower, Yaxlee followed the fortunes of her son, and came to Scotland to place himself at the disposal of Mary Stuart. He was a conspirator of the kind most dangerous to his employers, vain, loud, and confident, fond of boasting of his acquaintance with kings and princes; and "promising to bring to a good end whatsoever should be committed to him." "The wiser sort" soon understood and avoided him. The Queen of Scots, however, allowed herself to be persuaded by her husband, and placed herself in Yaxlee's power. She told him all her schemes at home and all the promises which had been made to her abroad. The Bishop of Dunblane at Rome had requested the Pope to lend her twelve thousand men, and the Pope was waiting only for Philip's sanction and coöperation to send them.¹ She selected Yaxlee to go on a mission to Spain to explain her position, and to "remit her claims, prospects, and the manner of the prosecution thereof" to Philip's judgment and direction.

Yaxlee is
sent to
Spain.

Vain of the trust reposed in him the foolish creature was unable to keep his counsel. His babbling tongue revealed all that he knew and all that he was commissioned to do; and the report of it was soon in Cecil's hands.²

Philip would no doubt be unwilling to move.

¹ Capítulo de Cartas del Cardinal Pacheco á su Mag^d., 2 September, 1565: *MS. Simancas*.

² "Memoir of the proceedings of Francis Yaxlee," in Cecil's handwriting: *Cotton MSS. Calig. B. 10*. The name of the person is left blank in Cecil's manuscript, but a French translation of the memoir was found in Paris by M. Teulot, and on the margin is written, "Celluy qui est laissé en blanc c'est Yaxlee."

Philip, like Elizabeth, was fond of encouraging others to run into difficulties by promises which he repudiated if they were inconvenient; and in this particular instance Mary Stuart had gone beyond his advice, and had placed herself in a position against which the Duke of Alba had pointedly warned her. But the fears of the Spaniards for the safety of the Low Countries were every day increasing; they regarded England as the fountain from which the heresies of the continent were fed; and they looked to the recovery of it to the Church as the only means of restoring order in their own provinces.¹

Elizabeth was perfectly aware of the dangers which were thickening round her, and the effect was to end her uncertainty and to determine her to shake herself clear from the failing fortunes of the noblemen whom she had invited to rebel. They had halted at Dumfries, close to the Border, where Murray, thinking that "nothing worse could happen than an agreement while the Queen of Scots had the upper hand and they without a force in the field," was with difficulty keeping together the remnant of his party.² The Earl of Bedford, weary of waiting for instructions which never came, wrote at last half in earnest and half in irony to Elizabeth, to propose that she should play over again the part which she had played with Winter; he would himself enter Scotland with the Berwick garrison, and "her Majesty could afterwards seem to blame him for attempting such things as with the help of others he

¹ "Esta materia de Escocia y de aqui es de tanta importancia como se puede considerar; porque si este Reyno se reduxiese, parece que se quitará la fuente de los hereges de Flanders y de Francia, y aun las inteligencias de Alemania, que, como aqui, hay necesidad destas malas ayudas para sostenerse." — De Silva to Philip, August 20: *MS. Simancas*.

² Murray to Randolph, September 8: *MS. Rolls House*.

could bring about.”¹ But Elizabeth was too much frightened to consent even to a vicarious fulfilment of her promises. She replied that if the Lords were in danger of being taken, the Earl might cover their retreat into England; she sent him three thousand pounds which if he pleased he might place in their hands; but he must give them to understand precisely that both the one and the other were his own acts, for which she would accept neither thanks nor responsibility. “You shall make them perceive your case to be such,” she said, “as if it should appear otherwise your danger should be so great as all the friends you have could not be able to save you towards us.”²

Elizabeth determines to abandon Murray.

At times she seemed to struggle with her ignominy, but it was only to flounder deeper into distraction and dishonour. Once she sent for the French ambassador: she told him that the Earl of Murray and his friends were in danger for her sake and through her means; the Queen of Scots was threatening their lives; and she swore she would aid them with all the means which God had given, and she would have all men know her determination. But the next moment, as if afraid of what she had said, she stooped to a deliberate lie. De Foix had heard of the 3000*l.*, and had ascertained beyond doubt that it had been sent from the Treasury; yet when he questioned Elizabeth about it she took refuge behind Bedford, and swore she had sent no money to the Lords at all.³

“It fears me not a little,” wrote Murray on the 21st, “that these secret and covered pretendings of

¹ Bedford to Elizabeth: *MS. Rolls House.*

² Elizabeth to Bedford, September 12: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

³ De Foix to the Queen-mother, September 18: Teulet, Vol. II.

the Queen's Majesty there, as matters now stand, shall never put this cause to such end as we both wish, but open declaration would apparently bring with it no doubt."¹ "If her Majesty will openly declare herself," said Bedford, "uncertain hearts will be determined again and all will go well."²

Paul de Foix himself, notwithstanding his knowledge of Elizabeth, was unable to believe that she would persevere in a course so discreditable and so dangerous. So easy it would be for her to strike Mary Stuart down, if she had half the promptitude of Mary herself, that it seemed impossible to him that she would neglect the opportunity. As yet the party of the Queen of Scots had no solid elements of strength: Ritzio was the chief councillor; the Earl of Athol was the general — "a youth without judgment or experience, whose only merit was a frenzied Catholicism."³ Catherine de Medici, who thought like De Foix, and desired to prevent Elizabeth from becoming absolute mistress of Scotland, sent over Castelnau de Mauvisière to mediate between the Queen of Scots and her subjects. But Mary Stuart understood better the temperament with which she had to deal; she knew that Elizabeth was thoroughly cowed and frightened, and that she had nothing to fear. She sent a message to Castelnau that she would allow neither France nor England to interfere between her and her revolted subjects; while her rival could only betake herself to her single resource in difficulty, and propose again to marry the Archduke.

The Arch-
duke once
more.

There was something piteous as well as laughable in

¹ Murray to Bedford, September 21: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

² Bedford to Cecil: *MS. Ibid.*

³ De Foix to the Queen-mother, September 18: Teulet, Vol. II.

the perpetual recurrence of this forlorn subject. She was not wholly insincere. When pushed to extremity she believed that marriage might become her duty, and she imagined that she was willing to encounter it. The game was a dangerous one, for she had almost exhausted the patience of her subjects, who might compel her at last to fulfil in earnest the hopes which she had excited. It would have come to an end long before had it not been that Philip, who was irresolute as herself, allowed his wishes for the marriage to delude him into believing Elizabeth serious whenever it was mentioned; while the desirableness of the Austrian alliance in itself, and the extreme anxiety for it among English statesmen, kept alive the jealous fears of the French. To De Silva the Queen appeared a vain, capricious woman, whose pleasure it was to see the princes of Europe successively at her feet; yet he too had expected that if her Scotch policy failed she would take the Archduke in earnest at last, and thus the value of the move was not yet wholly played away, and she could use his name once more to hold her friends and her party together.

As a matter of course when the Archduke was talked of on one side the French had their candidate on the other; and Charles the Ninth being no longer in question, Paul de Foix threw his interest on the side of Leicester. While the Queen of Scots was displaying the spirit of a sovereign and accomplishing with uncommon skill the first steps of the Catholic revolution, Elizabeth was amusing herself once more with balancing the attractions of her lover and the Austrian prince: not indeed that she any longer wished to marry even the favoured Lord Robert; "If she ever took a husband," she said to De Foix, "she would give him neither a

share of her power nor the keys of her treasury ; her subjects wanted a successor, and she would use the husband's services to obtain such a thing ; but under any aspect the thought of marriage was odious to her, and when she tried to make up her mind it was as if her heart was being torn out of her body."¹

Elizabeth's
private feel-
ings on her
marriage.

Yet Leicester was fooled by the French into a brief hope of success. He tried to interest Cecil in his cause by assuring him that the Queen would marry no one but himself ; and Cecil mocked him with a courteous answer, and left on record in a second table of contrasts with the Archduke his own intense conviction of Leicester's worthlessness.²

A ludicrous court calamity increased the troubles of the Queen and with them her unwillingness to declare war against the Queen of Scots. The three daughters of the Duke of Suffolk had been placed one after the other in the line of succession by Henry the Eighth. Lady Jane was dead ; Lady Catherine was dying from the effects of her long and cruel imprisonment ; the third, Lady Mary, had remained at the Court, and one evening in August, when the Scotch plot was thickening, got herself married in the palace itself, "by an old fat priest in a short gown," to Thomas Keys, the sergeant porter.³ Lady

Lady Mary
Grey and
the sergeant
porter.

¹ She said she was resolved — "Ne departir jamais à celuy qui seroit son mary ni de ses biens ni forces ni moyens, ne voulant s'ayder de luy que pour laisser successeur d'elle à ses subjectz ; mais quand elle pensoit de ce faire, il luy sembloit que l'on luy arrachast le cœur du ventre ; tant elle en estoit de son naturel eslonguée." — Paul de Foix to the Queen-mother August 22: Teulet, Vol. II.

² "De Matrimonio Regina Angliæ." Reasons against the Earl of Leicester: *Burleigh Papers*, Vol. I.

³ This marriage was before mentioned by me as having taken place at the same time with that of Lady Jane Grey and Guildford Dudley. I was misled by Dugdale.

Mary was "the smallest woman in the Court," Keys was the largest man, and that seemed to have been the chief bond of connexion between them. The lady was perhaps anxious for a husband and knew that Elizabeth would keep her single till she died. Discovery followed before worse had happened than the ceremony. The burly sergeant porter was sent to the Fleet to grow thin on discipline and low diet; the Lady Mary went into private confinement; and both were only too eager to release each other and escape from punishment. The bishops were set to work by the Council to undo the knot, and found it no easy matter.¹ Elizabeth had a fresh excuse for her detestation of the Greys and a fresh topic on which to descant in illustration of the iniquities of matrimony.

De Mauvissière, meanwhile, undeterred by the Queen of Scots' message, had made his way to Edinburgh, but only to find that he had come upon a useless errand. The Earl of Bothwell had rejoined Mary Stuart in the middle of her triumph, "a man," said Randolph, "fit to be made a minister of any shameful act against God or man;"² and Bothwell's hatred for Murray drew him closer than ever to Mary's side. In the full confidence of success, and surrounded by persons whose whole aim was to feed the fire of her passion, she would listen to nothing which De Mauvissière could urge. In vain he warned her of the experience of France; in vain he reminded her of the siege of Leith and of the madness of risking a quarrel with her powerful and dangerous neighbour. "Scotland," she said, 'should not be turned into a republic; she would

¹ *Privy Council Register*, August, 1565. Proceedings of Council on the marriage of the Lady Mary Grey: *MS. Domestic, Eliz., Rolls House* Bishop of London to Cecil: *MS. Ibid.*

² Randolph to Cecil, September 20: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

sooner lose her crown than wear it at the pleasure of her revolted subjects and the Queen of England; instead of advising her to make peace, Catherine de Medici should have stepped forward to her side and assisted her to avenge the joint wrongs of France and Scotland; if France failed her in her extremity, grieved as she might be to leave her old allies, she would take the hand which was offered her by Spain; she would submit to England — never.”¹

From the moment when she had first taken the field, she had given her enemies no rest; she had swept Fife, the hotbed of the Protestants, as far as St. Andrew's. The old Laird of Lundy — he who had called the mass the mickle deil — was flung into prison, and his friends and his family had to fly for their lives. At the end of September she was pausing to recover breath at Holyrood before she made her last swoop upon the party at Dumfries. The Edinburgh merchants found her money, her soldiers with lighted matchlocks assisting them to unloose their purse strings. With October she would march to the Border, and in her unguarded moments she boasted that she would take her next rest at the gates of London.²

It was now necessary for Elizabeth to come to some resolution which she could avow — either to interfere at once or distinctly to declare that she did not mean to interfere. Cecil, according to his usual habit, reviewed the situation and drew out in form its leading features. The two interests at stake were religion and the succession to the Crown. For religion “it was doubtful how to meddle in another prince's controversy:” “so far as politic laws were

The position
is considered
by Cecil.

¹ Castelnau de Mauvissière to Paul de Foix, September: Teulet, Vol. II.

² Paul de Foix to the King of France, September 29: Ibid.

devised for the maintenance of the Gospel Christian men might defend it," "yet the best service which men could render to the truth was to serve God faithfully and procure by good living the defence thereof at His Almighty hand." The succession was at once more critical and more impossible to leave untouched. The Queen of Scots appeared to intend to exact her recognition as "second person" at the point of the sword. The unwillingness of the Queen of England to marry had unsettled the minds of her subjects, who "beholding the state of the crown to depend only on the breath of one person" were becoming restless and uneasy; and there were symptoms on all sides which pointed "towards a civil quarrel in the realm." The best remedy would be the fulfilment of the hopes which had been so long held out to the nation. If the Queen would marry all danger would at once be at an end. If she could not bring herself to accept that alternative, she might make the intrigues of the Scottish Queen with her Catholic subjects, the practising with Rome, the language of Darnley to Randolph, and the continued refusal to ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh, a ground for declaring war.¹

Every member of the Council was summoned to London. The suspected Earls of Cumber-
The Council
assembles in
London.
 land, Westmoreland, and Northumberland
 were invited to the Court, to remove them from the Border where they would perhaps be dangerous; and day after day the advisers of the Crown sat in earnest and inconclusive deliberation. A lucid statement was drawn up of Mary Stuart's proceedings from the day of Elizabeth's accession; every aggressive act on her part, every conciliatory movement of the Queen of

¹ Note in Cecil's hand, September, 1565: *MS. Rolls House.*

England were laid out in careful detail to assist the Council in forming a judgment; the history was brought down to the latest moment, and one only important matter seems to have been withheld — the unfortunate promises which Elizabeth had made to the Earl of Murray and his friends at a time when she believed that a demonstration in Scotland would be sufficient to frighten Mary Stuart, and that she would never be called on to fulfil them.

In favour of sending assistance to the Protestant noblemen it was urged that the Queen of Scots notoriously intended to overthrow the reformed religion and to make her way to the English throne; the title of the Queen of England depended on the Reformation; if the Pope's authority was restored she would no longer be regarded as legitimate. To sit still in the face of the attitude which the Queen of Scots had assumed was to encourage her to continue her practices; and it was more prudent to encounter an enemy when it could be done at small cost and in her own country than to wait to be overtaken at home by war and rebellion which would be a thousand times more dangerous and costly.

On the other hand, to defend the insurgent subjects of a neighbouring sovereign was a dangerous precedent. If Elizabeth was justified in maintaining the Scotch Protestants, the King of Spain might claim as fair a right to interfere in behalf of the English Catholics. The form which a war would assume and the contingencies which might arise from it could not be foreseen, while the peril and expense were immediate and certain.

The arguments on both sides were so evenly balanced that it was difficult to choose between them. The Council however, could it be proved that the

Queen of Scots was in communication with the Pope to further her designs on England, were ready to consider that "a great matter." The name of the Pope was detested in England by men who believed themselves to hold every shred of Catholic doctrine; the creed was an opinion; the Pope was a political and most troublesome fact with which under no circumstances were moderate English gentlemen inclined to have any more dealings. The Pope turned the scale; and the Council, after some ineffectual attempts to find a middle course, resolved on immediately confiscating the estates of the Earl of Lennox; while they recommended the Queen to demand the ratification of the Treaty of Edinburgh, to send a fleet into the Forth, and to despatch a few thousand men to Berwick to be at the disposal of the Earl of Bedford.¹

The Council
at first recommended
war.

Had these steps been taken either Mary Stuart must have yielded, or there would have been an immediate war. But the Council, though consenting and advising a decided course, were still divided: Norfolk, Arundel, Winchester, Mason, and Pembroke were in favour in the main of the Queen of Scots' succession, and they regarded Calvinists and Calvinism with a most heartfelt and genuine detestation. Elizabeth in her heart resented the necessity of identifying herself with the party of John Knox, and her mood varied from day to day. After the resolution of the Council on the 24th, she spoke at length to the French ambassador in praise of Murray, who if his sister could but have known it, she said, was her truest friend—a noble, generous, and good man; she was fully aware

¹ Notes of the Proceedings in Council at Westminster, September 24. In Cecil's hand: *Cotton MSS., Calig. P 10.* *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

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¹ Notes of the Proceedings in Council at Westminster, September 24.
In Cecil's hand: *Cotton MSS., Calig. P. 10.* *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

of the Queen of Scots' designs against her; and when De Foix entreated her not to break the peace she refused to give him any assurances, and she told him that if France assisted Mary Stuart she should receive it as an act of hostility against herself.¹

But her energy spent itself in words, or rather both the Queen and those advisers whom she most trusted, even Sir William Cecil himself, oscillated backwards into a decision that the risk of war was too great to be encountered. The example might be fatal: the Catholic powers might interfere in England; the Romanists at home might mutiny; while to move an army was "three times more chargeable than it was wont to be, whereof the experience at Havre might serve for example."² Two days after their first resolution, therefore, the Council assembled again, when Cecil informed them "that he found a lack of disposition in the Queen's Majesty to allow of war or of the charges thereof;" she would break her word to the Lords whom she had encouraged into insurrection; but it was better than to run the risk of a conflagration which might wrap all England in its flames. The idea of forcible interference was finally abandoned. De Mauvissière remained at Edinburgh sincerely endeavouring to keep Mary within bounds; and Cecil himself wrote a private letter of advice to her which he sent by the hands of a Captain Cockburn. There were reasons for supposing that her violence might have begun to cool. Darnley had desired that the command of the army might be given to his father; the Queen of Scots

October.
The English
government
decides
finally not to
interfere.

¹ Paul de Foix to the King of France, September 29: Teulet, Vol. II.

² "Causes that move me not to consent presently to war, September 26. Note in Cecil's hand: *Cotton MSS., Calig. B. 10.*

had insisted on bestowing it upon Bothwell,¹ who had won her favour by promising to bring in Murray dead or alive ;² and Lennox was holding off from the Court in jealous discontent.

Cockburn, on his arrival at Holyrood, placed himself in communication with De Mauvissière. They waited on Mary together ; and expatiating on the ruinous effect of the religious wars of the Guises which had filled France with rage and hatred, they entreated her for her own sake to beware of the miserable example. The French ambassador told her that if she looked for aid from abroad she was deceiving herself ; France would not help her and would not permit the interference of Spain ; so that she would bring herself " to a hard end." Cockburn " spoke his mind freely to her to the same effect," and " told her she was in great danger."³

Mary Stuart " wept wondrous sore ;" but construing Elizabeth's unwillingness to declare war into an admission of her own strength, she was deaf to advice as she had been to menace. She disbelieved De Mauvissière, and trusted soon to hear from Yaxlee that the Spanish fleet was on its way to the English Channel ; at least she would not lose the chance of revenge upon her brother : " she said she could have no peace till she had Murray's or Chatelherault's head."⁴

A few hundred men from Berwick would probably have ended her power of so gratifying herself ; yet on the other hand it might have been a spark to explode

¹ Randolph, speaking of Mary Stuart's relation with Bothwell at this time, says—" I have heard a thing most strange, whereof I will not make mention till I have better assurance than now I have."—Randolph to Cecil, October 13: *MS. Rolls House*.

² Cockburn to Cecil, October 2: *MS. Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Randolph to Cecil, October 5: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House*.

an insurrection in England; and Elizabeth preferred to hold aloof with her arm half raised — wishing yet fearing to strike — and waiting for some act of direct hostility against herself. As far as the peace of her own country was concerned her policy was no doubt a prudent one; but it was pursued at the expense of her honour; it ruined for the time her party in Scotland; and it was an occasion of fresh injury to the fugitives at Dumfries.

As soon as Murray with his few dispirited friends had reached the Border he despatched Sir Robert Melville to London to explain his situation and to request in form the assistance which had been promised him. Elizabeth assured Melville that she was sorry for their condition. She bade him return and tell Murray that she would do her very best for himself and his cause; but she could not support him by arms without declaring war against the Queen of Scots, and she could not declare war “without just cause.” If the Queen of Scots therefore were to offer him “any tolerable conditions” she would not have him refuse; “if on the other hand the indignation of the Queen was so cruelly intended as he and his companions could obtain no end with preservation of their lives, her Majesty, both for her private love towards those that were noblemen, and of her princely honour and clemency towards such as were tyrannically persecuted, would receive them into her protection, save their persons and their lives from ruin, and so far would give them aid and succour;” she would send a commissioner to Scotland to intercede with the Queen, “and with him also an army to be used as her Majesty should see just occasion given to her.”¹

Elizabeth again misleads the Lords.

¹ Answer to Robert Melville, October 1: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

The Lords had become "desperate of hope and as men dismayed;" they had repented bitterly of "having trusted so much to England:"¹ Chatellherault, Glencairn, Kirkaldy — all in fact save Murray — desired to make terms with Mary, and were feeling their way towards recovering her favour at the expense of the Queen of England, whom they accused of betraying them. When Melville returned with Elizabeth's answer it was interpreted into a fresh promise of interference in their behalf, not only by the Lords, whom anxiety might have made sanguine, but by the bearer of the message to whom Elizabeth had herself spoken. They immediately recovered their courage, broke off their communications with the Queen of Scots, and prepared to continue their resistance.

Elizabeth would have done better if she had spoken less ambiguously. Mary Stuart, who had paused to ascertain what they would do, set out at once for the Border with Athol, Bothwell, and a motley force of 18,000 men. She rode in person at their head in steel bonnet and corselet, "with a dagger at her saddle-bow,"² declaring that "all who held intercourse with England should be treated as enemies to the realm;" while Darnley boasted that he was about "to be made the greatest that ever reigned in the isle of Britain."³ Ritzio was still the presiding spirit in Mary's council chamber. "You may think," wrote Randolph, "what the matter meaneth that a stranger and a varlet should have the whole guiding of the Queen and country."⁴ The army was but a confused crowd: of loyal friends

¹ Bedford to Cecil, October 5: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

² Randolph to Cecil, October 13: *MS. Ibid.*

³ Randolph to Leicester, October 18: *MS. Ibid.*

⁴ *MS. Ibid.*

the Queen could really count on none but Bothwell, young Athol, and perhaps Huntly; "the rest were as like to turn against her as stand by her." She perhaps trusted to some demonstration from Berwick to kindle them into enthusiasm through their patriotism; but Elizabeth disappointed equally both her enemies and her friends; she would give no excuse to the Queen of Scots to complain that England had broken the peace. The "few hundreds" with whose assistance the Lords undertook to drive their sovereign back to Edinburgh were not forthcoming; the army more than half promised to Melville was a mere illusion; and Bedford was confined by his orders to Carlisle, where he was allowed only to receive Murray and his party

Murray and
his friends
fly to
England.

as fugitives: they had now therefore no resource except to retreat into England; the Queen of Scots, following in hot pursuit, glared across the frontier at her escaping prey, half tempted to follow them and annihilate the petty guard of the English commander:¹ but prudence for once prevailed; she halted and drew back.

So ended the insurrection which had been undertaken at Elizabeth's instigation and mainly in Elizabeth's interests. Having failed to prevent the catastrophe, she would gladly now have heard no more of it; but she was not to escape so easily. Even among her own subjects there were some who dared to speak unpalatable truths to her. Bedford, who had been sent to the north with an army which he believed that he was

Bedford re-
monstrates.

to lead to Edinburgh, wrote in plain, stern terms to the Queen herself "that the lords,

¹ "A few hundred men would have kept all right. I fear they will break with us from words which she has used, and we are all unprovided." — Bedford to Cecil, October 13: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

in reliance upon her Majesty's promise, had stood out against their sovereign, and now knew not what to do ;"¹ while to Cecil, not knowing how deeply Cecil was responsible for the Queen's conduct, he wrote in serious sorrow. In a previous letter he had spoken of "the Lords of the Congregation," and Elizabeth had taken offence at a term which savoured of too advanced a Protestantism.

"The poor noblemen," he now said, "rest so amazed and in so great perplexity they knew not what to say, do, or imagine. My terming them Lords of the Congregation was but used by me because I saw it received by others ; for that it is not plausible I shall omit it henceforth, wishing from my heart the cause was plausibly received, and then for terms and names it should be no matter. The Earl of Murray I find constant and honourable, though otherwise sore perplexed, poor gentleman, the more the pity. As her Majesty means peace we must use the necessary means to maintain peace ; albeit I know that the Queen useth against the Queen's Majesty our sovereign all such reproachful and despiteful words as she can ; besides her practices with foreign realms, which her Majesty's father I am sure would have thought much of. Yet as her Majesty winketh at the same, I must know what I am to do, whether in dealing with the wardens on the Border I am to recognize commissions signed by the Lord Darnley as King of Scotland."²

Randolph, ashamed and indignant at the deception of which he and Throgmorton had been the instru-

¹ Bedford to the Queen, October 13: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

² Bedford to Cecil, October 13 and October 26: *MS. Ibid.*

ments, insisted "that the Queen of Scots meant evil and nothing but evil," and that however long she was borne with she would have to be brought to reason by force at last. "You, my lord," he wrote Randolph appeals to Leicester. anxiously to Leicester, "do all you can to move her Majesty; it is looked for at your hand, and all worthy and godly men of this nation shall love and honour you forever; let it be handled so that this Queen may know how she has been misguided and ill-advised to take so much upon her — not only against these noblemen, but far above that if she had power to her will."¹

But it was from Murray himself that Elizabeth had to encounter the most inconvenient remonstrances. To save England from a Catholic revolution, and to save England's Queen from the machinations of a dangerous rival, the Earl of Murray had taken arms against his sovereign, and he found himself a fugitive and an outlaw, while the sacred cause of the Reformation in his own country had been compromised by his fall. His life was safe, but Mary Stuart, having failed to take or kill him, was avenging herself on his wife; and the first news which he heard after reaching England was that Lady Murray had been driven from her home, and, within a few weeks of her confinement, was wandering shelterless in the woods. Submission and soft speeches would have been his more prudent part, but Murray, a noble gentleman of stainless honour, was not a person to sit down patiently as the dupe of timidity or fraud.

He wrote shortly to the English Council, to say that in reliance on the message brought him by Sir Robert Melville he had encouraged his friends to persevere in

¹ Randolph to Leicester, October 18: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

resistance at a time when they could have made their peace; and through "their Queen's cold dealing" both he and they were now forced to enter England. If there was an intention of helping them, he begged that it might be done at once, and that Scotland might be saved from ruin.¹

By the same messenger he wrote more particularly to Cecil: "He did not doubt," he said, "that Cecil understood fully the motives both of himself and his friends; they had enterprised their action with full foresight of their sovereign's indignation, being moved thereto by the Queen of England and her Council's hand writ directed to them thereupon;" the "extremities" had followed as they expected; the Queen of Scots would now agree to no condition, relying on the Queen of England's "coldness:" he was told that the Queen's Majesty's conscience was not resolved to make open war without further motive and occasion; the Queen's Majesty was perfectly aware "that he had undertaken nothing for any particularity of his own, but for good affection to follow her own counsel; her Majesty had been the furtherer and the doer, and he with the other noblemen had assisted therein to their power."²

Nor were the Lords contented with written protests: they were determined to hear from Elizabeth's own lips an explanation of their desertion. Murray himself and the Abbot of Kilwinning were chosen as the representatives of the rest; and Bedford, after an affectation of opposition which he did not carry beyond a form, sent to the Queen on the 17th of October to prepare for their appearance in London. Pressed by the conse-

¹ Murray to the Council, October 14: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

² Murray to Cecil, October 14: *MS. Ibid.*

quences of her own faults, Elizabeth would have concealed her conduct if possible from her own eyes ; least of all did she desire to have it thrown in her teeth before all the world. She had assured Paul de Foix at last that she would give the Lords no help, and would wait to be attacked. She wished to keep clear of every overt act which would justify the Queen of Scots in appealing to France and Spain. She had persuaded herself that Mary Stuart's army would disperse in a few days for want of supplies, that the Lords would return over the Border as easily as they had crossed it ;¹ and that she could assist them with money behind the scenes without openly committing herself. These plans and hopes would be fatally disconcerted by Murray's appearance at the court, and she sent Bedford's courier flying back to him with an instant and angry command to prevent so untoward a casualty. She had said again and again that "she would give no aid that should break the peace." The coming up of the Earl of Murray "would give manifest cause of just complaint to the Queen of Scots ;" and she added with curious self-exposure, "neither are these kind of matters in this open sort to be used." If Murray had not yet set out she required Bedford "to stay him by his authority ;" if he had started he must be sent after and recalled.²

The harshness of Elizabeth's language was softened by the Council, who expressed their regret "that the common cause had not hitherto had better success ;" they promised their own support "so far as their power and credit might extend ;" but they entreated Murray

¹ Paul de Foix to the King of France, October 16: Teulet, Vol. II.

² Elizabeth to Bedford, October 20: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

"patiently to accommodate himself to her Majesty's resolution." ¹

Unluckily for Elizabeth, Murray had anticipated the prohibition, and had followed so closely behind the announcement of his approach that the couriers charged with the letters of the Queen and Council met him at Ware. He opened the despatch which was addressed to himself, and immediately sent on a note to Cecil, regretting that he had not been sooner made aware of the Queen's wishes, but saying that as he had come so far he should now remain where he was till he was informed of her further pleasure.

Embarrassed, irritated, and intending at all hazards to disavow her connexion with the Lords, Elizabeth, since Murray had chosen to come to her, resolved to turn his presence to her advantage. When she had once made up her mind to a particular course, she never hesitated on the details, whatever they might cost. The Earl of Murray was told that he ^{Murray goes to} would be received; he went on to London, ^{London.} and "on the night of his arrival the Queen sent for him and arranged in a private interview the comedy which she was about to enact."²

The following morning, the 22d of October, he was admitted to an audience in public, at which De Foix

¹ The Council to Murray, October 20: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House*. The letter is signed by Norfolk, Pembroke, Lord William Howard, and Cecil.

² "Yo fué avisado que la noche antes desta platica el de Murray estuvo con ella y con el secretario Cecil, buen rato, donde se debió consultar lo que pasó el día siguiente." — De Silva to Philip, November 5. And again, "La Reyna oyó al de Murray la noche que llegó en secreto, y otro día hizo aquella demostración delante del Embajador de Francia." — Same to the same, November 10: *MS. Simancas*. A report of the proceedings in the Rolls House, which was drawn up for the inspection of Mary Stuart herself, and the Courts of France and Spain, states that "the Queen received Murray openly and none otherwise." The consciousness that she had received him otherwise explains words which else might have seemed superfluous.

and De Mauvissière, who had by this time returned from Scotland, were especially invited to be present. De Silva describes what ensued, not as an eye-witness, but from an account which was given to him by the Queen herself.¹

Elizabeth having taken her place with the Council and the ambassadors at her side, the Earl of Murray entered, modestly dressed in black. Elizabeth receives Murray in form; Falling on one knee he began to speak in Scotch, when the Queen interrupted him with a request that he would speak in French, which she said she could better understand. Murray objected that he had been so long out of practice that he could not properly express himself in French; and Elizabeth, whose object was to produce an effect on De Foix and his companion, accepted his excuse for himself; but she said that although he might not be sufficient master of the idiom to speak it, she knew that he understood it when he heard it spoken; she would therefore in her own part of the conversation make use of that language.

She then went on "to express her astonishment that being declared an outlaw as he was by the Queen of Scots, the Earl of Murray should have dared to come unlicensed into her presence. The Queen of Scots had been her good sister, and such she always hoped to find her. There had been differences between them which had made her fear for their friendship; but the King of France had kindly interposed his good offices between herself, her sister, and her sister's subjects;

¹ The account in Sir James Melville's *Memoirs* is evidently taken from the official narrative, with which in most points it verbally agrees. De Silva's is but little different. The one variation of importance will be noticed.

and the two ministers who had been his instruments in that good service being at the moment at her court, she had requested both them and others to attend on the present occasion to hear what she was about to say. She wished it to be generally understood that she would do nothing which would give just offence to the Queen of Scots or which would impair her own honour. The world, she was aware, was in the habit of saying that her realm was the sanctuary for the seditious subjects of her neighbours and it was even rumoured that she had instigated or encouraged the insurrection in Scotland. She would not have done such a thing to be sovereign of the universe. God, who was a just God, she well knew would punish her with the like troubles in her own country; and if she encouraged the subjects of another prince in disobedience, He would stir her own people into insurrection against herself. So far as she knew there were two causes for the present disturbances in Scotland: the Queen of Scots had married without the consent of her Estates, and had failed to apprise the princes her neighbours of her intentions; the Earl of Murray had attempted to oppose her and had fallen into disgrace. This was the first cause. The second was that the Earl of Lennox and his house were opposed to the reformed religion; the Earl of Murray feared that he would attempt to destroy it, and with his friends preferred to lose his life rather than allow what he believed to be the truth to be overthrown. The Earl had come to the English court to request her to intercede with his sovereign that he might be heard in his defence. There were faults which proceeded of malice which deserved the rigour of justice — one of these was treason against the person of the sovereign; and were she

and publicly denies that she had encouraged the rebellion.

to understand that the Earl of Murray had meditated treason, she would arrest and chastise him according to his demerits: but she had known him in times past to be well-affectioned to his mistress; he had loved her, she was confident, with the love which a subject owes to his prince. There were other faults — faults committed through imprudence, through ignorance, or in self-defence, which might be treated mercifully. The Earl of Murray's fault might be one of these; she bade him therefore say for which cause he had instigated the late disturbances."

Elizabeth had exercised a wise caution in preparing Murray for this preposterous harangue. He commanded himself, and replied by calling God to witness of the loyalty with which he had ever served his sovereign: she had bestowed lands, honour, and rewards upon him far beyond his desert; he had desired nothing less than to offend her, and he would have stood by her with life and goods to the utmost of his ability.

Elizabeth then began again: "She held a balance in her hand," she said; "in the one scale was the sentence of outlawry pronounced against him by the Queen of Scots, in the other were the words which he had just spoken. But the word of a Queen must outweigh the word of a subject in the mind of a sister sovereign, who was bound to show most favour to her own like and equal. The Earl had committed actions deserving grave reprehension: he had refused to appear when lawfully summoned; he had taken up arms and had made a league with others like himself to levy war against his sovereign. She had been told that he was afraid of being murdered, but if there had been a conspiracy against him he should have produced the proofs of it in his sovereign's presence."

Murray replied in Scotch, the Queen interpreting as he went on. He said that it was true that there had been a conspiracy; the condition of his country was such that he could not have saved his life except by the means which he had adopted. Elizabeth had doubtless made it a condition of her further friendship that he should say nothing by which she could herself be incriminated; and he contented himself with entreating her to intercede for him to obtain the Queen of Scots' forgiveness.

Elizabeth affected to hesitate. The Queen of Scots, she said, had so often refused her mediation that she knew not how she could offer it again, but she would communicate with her Council, and when she had ascertained their opinions he should hear from her. Meanwhile she would have him understand that he was in great danger, and that he must consider himself a prisoner.

The Earl was then permitted to withdraw. The Queen went aside with the Frenchmen, and assuring them that they might accept what they had witnessed as the exact truth, she begged that they would communicate it to the King of France. To De Silva, when he was next admitted to an audience, she repeated the story word by word, and to him as well as to the others she protested that rebels against their princes should receive from her neither aid nor countenance.¹

Elizabeth declares that she had spoken nothing but the truth.

So ended this extraordinary scene. Sir James Melville's narrative carries the extravagance one point further. He describes Elizabeth as extorting from Murray an acknowledgment that she had not encour-

¹ De Silva to Philip, November 5: *MS. Sinancos*.

aged the rebellion, and as then bidding him depart from her presence as an unworthy traitor. Sir James Melville does but follow an official report which was drawn up under Elizabeth's eye and sanction, to be sent to Scotland and circulated through Europe. It was thus therefore that she herself desired the world to believe that she had spoken ; and one falsehood more or less in a web of artifice could scarcely add to her discredit. For Murray's sake, however, it may be hoped that he was spared this further ignominy, and that De Silva's is the truer story.

If the Earl did not declare in words, however, that Elizabeth was unconnected with the rebellion, he allowed her to disavow it in silence, and by his forbearance created for himself and Scotland a claim upon her gratitude. He was evidently no consenting party to the deception ; and after leaving her presence he wrote to her in a letter what he had restrained himself from publicly declaring. "Her treatment of him would have been more easy to bear," he said, "had he known in what he had offended ;" "he had done his uttermost with all his power to serve and gratify her ;" and "the more he considered the matter it was ever the longer the more grievous to him : " noblemen who had suffered in former times for maintaining English interests in Scotland, "when their cause was not to be compared to the present, had been well received and liberally gratified ;" while he who had "endeavoured to show a thankful heart in her service when any occasion was presented, could in no wise perceive by her Highness's answer any affection towards his present state : " "her declaration had been more grievous to him than all his other troubles ;"

Private
protest of
Murray.

he trusted that "he might in time receive from her some more comfortable answer."¹

It does not appear that Elizabeth saw Murray any more. She was only anxious to be rid of his presence, which was an intolerable reproach to her; and with these words—the least which the occasion required, yet not without a sad dignity—he returned to his friends who had been sent on to Newcastle, where they were ordered for the present to remain. Elizabeth was left to play out in character the rest of her ignoble game. To the ambassadors, whom she intended to deceive, it was a transparent farce; and there was probably not a house in London, Catholic or Protestant, where her conduct, which she regarded as a political masterpiece, was not ridiculed as it deserved. But it must be allowed at least the merit of completeness. An elaborate account of the interview with Murray was sent to Randolph to be laid before the Queen of Scots; Elizabeth accompanied it with an autograph letter in which she attempted to impose on the keenest-witted woman living ^{Elizabeth writes to} Mary Stuart. by telling her she wished "she could have been present to have heard the terms in which she addressed her rebellious subject." "So far was she from espousing the cause of rebels and traitors," she said, "that she should hold herself disgraced if she had so much as tacitly borne with them;" "she wished her name might be blotted out from the list of princes as unworthy to hold a place among them," if she had done any such thing.²

¹ The Earl of Murray to Queen Elizabeth, from Westminster, October 31: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

² "Aussy je luy (Randolph) ay declaré tout an long le discours entre moy et ung de voz subjectz lequel j'espere vous contentera; soubhaitant que voz oreilles en eussent été juges pour y entendre et l'honneur et l'affection que
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At the same time she wrote to Randolph himself, saying frankly that her first impulse on Murray's arrival had been to accept partially if not entirely the conditions of peace which the Queen of Scots had offered to Tamworth. If the Queen of Scots would promise not to molest either herself or her children in the possession of the English throne, she had been ready to pledge her word that nothing should be done in England in prejudice of the Queen of Scots' title to "the second place." On reflection, however, it had seemed imprudent to show excessive eagerness. She had therefore written a letter which Randolph would deliver; and he might take the opportunity of saying that although the Darnley marriage had interrupted the friendship which had subsisted between the Queen of Scots and herself, yet that she desired only to act honourably and kindly towards her; and if the Queen of Scots would undertake to keep the peace and would give the promise which she desired, she would send commissioners to Edinburgh to make a final arrangement.¹

In a momentary recovery of dignity she added at the close of her letter that if the Queen of Scots refused, "she would defend her country and subjects from such annoyance as might be intended, and would finally use all such lawful means as God should give her, to redress all offences and injuries already done or hereafter to be done to her or her subjects."² But an evil spirit of trickery and imbecility had taken possession of Eliz-

je monstrois en vostre endroit; tout au rebours de ce qu'on dict que je defendois voz mauvaises subjectz contre vous; laquelle chose se tiendra tous-jours très éloignée de mon cœur, estant trop grande ignominie pour une princesse à souffrir, non que à faire; soublaitant alors qu'on me esblouisse du rang des princes comme estant indigne de tenir lieu." — Elizabeth to the Queen of Scots, October 29: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House*.

¹ Elizabeth to Randolph, October 29: *MSS. Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*

abeth's intellect. The Queen of Scots naturally expressed the utmost readiness to receive commissioners sent from England to concede so much of what she had asked. By the time Mary's answer came, her Majesty being no longer in a panic, had become sensible of the indignity of her proposal. She therefore bade Randolph "so compass the ^{November} matter that the Queen of Scots should rather send commissioners to England, as more honourable to herself;" and "if the Queen of Scots said, as it was like she would, that the Queen of England had offered to send a commission thither, *he should answer that he indeed said so and thought so*, but that he did perceive he had mistaken her message."¹

Elizabeth's strength, could she only have known it, lay in the goodness of the cause which she represented. The essential interests both of England and Scotland were concerned in her success. She was the champion of liberty, and through her the two nations were emancipating themselves from spiritual tyranny. By the side of the Jesuits she was but a shallow driveller in the arts to which she condescended; and she was about to find that after all the paths of honour were the paths of safety, and that she could have chosen no weapon more dangerous to herself than the chicanery of which she considered herself so accomplished a mistress. She had mistaken the nature of English and Scottish gentlemen in supposing that they would be the instruments of a disgraceful policy, and she had done her rival cruel wrong in believing that she could be duped with artifices so poor.

"Send as many ambassadors as you please to our Queen," said Sir William Kirkaldy to Bedford; "they

¹ Elizabeth to Randolph, November 26: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

shall receive a proud answer. She thinks to have a force as soon ready as you do, besides the hope she has to have friendship in England. If force of men and ships come not with the ambassadors, their coming and travail shall be spent in vain."¹

Even Cecil perhaps now deplored the effects of his own timidity. "I have received," wrote Bedford to him, "your gentle and sorrowful letter. It grieveth me that things will frame no better. The evil news will be the overthrow of three hundred gentlemen of Scotland that are zealous and serviceable." Too justly Bedford feared that the Scotch Protestants in their

Probable
consequence
of Eliza-
beth's con-
duct.

resentment, would "become the worst enemies that England ever had;" too clearly he saw that Elizabeth by her miserable trifling had ruined her truest friends; that however anxious she might be for peace "the war would come upon her when least she looked for it;" and that Mary Stuart now regarded her with as much contempt as hatred. "Alas! my lord," he wrote to Leicester, "is this the end? God help us all and comfort these poor lords. There is by these dealings overthrown a good duke, some earls, many other barons, lords, and gentlemen, wise, honest, religious. Above all am I driven to bemoan the hard case of the Earl of Murray and the Laird of Grange, whose affection to this whole realm your lordship knows right well. I surely think there came not a greater overthrow to Scotland these many years; for the wisest, honestest, and godliest are discomfited and undone. There is now no help for them, unless God take the matter in hand, but to commit themselves to their prince's will and pleasure. And what hath England gotten by helping them in this

¹ Kirkaldy to Bedford, October 31: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

sort? even as many mortal enemies of them as before it had dear friends; for otherwise will not that Queen receive them to mercy, if she deal no worse with them; nor without open and evident demonstration of the same cannot they assure themselves of her favour; and the sooner they thus do, the sooner they shall have her to conceive a good opinion of them, and the sooner they shall be restored to their livelihoods.”¹

“Greater account might have been made of the lords’ good-will,” wrote Randolph. “If there be living a more mortal enemy to the Queen my mistress than this woman is, I desire never to be reputed but the vilest villain alive.”² “The lords,” concluded Bedford scornfully, “abandoned by man and *turned over to God*, must now do the best they can for themselves.”

And what that was, what fruit would have grown from those strokes of diplomatic genius, had Mary Stuart been equal to the occasion, Elizabeth would ere long have tasted in deposition and exile or death. Randolph, faithful to the end, might say and unsay, might promise and withdraw his word, and take on himself the blame of his mistress’s changing humour; Bedford, with ruin full in view before him, might promise at all risks “to obey her bidding.” But the Lords of Scotland were no subjects of England, to be betrayed into rebellion in the interests of a country which they loved with but half their hearts, and when danger came to be coolly “turned over to God.” Murray might forgive, for Murray’s noble nature had no taint of self in it; but others could resent for him what he himself could pardon. Argyle, his brother-in-

¹ Bedford to Leicester, November 5: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House*

² Randolph to Leicester, November 8. *Ibid.*

law, when he heard of that scene in London, bade Randolph tell his mistress "he found it very strange: the Queen of Scots had made him many offers, and till that time he had refused them all; if the Queen of England would reconsider herself, he would stick to the English cause and fight for it with lands and life; but he demanded an answer within ten days. If she persisted, he would make terms with his own sovereign."¹ The ten days passed and no answer came. Argyle withdrew the check which through the Scots of the Isles he had held over Shan O'Neil, and Ireland
Resentment
of the Earl
of Argyle. blazed into fury and madness; while Argyle himself from that day forward till Mary Stuart's last hopes were scattered at Langside, became the enemy of all which till that hour he had most loved and fought for.

Nor was Argyle alone in his anger. Sir James Melville saw the opportunity and urged on his mistress a politic generosity. From the day of her return from France he showed her that she had "laboured without effect to sever her nobility from England." "The Queen of England had now done for her what for herself she could not do; and if she would withdraw her prosecutions, pardon Murray, pardon Chatelherault, pardon Kirkaldy and Glencairn, she might command their devotion forever."² Melville found an ally where he could have least looked for it, to repeat the same advice. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton had for the last six years been at the heart of every Protestant conspiracy in Europe. He it was of whose experienced skill Elizabeth had availed herself to light the Scotch insurrection. His whole nature revolted against the

¹ Randolph to Cecil, November 19.

² Melville's *Memoirs*.

paltry deception of which he had been made the instrument; and now throwing himself passionately into the interests of the Queen of Scots, he advised the Lords "to sue for pardon at their own Queen's hands, and engage never to offend her again for the satisfaction of any prince alive;" while more daringly and dangerously he addressed Mary Stuart himself.

"Your Majesty," he said, "has in England many friends who favour your title for divers respects; some for conscience, thinking you have the right; some from personal regard; some for religion; some for faction; some for the ill-will they bear to Lady Catherine, your competitor. Your friends and enemies alike desire to see the succession settled. Parliament must meet next year at latest; and it must be your business meanwhile to assure yourself of the votes of the majority, which if you will you can obtain. You have done wisely in marrying an Englishman; we do not love strangers. Make no foreign alliance till you have seen what we can do for you. Keep on good terms with France and Spain, but do not draw too close to them. Go on moderately in religion as you have hitherto done, and you will find Catholics as well as Protestants on your side. Show clemency to the banished Lords. You will thus win many hearts in England. Be careful, be generous, and you will command us all. I do not write as 'a fetch' to induce you to take the Lords back; it is thought expedient for your service by many who have no favour to them and are different from them in religion.

Sir Nicholas
Throgmorton writes to
Mary Stuart.

"The Earl of Murray has offended you it is true; but the Protestants persuade themselves that his chief

fault in your eyes is his religion, and on that ground they take his side. Pardon him, restore him to favour, and win by doing so all Protestant hearts. The Lords will in no wise if they can eschew it be again in the Queen of England's debt, neither by obtaining of any favour at your hand by her intervention, nor yet for any support in time of their banishment. Allow them their charges out of their own lands, and the greater part even of the English bishops will declare for you."¹

Never had Elizabeth been in greater danger; and the worst features of the peril were the creations of her own untruths. Without a fuller knowledge of the strength and temper of the English Catholics than the surviving evidence reveals, her conduct cannot be judged with entire fairness. Undoubtedly the utmost caution was necessary to avoid giving the Spaniards a pretext for interference; and it is due to her to admit that her own unwillingness to act openly on the side of the northern lords had been endorsed by that of Cecil. Yet she had been driven into a position from which, had Mary Stuart understood how to use her advantage, she would scarcely have been able to extricate herself. If the Queen of Scots had relied on her own judgment she would probably have accepted the advice of Melville, and Throgmorton, and her other English friends; she would have declared an amnesty, and would have rallied all parties except the extreme Calvinist fanatics to her side. But such a policy would have involved an indefinite prolongation of the yoke which she had already found intolerable; she must have concealed or suspended her intention of making

¹ Letter from Sir N. Throgmorton to the Queen of Scots: Printed by Sir James Melville; abridged.

a religious revolution, and she must have continued to act with a forbearance towards the Protestants which her passionate temper found more and more difficulty in maintaining. The counsels of David Ritzio were worth an army to English liberty; she had surrendered herself entirely and exclusively to Ritzio's guidance; and when Melville attempted to move the dark and dangerous Italian "he evidenced a disdain of danger and despised counsel." Ritzio, "the minion of the Pope," preferred the more direct and open road of violence and conquest, which he believed, in his ignorance of the people amongst whom he was working, to be equally safe for his mistress, while it promised better for other objects which he had in view for himself. Already every petition addressed to the crown was passing through his hands, and he was growing rich upon the presents which were heaped upon him to buy his favour. He desired rank as well as wealth; and to be made a peer of Scotland, the reward which Mary Stuart intended for him, he required a share of the lands of the banished earls, the estates of Murray most especially, as food at once for his ambition and revenge.

*Injurious
influence of
Ritzio over
Mary Stuart.*

It is time to return to his friend and emissary, Francis Yaxlee, who went at the end of August on a mission to Philip.

*Mission of
Yaxlee to
Spain.*

The conditions under which the King of Spain had promised his assistance seemed to have arrived. Mary Stuart had married Lord Darnley as he advised; her subjects had risen in insurrection with the secret support of the Queen of England, who was threatening to send an army into Scotland for their support. She had run into danger in the interests of the Church of Rome, and she looked with confidence to the most

Catholic King to declare for her cause. Yaxlee found Philip at the beginning of October at Segovia. Elizabeth's diplomacy had been so far successful that the Emperor Maximilian was again dreaming that she would marry the Archduke Charles. He was anxious to provide his brother with a throne: he had been wounded by Mary Stuart's refusal to accept the Archduke, when his marriage with her had been arranged between himself and the Cardinal of Lorraine, with the sanction of the Council of Trent. Elizabeth had played upon his humour, and he had reverted to the scheme which had at one time been so anxiously entertained by his father and Philip.¹ The King of Spain's own hopes of any such solution of the English difficulty were waning; yet he was unwilling to offend the Emperor, and he would not throw away a card which might after all be the successful one. It was perhaps the suspicion that Philip was not acting towards her with entire sincerity which urged Mary Stuart into precipitancy; or she might have wished to force Elizabeth into a position in which it would be impossible for any Catholic sovereign to countenance her. But Elizabeth, on the one hand, had been too cautious, and Philip, on the other, though wishing well to the Queen of Scots and evidently believing that she was the only hope of the Catholic cause in England, yet could not overcome his constitutional slowness. He was willing to help her, yet only as

¹ "Á noche recibí una carta de Chantonnay del 27 del pasado en que me escribe que habiendo dicho al Emperador de parte de V. M^d. que si era necesario que, para que se hiciese el negocio del matrimonio del Archiduque con la de Inglaterra, V. M^d. escribiese á la Reyna de su mano sobrello, y que el Emperador le habia respondido que no estaba desahuciado deste negocio, y le diria lo que sobrello habia de escribir á V. M^d. El deseo es grande que [el Emperador] tiene á este negocio."—De Silva to Philip November 10: *M.S. Simancas*.

Elizabeth had helped the Scotch insurgents, with a secrecy which would enable him to disavow what he had done. He was afraid of the Huguenot tendencies of the French Government; he was afraid that if he took an open part he might set a match to the mine which was about to explode in the Low Countries: he therefore repeated the cautions which Alva had given Beton at Bayonne; he gave Yaxlee a bond for twenty thousand crowns, which would be paid him by Granvelle at Brussels; he promised if Elizabeth declared war to contribute such further sums as should be necessary, but he would do it only under shelter of the name of the Pope and through the Pope's hands; in his own person he would take no part in the quarrel; the time, he said, was not ripe. He insisted especially that Mary Stuart should betray no intention of claiming the English throne during Elizabeth's lifetime. It would exasperate the Queen of England into decisive action, and justify her to some extent in an immediate appeal to arms.¹ As little would he encourage the Queen of Scots to seek assistance from her uncles in France. She might accept money wherever she could get it, but to admit a French army into Scotland would create a greater danger than it would remove.²

October.
He sends
money to
Mary, but
will take no
open step.

With this answer Yaxlee was dismissed; and so anxious was Philip that Mary Stuart should know his opinion that he enclosed a duplicate of his reply to De Silva, with directions that it should be forwarded immediately to Scotland, and with a further credit for money should the Queen of Scots require it.

¹ "Porque esto la escandalizaria mucho y daria gran ocasion para ejecutar contra ellos lo que pudiese, y en alguna manera seria justificar su causa."
Answer to Yaxlee: Mignet, Vol. II. p. 200.

² Ibid.

Yet Philip was more anxious for her success and more sincere in his desire to support her than might be gathered from his cautious language to her ambassador; and his real feelings may be gathered from a letter which he wrote after Yaxlee had left Segovia to Cardinal Pacheco, his minister at Rome.

PHILIP II. TO CARDINAL PACHECO.¹

October 16.

“I have received your letter of the 2d of September, containing the message from his Holiness on the assistance to be given to the Queen of Scots. As his Holiness desires to know my opinion, you must tell him first that his anxiety to befriend and support that most excellent and most Christian princess in her present straits is worthy of the zeal which he has ever shown for the good cause, and is what his disposition would have led me to expect. The Queen of Scots has applied to myself as well as to his Holiness; and possessing as I do special knowledge of the condition of that country, and having carefully considered the situation of affairs there, I have arrived at the following conclusions:—

Philip advises the Pope to send assistance.

“There are three possibilities—

“1. Either the Queen of Scots may find herself at war only with her own subjects, and may require assistance merely to reduce her own country to obedience and to maintain religion there; or,

“2. The Queen of England, afraid for her own safety, may openly support the rebels and heretics in their insurrection, and herself undisguisedly declare war; or,

“3. The Queen of Scots may attempt to extort by

¹ *MS. Simancas.*

arms the recognition of her claims on the English succession.

“ In either or all of these contingencies his Holiness will act in a manner becoming his position and his character if he take part avowedly in her behalf. I myself am unwilling to come prominently forward, but I am ready to give advice and assistance, and that in the following manner : —

“ Suppose the first case, that the Scotch rebels find no support from any foreign prince, their strength cannot then be great, and the Queen of Scots with very little aid from us will be able to put them down. It will be sufficient if we send her money, which can be managed secretly ; and if his Holiness approves he will do well to send whatever sum he is disposed to give without delay. I shall myself do the same, and indeed I have already sent a credit to my ambassador in England for the Queen of Scots’ use.

“ If the Queen of England takes an open part, more will be required of us, and secrecy will hardly be possible even if we still confine ourselves to sending money. Whatever be done, however, it is my desire that it be done entirely in his Holiness’s name. I will contribute in my full proportion ; his Holiness shall have the fame and the honour.

“ The last alternative is far more difficult. I foresee so many inconveniences as likely to arise from it that the most careful consideration is required before any step is taken. Nothing must be done prematurely ; and his Holiness I think should write to the Queen of Scots and caution her how she proceeds. A false move may ruin all, while if she abide her time she cannot fail to succeed. Her present care should be to attach her English friends to herself more firmly, and wher-

ever possible to increase their number ; but above all she should avoid creating a suspicion that she aims at anything while the Queen of England is alive. The question of her right to the succession must be continually agitated, but no resolution should be pressed for until success is certain. If she grasp at the crown too soon she will lose it altogether. Let her bide her time before she disclose herself, and meanwhile I will see in what form we can best interfere. The cause is the cause of God, of whom the Queen of Scots is the champion. We now know assuredly that she is the sole gate through which religion can be restored in England ; all the rest are closed."

The unfortunate Yaxlee, having received his money in Flanders, was hurrying back to his mistress, when he was caught in the Channel by a November gale, and was flung up on the coast of Northumberland a mangled body, recognizable only by the despatches found upon his person. They told Elizabeth little which she did not know already. She was perhaps relieved from the fear of an immediate interposition from Spain, the expectation of which, as much as any other cause, had led to the strangeness of her conduct. But she knew herself to be surrounded with pitfalls into which a false step might at any moment precipitate her ; and she could resolve on nothing. One day she thought of trying to persuade the Queen of Scots to establish "religion" on the English model ; "or if that could not be obtained that there might be liberty of conscience, that the Protestants might serve God their own way without molestation."¹ Then again, in a feeble effort to preserve her

¹ Instructions to Commissioners going to Scotland, November, 1564. *Cotton MSS., Calig. B. 10.*

dignity, she would once more attempt to entrap the Queen of Scots into sending commissioners to England to sue for a settlement of the succession, which naturally did but increase Mary Stuart's exasperation.¹ Bothwell made a raid on the Borders, and carried off five or six English prisoners. The Earl of Bedford made reprisals, in the faint hope that it might force Elizabeth into a more courageous attitude. She first blamed Bedford; then, stung by an insolent letter from the Queen of Scots, she flashed up with momentary pride and became conscious of her injustice to Murray.

The Scotch Parliament was summoned for the ensuing February, when Murray and his friends would be required to appear, and if they failed to present themselves would be proceeded against for high treason. The Queen of Scots at Ritzio's instigation was determined to carry an act of attainder and forfeiture against them, which Elizabeth felt herself bound in honour to make an effort to prevent. So anxious she had been for the first two months after they had come to England to disclaim connexion with them that she had almost allowed them to starve; and Randolph on Christmas-day wrote to Cecil that Murray "had not at that time two crowns in the world."² But this neglect was less the result of deliberate carelessness than of temporary panic; and as the alarm cooled down she recovered some perception of the obligations under which she lay.

December.
Elizabeth
begins to
recover her-
self.

At length therefore, she consented for herself to name two commissioners if the Queen of Scots would name two others; and in writing on the subject to

¹ *manuscript* to Cecil, December 15: *Scotch MSS. R.^o*

² Same to same, December 25: *MS. Ibid.*

Randolph, under her first and more generous impulse, she said that "her chief intention in their meeting was, if it might be, that some good might be done for the Earl of Murray." Her timidity came back upon her before she had finished her letter; she scored out the words and wrote instead "the chief intention of this meeting on our part is, *covertly though not manifestly,*

to procure that some good might be done
 January. for the Earl."¹ More painful evidence she could scarcely have given of her perplexity and alarm.

Bedford and Sir John Foster were named to represent England. The Queen of Scots, as if in deliberate insult, named Bothwell as a fit person to meet with them; and even this, though wounded to the quick, Elizabeth endured, lest a refusal might "increase her malice."²

So the winter months passed away; and the time was fast approaching for the meeting of the Scottish Parliament. The Queen of Scots was by this time pregnant. Her popularity in England was instantly tenfold increased; while from every part of Europe warnings came thicker and thicker that mischief was in the wind. "The young King and Queen of Scots," wrote Sir Thomas Smith from Paris, "do look for a further and a bigger crown, and have more intelligence and practice in England and in other realms than you think for. Both the Pope's and the King of Spain's hands be in that dish further and deeper than I think you know. The ambassadors of Spain, Scotland, and the Cardinal of Lorraine be too great in their devices for me to like. The Bishop of Glasgow looks to be a cardinal, and to bring in Popery ere it be long, not

¹ Elizabeth to Randolph, January 10: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

² Same to same, February 2: *Lansdowne MSS.*

only into Scotland but into England. I have cause to say to you *vigilate!*"¹

"It is written," Randolph reported to Leicester, "that this Queen's faction increaseth greatly among you. I commend you for that; for so shall you have religion overthrown, your country torn in pieces, and never an honest man left alive that is good or godly. Woe is me for you when David's (Ritzio's) son shall be a king of England."²

At length a darker secret stole abroad that Pius the Fifth, who had just succeeded to the Papal chair, had drawn away Catherine de Medici from the freer and nobler part of the French people; that she had entered on the dark course which found its outcome on the day of St. Bartholomew; and that a secret league had been formed between the Pope and the King of France and the Guises for the uprooting of the reformed faith out of France by fair means or foul. Nor was the conspiracy confined to the Continent; a copy of the bond had been sent across to Scotland which Randolph ascertained that Mary Stuart had signed.³ At the moment when it arrived she had been moved in some slight degree by Melville's persuasions, and perhaps finding that Philip also advised moderation, she was hesitating whether she should not pardon the lords after all. But the Queen-mother's messenger, M. de Villemont, entreated that she would under no circumstance whatever permit men to return to Scotland who had so long thwarted and obstructed her. The unexpected support from France blew her passion into flame again;⁴

Catholic
league in
Europe for
the extirpa-
tion of
heresy.

¹ Sir T. Smith to Cecil, March, 1565-66: *French MSS. Rolls House.*

² Randolph to Leicester, January 29: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

³ Randolph to Cecil, February 7: *MSS. Ibid.*

⁴ Melville's *Memoirs.*

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² Randolph to Leicester, January 29: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

³ Randolph to Cecil, February 7: *MS. Ibid.*

⁴ Melville's *Memoirs.*

and she looked only to the meeting of the Parliament, from which the strength of the Protestants would now be absent, not only to gratify her own and Ritzio's revenge but to commence her larger and long-cherished projects. She determined to make an effort to induce the Estates to reëstablish Catholicism as the religion of Scotland, leaving the Protestants for the present with liberty of conscience, but with small prospect of retaining long a privilege which when in power they had refused to their opponents.

The defeat of the Lords and the humiliating exhibition of Elizabeth's fears had left Mary Stuart to outward appearance mistress of the situation. There was no power in Scotland which seemed capable of resisting her. She wrote to Pius to congratulate him on her triumph over the enemies of the faith, and to assure him that "with the help of God and his Holiness she would leap over the wall."¹ Bedford and Randolph ceased to hope; and Murray, in a letter modestly and mournfully beautiful, told Cecil that unless Elizabeth interfered, of which he had now small expectation, "for anything that he could judge" he and his friends were wrecked forever.²

Suddenly, and from a quarter least expected, a little cloud rose over the halcyon prospects of the Queen of Scots, wrapped the heavens in blackness, and burst over her head in a tornado. On the political stage Mary Stuart was but a great actress. The "woman" had a drama of her own going on behind the scenes; the theatre caught fire; the mock heroics of the Catholic crusade burnt into ashes; and a tremendous domestic tragedy was revealed before the astonished eyes of Europe.

¹ Mary Stuart to the Pope, January 21, 1560: Mignet.

² Murray to Cecil, January 9: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House*.

Towards the close of 1565 rumours went abroad in Edinburgh, coupled with the news that the Queen was enceinte, that she was less happy in her marriage than she had anticipated. She had expected Darnley to be passive in her hands, and she was finding that he was too foolish to be controlled: a proud, ignorant, self-willed boy was at the best an indifferent companion to an accomplished woman of the world; and when he took upon himself the airs of a king, when he affected to rule the country and still more to rule the Queen, he very soon became intolerable. The first open difference between them arose from the appointment of Bothwell as lieutenant-general in preference to Lennox. The Lennox clan and kindred, the Douglasses, the Ruthvens, the Lindsays, who were linked together in feudal affinity, took the affront to themselves; and Darnley, supported by his friends, showed his resentment by absenting himself from the Court.

February.
Differences
between the
Queen of
Scots and
her hus-
band.

"The Lord Darnley," wrote Randolph on the 20th of December,¹ "followeth his pastimes more than the Queen is content withal; what it will breed hereafter I cannot say, but in the mean time there is some misliking between them."

It was seen how Darnley at the time of his marriage grasped at the title of king. As he found his wishes thwarted he became anxious, and his kinsmen with him, that the name should become a reality, and "the crown matrimonial" be legally secured to him at the approaching Parliament. But there were signs abroad that his wish would not be acceded to; Mary Stuart was unwilling to part with her power for the same reason that Darnley required it.

The crown
matrimonial.

¹ *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

On Christmas-day Randolph wrote again of "strange alterations." "A while ago," he said,¹ "there was nothing but King and Queen; now the Queen's husband is the common word. He was wont in all writings to be first named; now he is placed in the second. Lately there were certain pieces of money coined with their faces *Henricus et Maria*; these are called in and others framed. Some private disorders there are among themselves; but because they may be but *amantium iræ* or 'household words' as poor men speak, it makes no matter if it grow no further."

In January a marked affront was passed on Darnley. M. Rambouillet brought from Paris "the Order of the Cockle" for him. A question rose about his shield. Had "the crown matrimonial" been intended for him he would have been allowed to bear the royal arms. The Queen coldly "bade give him his due," and he was enrolled as Duke of Rothsay and Earl of Ross.² Darnley retaliated with vulgar brutality. He gave roistering parties to the young French noblemen in Rambouillet's train and made them drunk.³

One day he was dining with the Queen at the house of a merchant in Edinburgh. He was drinking hard as usual, and when she tried to check him "he not only paid no attention to her remonstrance, but also gave her such words as she left the place with tears." Something else happened also, described as "vicious," the nature of which may be guessed at, at some festivity or other on "Inch Island;"⁴ and as a natural consequence the Queen

Loose living
of Darnley.

¹ *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

² Knox; *History of the Reformation.*

³ "Sick with draughts of aqua composita."

⁴ Sir William Drury to Cecil, February 16: *Cotton MSS., Calig. B 10.*
Printed in Keith.

"withdrew her company" from the Lord Darnley; a staircase connected their rooms, but they slept apart.¹

Side by side with the estrangement from her husband, Mary Stuart admitted Ritzio to closer and closer intimacy. Signor David, as he was called, became the Queen's inseparable companion in the council-room and the cabinet. At all hours of the day he was to be found with her in her apartments. She kept late hours, and he was often alone with her till midnight. He had the control of all the business of the State; as Darnley grew troublesome his presence was dispensed with at the Council, and a signet, the duplicate of the King's, was intrusted to the favoured secretary. Finding himself so deeply detested by the adherents of Lennox, Ritzio induced the Queen to show favour to those among the banished Lords who were most hostile to the King and were least determined in their Protestantism. Chatelherault was pardoned and allowed to return as a support against the Lennox faction in case of difficulty;² while among the Congregation — as was seen in one of Randolph's letters — the worst construction was placed on the relations between the Queen and the favourite.

Thus a King's party and a Queen's party had shaped themselves within six months of the marriage: Scotland was the natural home of conspiracies, for law was powerless there, and social duty was overridden

¹ Ruthven's *Narrative*: Keith.

² "The Duke of Chatelherault, finding so favourable address, hath much displeased both the King and his father, who is in great misliking of the Queen. She is very weary of him. Thus it is that those that depend wholly on him are not liked of her, nor they that follow her in like manner are not liked of him, as David and others. If there should between her and the Lord Darnley arise such controversy as she could not well appease, the Duke's aid she would use." — Drury to Cecil, February 16: *Cotton MSS., Calig. B.* 10.

Intimacy
between
Mary Stuart
and Ritzio.

by the more sacred obligation of affinity or private bond. On the 13th of February (the date is important) Randolph thus wrote to Leicester:—

“I know now for certain that this Queen repenteth her marriage, that she hateth the King and all his kin; I know that he knoweth himself that he hath a partaker in play and game with him; I know that there are practices in hand contrived between the father and the son to come by the crown against her will; I know that if that take effect which is intended, David, with the consent of the King, shall have his throat cut within these ten days. Many things and grievouser and worse are brought to my ears, yea of things intended against the Queen’s own person.”¹

It was observed on the first return of Lennox that the enmities and friendships of his family intersected and perplexed the leading division between Catholics and Protestants. Lord Darnley had been brought to Scotland as the representative of the English Catholics and as a support to the Catholic faction; but it was singular that the great Scottish families most nearly connected with him were Protestants; while the Gordons, the Hamiltons, the Betons, the relations generally of Chatelherault, who was Lennox’s principal rival, were chiefly on the opposite side. The confusion hitherto had worked ill for the interests of the Reformers. The House of Douglas had preferred the claims of blood to those of religion: the Earl of Ruthven, though Murray’s friend, was Darnley’s uncle,² and had stood by the Queen

Divisions in
the Prot-
estant
party.

¹ Printed in Tytler’s *History of Scotland*.

² Ruthven had married a half-sister of Lady Margaret Lennox.

through the struggle of the summer ; Lindsay, a Protestant to the backbone, had married a Douglas and went with the Earl of Morton ; the desire to secure the crown to a prince of their own blood and race had overweighed all higher and nobler claims.

The desertion of so large a section of his friends had been the real cause of Murray's failure ; Protestantism was not dead in Scotland, but other interests had paralyzed its vitality, just as four years before Murray's eagerness to secure the English succession for his sister had led him into his first and fatal mistake of supporting her in refusing to ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh. The quarrel between the Queen and her husband flung all parties back into their natural places ; Lennox, who twenty years before had been brought in from France in the interest of Henry the Eighth as a check on Cardinal Beton, drifted again into his old position in the front of the Protestant league ; and Darnley's demand for the matrimonial crown, though in himself the mere clamour of disappointed vanity, was maintained by powerful noblemen, who though they neither possessed nor deserved the confidence of the Reformers, yet were recognizing too late that they had mistaken their interest in leaving them.

But the matrimonial crown it became every day more clear that Darnley was not to have ; ^{Jealousy and dislike of Ritzio.} Ritzio above all others was held responsible for the Queen's resolution to refuse it, and for this, as for a thousand other reasons, he was gathering hatred on his devoted head. A foreigner, who had come to Scotland two years before as a wandering musician, was thrusting himself into the administration of the country, and pushing from their places the fierce lords who had been accustomed to dictate to their sovereign.

As a last stroke of insolence, he was now aiming at the Chancellorship, of which the Queen was about to deprive, in his favour, the great chief of the House of Douglas.

While their blood was set on fire with these real and fancied indignities, Lord Darnley, if his word was to be believed, went one night between twelve and one to the Queen's room. Finding the door locked he knocked, but could get no answer. At length, after he had called many times, and had threatened to break the lock, the Queen drew back the bolt. He entered, and she appeared to be alone, but on searching he found Ritzio half-dressed, in a closet.¹

Darnley's word was not a good one : he was capable of inventing such a story to compass his other purposes, or if it was true it might have been innocently explained. The Queen of Scots frequently played cards with Ritzio late into the night, and being a person entirely careless of appearances, she might easily have been alone with him with no guilty intention under the conditions which Darnley described. However it was, he believed or pretended that he had

Darnley
accuses the
Queen of
unfaithful-
ness.

found evidence of his dishonour, and communicated his discovery to Sir George Douglas, another of his mother's brothers, who, at Darnley's desire, on the 10th of February informed the Earl of Ruthven.

¹ " L'une cause de la mort de David est que le Roy quelques jours auparavant, environ une heure après minuit, seroit allé heurter à la chambre de ladicte dame, qui estoit audessus de la sienne; et d'autant que après avoir plusieurs fois heurté l'on ne luy respondoit point il auroit apellé souvent la Royne, la priant de ouvrir, et enfin la menaçant de rompre la porte; à cause de quoy elle lui auroit ouvert. Laquelle ledict Roy trouva seule dedans ladicte chambre; mais ayant cherché partout il auroit trouvé dedans son cabinet ledict David en chemise, couvert seulement d'une robe fourrée." — Analyse d'une dépêche de M. de Foix à la Reyne mère: Teulet, Vol. II. p. 287.

Once before, it appeared, "the nobility had given Darnley counsel suitable to his honour" — that is to say, they had intimated to him their own views of Ritzio's proceedings and character. Darnley had betrayed them to the Queen, who had of course been exasperated. Ruthven had been three months ill; he was then scarcely able to leave his bed, and was inclined at first to run into no further trouble; but pressed at length by Darnley's oaths and entreaties, he saw in what had occurred an opportunity for undoing his work of the summer, and for bringing back the banished Lords. Parliament was to meet in the first week in March to proceed with the forfeitures, so that no time was to be lost. Ruthven consulted Argyle, who was ready to agree to anything which would save Murray from attainder. Maitland, who, since his conduct about the marriage, had been under an eclipse, gave his warm adhesion; and swiftly and silently the links of the scheme were welded. Conspiracy to kill Ritzio and restore Murray. The plan was to punish the miserable minion who, whatever his other offences, was notoriously the chief instigator of the Queen's bitterness against her brother, and to give the coveted crown matrimonial to Darnley, provided he on his part "would take the part of the Lords, bring them back to their old rooms, and establish religion as it was at the Queen's home-coming."¹

The conspirators, for their mutual security, drew a "bond," to which they required Darnley's signature, that he might not afterwards evade his responsibility. On their side, they "undertook to be liege subjects to the said Prince Henry, to take part with him in all his lawful actions, causes, and quarrels, to be friends to his

¹ Randolph to Cecil, February 20: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

friends and enemies to his enemies." At the Parliament they would obtain for him "the crown matrimonial for his life;" and "failing the succession of their sovereign, they would maintain his right to the crown of Scotland after her death." Religion should be "maintained and established as it was on the arrival of their sovereign lady in the realm." "They would spare neither life, lands, goods, nor possessions in setting forward all things to the advancement of the said noble prince, and would intercede with the Queen of England for favour to be shown both to himself and to his mother."

Darnley promised in return that the banished noblemen "should have free remission of all their faults" as soon as the possession of the crown matrimonial enabled him to pardon them, and till he obtained it he undertook to prevent their impeachment. The Lords might return at once to Scotland in full possession of "their lands, titles, and goods." If they "were meddled with," he would stand by them to the uttermost, and religion should be established as they desired.¹

Copies of these articles were carried by swift messengers to Newcastle. Ritzio's name was not mentioned; there was nothing in them to show that more was intended than a forcible revolution on the meeting of Parliament; and such as they were, they were promptly signed by Murray and his friends. Argyle subscribed, Maitland subscribed, Rathven subscribed; Morton hesitated, but at the crisis of his uncertainty, Mary Stuart innocently carried out her threat of depriving him of the Chancellorship, and he added his name in a paroxysm of anger. It need not be supposed that the further secret was unknown to any of

¹ Bond subscribed March 6, 1566: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

them, but it was undesirable to commit the darker features of the plot to formal writing.

Meanwhile the Queen of Scots, all unconscious of the deadly coil which was gathering round her, had chosen the moment to order Randolph to leave Scotland. She entertained not the faintest suspicion of the conspiracy, but she knew that the English ambassador had shared Murray's secrets, that he had been Elizabeth's instrument in keeping alive in Scotland the Protestant faction, and that so long as he remained, the party whom she most detested would have a nucleus to gather round. Believing that she could do nothing which Elizabeth would dare to resent, she called him before the Council, charged him with holding intercourse with her rebels, and bade him begone.¹ The opportunity was ill selected, for Elizabeth had been for some time recovering her firmness; she had sent Murray money for his private necessities; in the middle of February she had so far overcome both her economy and her timidity that she supplied him with a thousand pounds, "to be employed in the common cause and maintenance of religion;"² and before she heard of the treatment of Randolph, she had taken courage to write with something of her old manner to the Queen of Scots herself.

"She had not intended," she said, "to have written on the subject again to her, but hearing that her intercession hitherto in favour of the Lords had been not only fruitless, but that at the approaching Parliament

¹ The Queen of Scots to Elizabeth, February 20: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House*.

² Acknowledgment by the Earl of Murray of the receipt of money from the Queen's Majesty, February, 1566: *MS. Ibid.*

Randolph is
expelled
from Scot-
land.

the Queen of Scots meant to proceed to the worst extremities, she would no longer forbear to speak her mind." The Earl of Murray had risen in arms against her only to prevent her marriage and for the defence of his own life from the malice which was borne him; he was the truest and best of her subjects; and therefore, she said, "in the interest of both the realms we are moved to require you to have that regard that the Earl and others with him may be received to your grace, or if not that you will forbear proceeding against him and the others until some better opportunity move you to show them favour."¹

In this mood Elizabeth was not inclined to bear with patience the dismissal of her ambassador. Proudly and coldly she replied to Mary Stuart's announcement of what she had done, "that inasmuch as the Queen of Scots had been pleased to break the usages of nations and pass this affront upon her, as this was the fruit of the long forbearance which she had herself shown, she would be better advised before she entered into any further correspondence; she would take such measures as might be necessary for her own defence; and for the Earl of Murray, to deal plainly, she could not for her honour and for the opinion she had of his sincerity and loyalty towards his country but see him relieved in England, whereof she thought it convenient to advertise the Queen of Scots: if harm came of it

March. she trusted God would convert the evil to those that were the cause of it."²

The first and probably the second of these letters never reached their destination; the events which were

¹ Elizabeth to the Queen of Scots, February 24: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House*.

² Same to same, March 3: *Lansdowne MSS.* 8.

going forward in Scotland rendered entreaties and threats in behalf of Murray alike unnecessary.¹ Randolph, though ordered off, was unwilling to go till he saw the execution of the plot: he made excuses for remaining till an escort came to his door with orders to see him over the frontiers, and he was compelled to obey. Bothwell met him on the road to Berwick with apologies and protests; but Randolph said he knew that Bothwell and one other — no doubt Ritzio — were those who had advised his expulsion. They desired to force Elizabeth to declare war, when Bothwell hoped “to win his spurs.”²

Far enough was the Queen of Scots from the triumphant war which she was imagining; far enough was Bothwell from his spurs, and Ritzio from his Chancellorship and the investiture of the lands of Murray. The mine was dug, the train was laid, the match was lighted, to scatter them and their projects all to the winds.

The Parliament was summoned for Monday the 11th of February; on the 12th the Bill of Attainder against the Lords was to be brought forward and pressed to immediate completion. On Friday the 8th the conspirators sent a safe-conduct signed by Darnley to bring Murray back to Scotland. Lord Hume had been gained over and had undertaken to escort his party through the marches, and before the Earl and his companions could reach Edinburgh all would be over.³

The outline of the intended proceedings was sketched

¹ “A great business is in hand in Scotland, which will bring about the recall of the Earl of Murray, so that we have forborne to forward your Majesty's letters in his behalf.” — Randolph and Bedford to Elizabeth, March 6: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House*.

² Randolph to Cecil, March 6: *MS. Ibid.*

³ Bedford and Randolph to Cecil and Leicester, March 8: *MS. Ibid.*

by Randolph for Cecil's information on his arrival at Berwick.

BEDFORD AND RANDOLPH TO CECIL.¹

Berwick, March 6.

“The Lord Darnley, weary of bearing the name of a king and not having the honour pertaining to such a dignity, is in league with certain of the lords for a great attempt, whereby the noblemen now out of their country may without great difficulty be restored and in the end tranquillity ensue in that country. Somewhat we are sure you have heard of diverse discords and jars between the Queen and her husband; partly for that she hath refused him the crown matrimonial, partly for that he hath assured knowledge of such usage of himself as altogether is intolerable to be borne, which if it were not over-well known we would both be very loth that it could be true. To take away this occasion of slander he is himself determined to be at the apprehension and execution of him whom he is able manifestly to charge with the crime, and to have done him the most dishonour that can be to any man, much more being as he is. We need not more plainly describe the person — you have heard of the man whom we mean.

“The time of execution and performance of these matters is before the Parliament, as near as it is. To this determination there are privy in Scotland these — Argyle, Morton, Ruthven, Boyd, and Lidington; in England these — Murray, Grange, Rothes, myself (Bedford), and the writer hereof (Randolph).

If the Queen will not yield to persuasion, we know not how they propose to proceed. If she make a power

¹ *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

at home she will be fought with ; if she seek aid from abroad the country will be placed at the Queen's Majesty's disposal to deal as she think fit."

In the blindness of confidence, and to prevent the chance of failure in Parliament, Mary Stuart had collected the surviving peers of the old ^{Meeting of the Scotch Parliament.} "spiritual estate," the Catholic bishops and abbots, and placed them "in the antient manner," intending, as she herself declared,¹ "to have done some good anent the restoring the auld religion, and to have proceeded against the rebels according to their demerits." On Thursday the 7th she presided in person at the choice of the Lords of the Articles, naming with her own mouth "such as would say what she thought expedient to the forfeiture of the banished Lords ;"² and on Friday there was a preliminary meeting at the Tolbooth to prepare the Bill of Attainder. The Lords of the Articles,³ carefully as they had been selected, at first reported "that they could find no cause sufficient for so severe a measure."⁴ The next day — Saturday — the Queen appeared at the Tolbooth in person, and after "great reasoning and opposition" carried her point. "There was no other way but the ^{Intended attainder of} Lords should be attained."⁵ The Act was ^{Murray.} drawn, the forfeiture was decreed, and required only the sanction of the Estates.⁶

¹ The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow, April 2: Keith.

² Ruthven's *Narrative*. — "Who chose the Lords of the Articles?" Ruthven said to the Queen. "Not I," said the Queen. "Saving your presence," said he, "you chose them all, and nominated them"

³ The Lords of the Articles were a committee chosen from the Three Estates, and according to law, chosen *by* the Estates, to prepare the measures which were to be submitted to Parliament.

⁴ Ruthven's *Narrative*.

⁵ Knox.

⁶ The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow, April 2: Keith

The same day, perhaps at the same hour, when Mary Stuart was exulting in the consciousness of triumph, the conspirators were completing their preparations. Sunday the 10th had been the day on which they had first fixed to strike their blow. But Darnley was impatient. He swore that "if the slaughter was not hasted" he would stab David in the Queen's presence with his own hand. Each hour of delay was an additional risk of discovery, and it was agreed that the deed should be done the same evening. Ruthven proposed to seize Ritzio in his own room, to try him before an extemporized tribunal, and to hang him at the market cross. So commonplace a proceeding however would not satisfy the imagination of Darnley, who desired a more dramatic revenge; he would have his enemy seized in the Queen's own room, in the very sanctuary of his intimacy; "where she might be taunted in his presence because she had not entertained her husband as she ought of duty." The ill-spirited boy, in retaliation for treatment which went, it is likely, no further than coldness and contempt, had betrayed or invented his own disgrace, to lash his kindred into fury and to break the spirit of the proud woman who had humbled him with her scorn.

The Queen's friends — Huntly, Athol, Sutherland, Bothwell, Livingston, Fleming, Sir James Balfour, and others — were in Edinburgh for the Parliament, and had rooms in Holyrood; but as none of them dreamt of danger there were no troops there but the ordinary guard, which was scanty and could be easily overpowered. It was arranged that as soon as darkness had closed in, the Earl of Morton, with a party of the Douglasses and their kindred, should silently surround the palace: at eight o'clock the doors should be seized and

no person permitted to go out or in; while Morton himself, with a sufficient number of trusted friends, should take possession of the staircase leading to the Queen's rooms, and cut off communication with the rest of the building. Meanwhile the rest —

But a plan of the rooms is necessary to make the story intelligible. The suite of apartments occupied by Mary Stuart were on the first floor in the northwest angle of Holyrood Palace. They communicated in the usual way by a staircase with the large inner quadrangle. A door from the landing led directly into the presence chamber; inside the presence chamber was the bedroom; and beyond the bedroom a small cabinet or boudoir not more than twelve feet square, containing a sofa, a table, and two or three chairs. Here after the labours of the day the Queen gave her little supper parties. Darnley's rooms were immediately below, connected with the bedroom by a narrow spiral staircase, which opened close to the little door leading into the cabinet.

Plan of the
Queen's
rooms in
Holyrood.

"Knowing the King's character, and that he would have a lusty princess afterwards in his arms," the conspirators required his subscription to another bond, by which he declared that all that was done

The murder
of Rizzio.

"was his own device and intention;" and then after an early supper together, Ruthven, though so ill that he could hardly stand, with his brother George Douglas, Ker of Faldonside, and one other, followed Darnley to his room, and thence with hushed breath and stealthy steps they ascended the winding stairs. A tapestry curtain hung before the cabinet. Leaving his companions in the bedroom, Darnley raised it and entered. Supper was on the table; the Queen was sitting on the sofa, Rizzio in a chair opposite to her,

and Murray's loose sister, the Countess of Argyle, on one side. Arthur Erskine the equerry, Lord Robert Stuart, and the Queen's French physician were in attendance standing.

Darnley placed himself on the sofa at his wife's side. She asked him if he had supped. He muttered something, threw his arm round her waist, and kissed her. As she shrunk from him half surprised, the curtain was again lifted, and against the dark background, alone, his corslet glimmering through the folds of a crimson sash, a steel cap on his head, and his face pale as if he had risen from the grave, stood the figure of Ruthven.

Glaring for a moment on Darnley, and answering his kiss with the one word "Judas," Mary Stuart confronted the awful apparition, and demanded the meaning of the intrusion.

Pointing to Ritzio, and with a voice sepulchral as his features, Ruthven answered:

"Let yon man come forth; he has been here over long."

"What has he done?" the Queen answered; "he is here by my will." "What means this?" she said, turning again on Darnley.

The caitiff heart was already flinching. "Ce n'est rien!" he muttered. "It is nothing!"¹ But those whom he had led into the business would not let it end in nothing.

"Madame," said Ruthven, "he has offended your honour; he has offended your husband's honour; he

¹ Bedford and Randolph in their report from Berwick, said the King answered, "It was against her honour." But these words were used by Ruthven. An original report, printed by Teulet, Vol. II. p. 262, compared with that given by Mary herself in the letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow, printed in Keith, creates a belief that the words in the text were those which Darnley really used. They are more in keeping with his character.

has caused your Majesty to banish a great part of the nobility that he might be made a lord ; he has been the destroyer of the commonwealth, and must learn his duty better."

"Take the Queen your wife to you," he said to Darnley, as he strode forward into the cabinet.

The Queen started from her seat "all amazed," and threw herself in his way, while Ritzio cowered trembling behind her and clung to her dress.

Stuart, Erskine, and the Frenchman, recovering from their astonishment, and seeing Ruthven apparently alone, "made at him to thrust him out."

"Lay no hands on me," Ruthven cried, and drew his dagger ; "I will not be handled." In another moment Faldonside and George Douglas were at his side. Faldonside held a pistol at Mary Stuart's breast ; the bedroom door behind was burst open, and the dark throng of Morton's followers poured in. Then all was confusion ; the table was upset, Lady Argyle catching a candle as it fell. Ruthven thrust the Queen into Darnley's arms and bade him hold her ; while Faldonside bent Ritzio's little finger back till he shrieked with pain, and loosed the convulsive grasp with which he clung to his mistress.

"Do not hurt him," Mary said, faintly. "If he has done wrong he shall answer to justice."

"This shall justify him," said the savage Faldonside, drawing a cord out of his pocket. He flung a noose round Ritzio's body, and while George Douglas snatched the King's dagger from its sheath, the poor wretch was dragged into the midst of the scowling crowd and borne away into the darkness. He caught Mary's bed as he passed ; Faldonside struck him sharply on the wrist ; he let go with a shriek, and as

he was hurried through the anteroom the cries of his agony came back upon Mary's ear: "Madame, madame, save me! save me!—justice—I am a dead man! spare my life!"

Unhappy one! his life would not be spared. They had intended to keep him prisoner through the night, and hang him after some form of trial; but vengeance would not wait for its victim. He was borne alive, as far as the stairhead, when George Douglas, with the words, "This is from the King," drove Darnley's dagger into his side: a moment more and the whole fierce crew were on him like hounds upon a mangled wolf; he was stabbed through and through, with a hate which death was not enough to satisfy, and was then dragged head foremost down the staircase, and lay at its foot with sixty wounds in him.

So ended Ritzio, unmourned by living soul, save her whose favour had been his ruin, unheeded, now that he was dead, as common carrion, and with no epitaph on his remains except a few brief words from an old servant of the palace, so pathetic because so commonplace. The body was carried into the lodge and flung upon a chest to be stripped for burial. "Here is his destiny," the porter moralized as he stood by; "for on this chest was his first bed when he came to this place, and there now he lieth, a very niggard and misknown knave."¹

The Queen meanwhile fearing the worst, but not knowing that Ritzio actually was dead, had struggled into her bedroom, and was there left with Ruthven and her husband. Ruthven had followed the crowd for a moment, but not caring to leave Darnley alone with her, had returned. She had thrown herself sob-

¹ Ruthven's *Narrative*.

bing upon a seat; the Earl bade her not be afraid, no harm was meant to her; what was done was by the King's order.

"Yours!" she said, turning on Darnley as on a snake; "was this foul act yours? Coward! wretch! did I raise you out of the dust for this?"

Driven to bay, he answered sullenly that he had good cause; and then his foul nature rushing to his lips, he flung brutal taunts at her for her intimacy with Ritzio, and complaints as nauseous of her treatment of himself.¹

"Well," she said, "you have taken your last of me, and your farewell; I shall never rest till I give you as sorrowful a heart as I have at this present."

Ruthven tried to soothe her, but to no purpose. Could she have trampled Darnley into dust upon the spot she would have done it. Catching sight of the empty scabbard at his side, she asked him where his dagger was.

He said he did not know.

"It will be known hereafter," she said; "it shall be dear blood to some of you if David's be spilt. Poor David!" she cried, "good and faithful servant! may God have mercy on your soul."

Fainting between illness and excitement, Ruthven

¹ The expressions themselves are better unproduced. The conversation rests on the evidence of Ruthven, which is considerably better than Darnley's, and if it was faithfully related might justify Randolph's view of the possible parentage of James the Sixth. But the recollection of a person who had been just concerned in so tremendous a scene was not likely to be very exact. Bedford and Randolph believed the worst: "It is our part," they said in a despatch to the English Council, "rather to pass the matter over in silence than to make any rehearsal of things committed to us in secret; but we know to whom we write;" and they went on to describe the supposed conversation word for word as Ruthven related it. Those who are curious in Court scandals may refer to this letter, which has been printed by Mr. Wright in the first volume of *Elizabeth and her Times*.

with a half apology sank into a chair and called for wine.

"Is this your sickness?" she said bitterly. "If I die of my child, and the commonwealth come to ruin, there are those who will revenge me on the Lord Ruthven." Running over the proud list of friends with which she had fooled her fancy, she threatened him with Philip, and Charles, and Maximilian, and her uncles, and the Pope.

"Those are over great persons," Ruthven answered, "to meddle with so poor a man as me. No harm is meant you. If aught has been done to-night which you dislike, your husband, and none of us, is the cause."

The courage and strength with which the Queen had hitherto borne up began to give way.

"What — what have I done to be thus handled?" she sobbed.

"Ask your husband," said the Earl.

"No," she said, "I will ask you. I will set my crown before the Lords of the Articles, and if they find I have offended, let them give it where they please."

"Who chose the Lords of the Articles?" Ruthven answered with a smile; "you chose them all."

At this moment the boom was heard of the alarm bell in Edinburgh. A page rushed in to say that there was fighting in the quadrangle; and the Earl, leaning heavily on a servant's arm, rose and went down. Huntly, Sutherland, and Bothwell, hearing the noise and confusion, had come out of their rooms to know what it meant. Morton's followers required them to surrender: they had called a few servants about them, and were defending themselves against

heavy odds when Ruthven appeared. Ill as he was, he thrust himself into the mêlée, commanded both sides to drop their arms, and by the glare of a torch read to them Darnley's bond. "The banished earls," he said, "would be at Holyrood in the morning, and he prayed that all feuds and passions might be buried in the dead man's grave."

The Queen's friends, surprised and outnumbered, affected to be satisfied; the leaders on both sides shook hands; and Bothwell and Huntly withdrew to their own apartments, forced open the windows, dropped to the ground and fled.

This disturbance was scarcely over when the Provost of Edinburgh came out of the Canongate with four hundred of the town guard, and demanded the meaning of the uproar. The Provost was a supporter of the Queen; Mary dashed from her seat, wrenched back the casement, and cried out for help.

"Sit down," some ruffian cried. "If you stir you shall be cut in collops and flung over the walls."¹ She was dragged away, and Darnley, whose voice was well known, called out that the Queen was well, that what had been done was done by orders from himself, and that they might go home. The citizens bore no good will to Ritzio: too familiar with wild scenes to pay much heed to them, they inquired no further, and went back to their homes, leaving eighty of their number to assist Morton in the guard of the palace.

Ruthven returned for a moment, but only to call Darnley away and leave the Queen to her rest. The King withdrew, and with him all the other actors in

¹ The speaker is not known. Mary says in her letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow, "The Lords in our face declared that we should be cut down." It was not Ruthven, who was still absent.

the late tragedy who had remained in the scene of it. The ladies of the court were forbidden to enter, and Mary Stuart was locked alone into her room amidst the traces of the fray, to seek such repose as she could find.

So closed Saturday the 9th of March at Holyrood.

Murder of
Adam Black.

The same night another dark deed was done in Edinburgh, which passed scarce noticed in the agitation of the murder of Ritzio. Mary of Lorraine, the year before her death, had a chaplain named Adam Black; he was a lax kind of man, and after being detected in sundry moral improprieties, had been banished to England, where he held a cure in the English Church near Newcastle. His old habits remained with him: he acknowledged to Lord Bedford one bad instance of seduction; but it is to be supposed that he had merit of some kind, for Mary Stuart, as soon as she was emancipated from the first thralldom of the Puritans, recalled him, took him into favour, and appointed him one of the court preachers. He had better have remained in Northumberland. A citizen encountered him a little before Christmas in some room or passage where he should not have been. He received "two or three blows with a cudgel and one with a dagger," and had been since unable to leave his bed. While Edinburgh was shuddering over the scene in the palace, a brother or husband who had matter against the chaplain — the same, perhaps, who had stabbed him — finished his work, and murdered the wounded wretch where he lay.¹

In the morning at daybreak a proclamation went out in the King's name that the Parliament was postponed, and that "all bishops, abbots, and Papists should depart the town." Murray was expected in a

¹ Randolph to Cecil, March 13: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

few hours ; no one knew how deep or how far the conspiracy had gone, and the Catholics, uncertain what to do, offered no resistance. What was to be done with the Queen was the next difficulty. They had caged their bird, but it might be less easy to hold her ; and if they believed the Queen was crushed or broken, the conspirators knew little of the temper which they had undertaken to control : sleeping behind that grace of form and charm of manner there lay a spirit which no misfortune could tame — a nature like a panther's, merciless and beautiful — and along with it every dexterous art by which women can outwit the coarser intellects of men.

In the silence and solitude of that awful night, she nerved herself for the work before her. With the grey of the twilight she saw Sir James Melville passing under her window, and called to him to bring the city guard and rescue her ; but Melville bowed and passed on ; at that moment rescue was impossible ; she had nothing to depend upon but her own courage and her husband's folly. Could she escape, her friends would rally round her, and her first thought was to fly in the disguise of one of her gentlewomen. But to escape alone, even if possible, would be to leave Darnley with the Lords ; she resolved to play a bolder game, to divide him from them, and carry him off, and to leave them without the name of a king to shield their deed.

In the first agony of passion, she had been swept away from her self-control, and she had poured on her husband the full stream of her hate and scorn. He returned to her room on the Sunday morning to find her in appearance subdued, composed, and affectionate. To Mary Stuart it was an easy

Mary Stuart
gains over
Darnley

matter to play upon the selfish, cowardly, and sensual nature of Darnley. As Ruthven had foreseen, she worked upon him by her caresses; she persuaded him that he had been fatally deceived in his supposed injuries; but she affected to imagine that he had been imposed on by the arts of others, and when he lied she pretended to believe him. She uttered no word of reproach, but she appealed to him through the child — his child — whose safety was endangered; and she prayed that at least, situated as she was, she might not be left entirely among men, and that her ladies might be allowed to attend her.

Soft as the clay of which he was made, Darnley obtained the reluctant consent of Morton and Ruthven. The ladies of the palace were admitted to assist at the Queen's morning toilet, and the instant use she made of them was to communicate with Huntly and Bothwell. The next point was to obtain larger liberty for herself. Towards the afternoon "she made as though she would part with her child;" a midwife was sent for, who with the French physician insisted that she must be removed to a less confined air. To Darnley she maintained an attitude of dependent tenderness; and fooled in his idle pride by the prayers of the woman whom he believed that he had brought to his feet, he was led on to require that the guard should be removed from the gate, and that the exclusive charge of her should be committed to himself.

The conspirators, "seeing that he was growing effeminate, liked his proposals in no way;" they warned him that if he yielded so easily "both he and they would have cause to repent;" and satisfied that the threat of miscarriage was but "trick and policy," they refused to dismiss a man from his post, and watched the palace with unremitting vigilance.

So passed Sunday. As the dusk closed in a troop of horse appeared on the road from Dunbar. In a few moments more the Earl of Murray was at the gate. Return of
Murray.

It was not thus that Mary Stuart had hoped to meet her brother. His head sent home by Bothwell from the Border, or himself brought back a living prisoner, with the dungeon, the scaffold, and the bloody axe — these were the images which a few weeks or days before she had associated with the next appearance in Edinburgh of her father's son. Her feelings had undergone no change. He knew some secrets about her which she could not pardon the possessor, and she hated him with the hate of hell ; but the more deep-set passion paled for the moment before a thirst for revenge on Ritzio's murderers.

On alighting the Earl was conducted immediately to the Queen's presence. The accomplished actress threw herself sobbing into his arms.

"Oh my brother," she said as she kissed him, "if you had been here I should not have been so uncourtously handled."

Murray had "a free and generous nature." But a few hours had passed since she had forced the unwilling Lords of the Articles to prepare a Bill of Attainder against him ; but her shame, her seeming helplessness, and the depth of her fall touched him, and he shed tears.

The following morning Murray, Ruthven, Morton, and the rest of the party, met to consider the next step which they should take. Little is known of their deliberations except from the suspected source of a letter from Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow. Some, she said, proposed to keep her a March 11.

perpetual prisoner, some to put her to death, some "that she should be warded in Stirling Castle till she had approved in Parliament what they had done, established their religion, and given to the King the whole government of the realm."

Some measure of this sort they were without doubt prepared to venture; it had been implied in the very nature of their enterprise: yet to carry it out they required Darnley's countenance, and fool and coward as they knew him to be, they had not fathomed the depth of his imbecility and baseness. While the Lords were in consultation, the Queen had wormed the whole secret from him; he told her of the plot for the return of Murray and his friends, with the promises which had been made to himself; he revealed every name that he knew, concealing nothing save that the murder had been his own act and design and provoked by his accusations against herself; he had forgotten that his own handwriting could be produced in deadly witness against him. From that moment she played upon him like an instrument; she showed him that if he remained with the Lords he would be a tool in their hands; she assured him of the return of her own affection for him, and flattered his fancy with visions of greatness which might be in store for him if he would take his place again at her side; she talked of "his allies the confederate princes," who would be displeased if he changed his religion; she appealed again to the unborn heir of their united greatness, and she bound him soul and body to do her bidding.

After possessing him with the plans which she had formed to escape, she sent him to the Lords to promise in her name that she was ready to forget the past, and to bury all unkindness in a general reconciliation.

They felt instinctively that what they had done could never really be pardoned ; but Ruthven, Morton, and Murray returned with Darnley to her presence, when again with the seeming simplicity of which she was so finished a mistress, she repeated the same assurances. She was ready, she said, to bind herself in writing if they would not trust her word ; and while the two other noblemen were drawing a form for her to sign, she took Murray by the hand and walked with him for an hour. She then retired to her room. Darnley, as soon as the bond was ready, took charge of it, promising to return it signed on the following day ; and meanwhile he pressed again that after so much concession on her part they were bound to meet her with corresponding courtesy, and to spare her the ignominy of being longer held a prisoner in her own palace.

Had they refused to consent, an attempt would have been made that night by Bothwell to carry her off by force. But to reject the request of Darnley, whose elevation to a share of the throne was the professed object of the conspiracy, was embarrassing and perhaps dangerous ; they gave way after another warning ; the guard was withdrawn, Ruthven protesting as he yielded that " whatever bloodshed followed should be on the King's head."

The important point gained, Darnley would not awake suspicion by returning to the Queen ; he sent her word privately that " all was well ;" and at eight in the evening Stewart of Traquair, Captain of the Royal Guard, Arthur Erskine, " whom she would trust with a thousand lives," and Standen, a young and gallant gentleman, assembled in the Queen's room to arrange a plan for the escape from Holyrood. The first question was where she was to go. Though the

gates were no longer occupied, the palace would doubtless be watched; and to attempt flight and to fail would be certain ruin. In the Castle of Edinburgh she would be safe with Lord Erskine, but she could reach the castle only through the streets, which would be beset with enemies; and unfit as she was for the exertion she determined to make for Dunbar.

She stirred the blood of the three youths with the most touching appeal which could be made to the generosity of man. Pointing to the child that was in her womb she adjured them by their loyalty to save the unborn hope of Scotland. So addressed they would have flung themselves naked on the pikes of Morton's troopers. They swore they would do her bidding be it what it would; and then "after her sweet manner and wise directions, she dismissed them till midnight to put all in order as she herself excellently directed."

"The rendezvous appointed with the horses was near the broken tombs and demolished sepulchres in the ruined Abbey of Holyrood."¹ A secret passage led underground from the palace to the vaults of the abbey; and at midnight Mary Stuart, accompanied by one servant and her husband, — who had left the Lords under pretence of going to bed, — "crawled through the charnel-house, among the bones and skulls of the antient kings," and "came out of the earth" where the horses were shivering in the March midnight air.

The moon was clear and full. "The Queen with incredible animosity was mounted *en croup* behind Sir Arthur Erskine upon a beautiful English double gelding," "the King on a courser of Naples;" and then away — away — past Restalrig, past

Flight to
Dunbar.

¹ Then standing at the southeastern angle of the Royal Chapel.

Arthur's Seat, across the bridge and across the field of Musselburgh, past Seton, past Prestonpans, fast as their horses could speed; "six in all — their Majesties, Erskine, Traquair, and a chamberer of the Queen." In two hours the heavy gates of Dunbar had closed behind them, and Mary Stuart was safe.¹

Whatever credit is due to iron fortitude and intellectual address, must be given without stint to this extraordinary woman. Her energy grew with exertion; the terrible agitation of the three preceding days, the wild escape, and a midnight gallop of more than twenty miles within three months of her confinement, would have shaken the strength of the least fragile of human frames: but Mary Stuart seemed not to know the meaning of the word exhaustion; she had scarce alighted from her horse than couriers were flying east, west, north, and south, to call the Catholic nobles to her side; she wrote her own story to her minister at Paris, bidding the Archbishop in a postscript anticipate the false rumours which would be spread against her honour, and tell the truth — her version of the truth — to the Queen-mother and the Spanish ambassador.

To Elizabeth she wrote with her own hand, fierce, dauntless, and haughty, as in her highest prosperity.² "Ill at ease with her escape from Holyrood, and suffering from the sickness of pregnancy, she demanded

¹ The account of the escape is taken from a letter of Antony Standen, preserved among the *Cecil MSS.* at Hatfield; the remaining details of the murder and the circumstances connected with it, are collected from Ruthven's *Narrative*, printed in Keith; the letters of Bedford and Randolph, printed by Wright; the two Italian accounts in the seventh volume of Labanoff; Calderwood's *History*; Mary Stuart's letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow, and a letter of Paul de Foix, printed by Teulet.

² This letter may be seen in the Rolls House; the strokes thick and slightly uneven from excitement, but strong, firm, and without sign of tremulousness.

to know whether the Queen of England intended to support the traitors who had slain her most faithful servant in her presence. If she listened to their calumnies and upheld them in their accursed deeds, she was not so unprovided of friends as her sister might dream; there were princes enough to take up her quarrel in such a cause."

The loyalty of Scotland answered well its sovereign's summons. The faithful Bothwell, ever foremost in good or evil in Mary Stuart's service, brought in the night-riders of Liddesdale, the fiercest of the Border marauders; Huntly came, forgetting his father and brother's death, and his own long imprisonment; the Archbishop of St. Andrew's — an evil omen to Darnley — was followed by a thousand Hamiltons; Erskine, from the Castle, sent word of his fidelity; and the Earl Marshal, Athol, Caithness, and a hundred more, hurried to Dunbar with every trooper that they could raise. In four days the Queen found herself at the head of a small army of eight thousand men.

On the other hand, the conspirators' plans were disconcerted hopelessly by the flight of the King. Perplexed, divided, uncertain what to do when the slightest hesitation was ruin — they lost confidence in one another and in their cause. Had they held together, they could still have collected force enough to fight. The Western Highlands were at the devotion of Argyle, and he at any time could command his own terms; but Elizabeth's behaviour in the preceding autumn had forever shaken Argyle's policy. The Queen, "not venturing," as she said herself, "to have so many at once on her hands," sent to say she would pardon the rebellion of the summer, and would receive into favour all who had not been present at or been

concerned in the murder of Ritzio. "They seeing now their liberty and restitution offered them were content to leave those who were the occasion of their return, and took several appointments as they could."¹ Glencairn joined Mary at Dunbar; Rothés followed; and then Argyle, the central pillar of the Protestant party. Three only of those who had been in England refused to desert their friends — the stainless, noble Murray, Kirkaldy of Grange, and the Laird of Patarrow. "These, standing so much upon their honour and promise, would not leave the other without likelihood to do them good."²

Thus, within a week from her flight, Mary Stuart was able to return in triumph to Edinburgh. Mary Stuart returns to Edinburgh. She had succeeded so entirely that she was already able to throw off the mask towards Darnley. Sir James Melville met her on the road: she "lamented to him the King's folly and ingratitude;" and it was to no purpose that the old far-sighted diplomatist warned her against indulging this new resentment; the grudge never left her heart,³ and she had made the object of it already feel the value of the promises with which she had wrought upon his weakness. "The King spoke to me of the lords," said Melville, "and it appeared that he was troubled that he had deserted them, finding the Queen's favour but cold."⁴

The conspirators, or "the Lords of the new attemptate," as they were called, made no effort to resist. Erskine threatened to fire on them from the Casile, and before the Queen reached Holyrood, Ruthven, Morton, Maitland, Lindsay, Faldonside, Flight of the conspirators. even Knox, were gone their several ways, most of

¹ Randolph to Cecil, March 21.

² Melville's *Memoirs*.

² *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

them making for the Border to take shelter with Bedford at Berwick. Murray, too, left Edinburgh with them, and intended to share their fortunes; but Ruthven and Morton, generous as himself, wrote to beg him, "as the rest had fallen off, not to endanger himself on their account, but to make his peace if he was able;"¹ and Murray, feeling that he would do more good for them and for his country by remaining at home than by going with them into a second exile, returned to his sister, and was received with seeming cordiality.

Bothwell, whose estates had been forfeited for his share in the Arran conspiracy, was rewarded for his services by "all that had belonged to Lidington." The unfortunate King, "contemned and disesteemed of all," was compelled to drain the cup of dishonour. He declared before the Council "that he had never counselled, commanded, consented to, assisted, or approved" the murder of Ritzio. His words were taken down in writing, and published at the market-cross of every town in Scotland. The conspirators retorted with sending the Queen the bond which they had exacted from him, in which he claimed the deed as exclusively his own; while the fugitives at Berwick addressed a clear, brief statement of the truth to the Governmer^t in England:

MORTON AND RUTHVEN TO CECIL.²

Berwick, March 27.

"The very truth is this:—the King having conceived a deadly hatred against David Ritzio, an Italian, and some others, his accomplices, did a long time

¹ Randolph to Cecil, March 21: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

² *MS. Ibid.*

ago move unto his ally the Lord Ruthven that he might in no way endure the misbehaviour and offence of the foresaid David, and that he might be fortified by him and some others of the nobility to see the said David executed according to his demerits ; and after due deliberation, the said Lord Ruthven communicated this the King's mind to the Earl of Morton, with whom, having deeply considered the justice of the King's desires in respect of the manifold misbehaviours and misdeeds of the said David Ritzio, tending so manifestly to the great danger of the King's and Queen's Majesties and the whole estate of that realm and commonweal — he not ceasing to abuse daily his great estate and credit to the subversion of religion and the justice of the realm, as is notoriously known to all Scotland, and more particularly to us — we, upon the considerations aforesaid, found good to follow the King's determination anent the foresaid execution ; and for divers considerations we were moved to haste the same, considering the approaching Parliament, wherein determination was taken to have ruined the whole nobility that then was banished ; whereupon we perceived to follow a subversion of religion within the realm, and consequently of the intelligence betwixt the two realms grounded upon the religion ; and to the execution of the said enterprise the most honest and the most worthy were easily induced to approve and fortify the King's deliberation.

“ How be it, in action and manner of execution, more was followed of the King's advice, kindled by an extreme choler, than we minded to have done.

“ This is the truth, whatever the King say now, and we are ready to stand by it and prove it.”

CHAPTER X.

THE murder of Ritzio had deranged Mary Stuart's projects in Scotland, and had obliged her to postpone her intended restoration of Catholicism; but her hold on parties in England was rather increased than injured by the interruption of a policy which would have alarmed the moderate Protestants. The extreme Puritans still desired to see the succession decided in favour of the children of Lady Catherine Grey; but their influence in the state had been steadily diminishing as the Marian horrors receded further into the distance. The majority of the peers, the country gentlemen, the lawyers and the judges, were in favour of the pretensions which were recommended at once by justice and by the solid interests of the realm. The union of the crowns of Scotland and England was the most serious desire of the wisest of Elizabeth's statesmen, and the marriage of Mary Stuart with Darnley had removed the prejudice which had attached before to her alien birth.

The difficulty which had hitherto prevented her recognition had been the persistency with which she identified herself with the party of revolution and Ultramontane fanaticism. The English people had no desire for a Puritan sovereign, but as little did they wish to see again the evil days of Bonner and Gardiner. They were jealous of their national independence; they had done once for all with the Pope,

Increasing
popularity of
Mary Stuart
in England.

and they would have no priesthoods, Catholic or Calvinist, to pry into their opinions or meddle with their personal liberty. For a creed they would be best contented with a something which would leave them in communion with Christendom, and preserve to them the form of superstition without the power of it.

Had Elizabeth allowed herself to be swayed by the ultra-Protestants, Mary Stuart would have appealed to arms and would have found the weightiest portion of the nation on her side. Had the Queen of Scots' pretensions been admitted, so long as her attitude to the Reformation was that of notorious and thorough-going hostility, she would have supplied a focus for disaffection. A prudent and reasonable settlement would have been then made impossible; and England sooner or later would have become the scene of a savage civil war like that which had lacerated France.

Elizabeth, with the best of her advisers, expected that as she grew older Mary Stuart would consent to guarantee the liberties which England essentially valued, and that bound by conditions which need not have infringed her own liberty of creed, she could be accepted as the future Queen of the united island. It was with this view that the reversion of the crown had been held before Mary Stuart's eyes coupled with the terms on which it might be hers, while the Puritans had been forbidden to do anything which might have driven her to the ultimatum of force.

The intrigues with Spain, the Darnley marriage, and the attitude which the Queen of Scots had assumed in connexion with it, had almost precipitated a crisis. Elizabeth had been driven in despair to throw herself on the fanaticism of the Congregation, to endorse the demands of Knox that the Queen of Scots should ab-

jure her own religion, and afterwards to retreat from her position with ignominious and dishonourable evasions. Yet the perplexity of a sovereign whose chief duty at such a time was to prevent a civil war, deserves or demands a lenient consideration. Had Elizabeth declared war in the interest of Murray and the Protestants, she would have saved her honour, but she would have provoked a bloody insurrection; while it would have become more difficult than ever to recognize the Queen of Scots, more hopeless than ever to persuade her into moderation and good sense. If

General
character of
Elizabeth's
policy.

Elizabeth's conduct in its details had been alike unprincipled and unwise, the broader bearings of her policy were intelligible and commendable; her caprice and vacillation arose from her consciousness of the difficulties by which she was on every side surrounded. The Queen of Scots herself had so far shown in favourable contrast with her sister of England: she had deceived her enemies, but she had never betrayed a friend. The greater simplicity of conduct, however, was not wholly a virtue: it had been produced by the absence of all high and generous consideration. Ambition for herself and zeal for a creed which suited her habits, were motives of action which involved and required no inconsistencies. From the day on which she set foot in Scotland she had kept her eye on Elizabeth's throne, and she had determined to restore Catholicism; but her public schemes were but mirrors in which she could see the reflection of her own greatness, and her creed was but the form of conviction which least interfered with her self-indulgence: the passions which were blended with her policy made her incapable of the restraint which was necessary for her success; while her French train-

ing had taught her lessons of the pleasantness of pleasure, for which she was at any time capable of forgetting every other consideration. Elizabeth forgot the woman in the Queen, and after her first mortification about Leicester preserved little of her sex but its caprices. Mary Stuart, when under the spell of an absorbing inclination, could fling her crown into the dust and be woman all.

Could she have submitted to the advice so consistently pressed upon her by Philip, Alva, Melville, Throgmorton, by every wise friend that she possessed, the impatience of the English for a settlement of the succession would have rendered her victory certain. She had only to avoid giving occasion for just complaint or suspicion, and the choice of the country notwithstanding her creed — or secretly perhaps in consequence of it — would have inevitably at no distant time have been determined in her favour. Elizabeth she knew to be more for her than against her. The Conservative weight of the country party would have far outbalanced the Puritanism of the large towns.

But a recognition of her right to an eventual inheritance was not at all the object of Mary Stuart's ambition; nor in succeeding to the English throne did she intend to submit to trammels like those under which she had chafed in Scotland. She had spoken of herself not as the prospective but as the actual Queen of England; ¹ she had told the Lords who had followed her to

¹ "That Queen the other day was in a merchant's house in Edinburgh where was a picture of the Queen's Majesty; when some had said their opinions how like or unlike it was to the Queen's Majesty of England, 'No,' said she, 'it is not like, for I am Queen of England.' These high words, together with the rest of her doings and meanings towards this realm, I refer to others to consider." — Bedford to Leicester, February 14, 1566: *Pepysian MSS. Cambridge.*

Dumfries that she would lead them to the gates of London; she would not wait; she would make no compromise; she would wrench the sceptre out of Elizabeth's hands with a Catholic army at her back as the first step of a Catholic revolution. Even here — so far had fortune favoured her — she might have succeeded could she but have kept Scotland united; could she but have availed herself skilfully of the exasperation of the Lords of the Congregation when they found themselves betrayed and deserted; could she have remained on good terms with her husband and his father, and kept the friends of the House of Lennox in both countries true to her cause. That opportunity she had allowed to escape. It remained to be seen whether she had learnt prudence from the catastrophe from which she had so narrowly escaped; whether she would now abandon her more dangerous courses, and fall back on moderation; or whether, if she persisted in trying the more venturous game, she could bring herself to forego the indulgence of those personal inclinations and antipathies which had caused the tragedy at Holyrood. If she could forget her injuries; if she could renounce with Ritzio's life her desire to revenge his murder; if she avoided giving open scandal to the Catholic friends of Darnley and his mother, her prospects of an heir would more than reëstablish her in the vantage-ground from which she had been momentarily shaken.

Elizabeth, either through fear or policy, seemed as anxious as ever to disconnect herself from the Congregation. The English Government had been informed a month beforehand of the formation of the plot; they had allowed it to be carried into execution without remonstrance; but when the thing was done and Mur-

ray was restored, the Queen made haste to clear herself of the suspicion of having favoured it. Sir Robert Melville was residing in London, and was occupied notoriously in gaining friends for the Scotch succession. Elizabeth sent for him, and when it was too late to save Ritzio she revealed to him the secret information which had been supplied by Randolph; nay, in one of the many moods into which she drifted in her perplexities, she even spoke of Argyle and Murray as "rebels pretending reformation of religion." There were too many persons in England and Scotland who were interested in dividing the Protestant noblemen from the English court. The Queen's words were carried round, to rend still further what remained of the old alliance; and Randolph, discredited on all sides, could but protest to Cecil against the enormous mischief which Elizabeth's want of caution was producing.¹

It appeared as if the Queen had veered round once more and was again throwing herself wholly into Mary Stuart's interests. She replied to the letter which the Queen of Scots addressed to her from Dunbar by sending Melville to Scotland with assurances of sympathy and help; she wrote to

April.
Elizabeth
takes Mary
Stuart's side.

Darnley advising him "to please the Queen of Scots in all things," and telling him that she would take it as an injury to herself if he offended her again; she advised Murray "to be faithful to the Queen his sovereign" under pain of her own displeasure.² As to the second set of fugitives who had taken shelter in England — Morton, Ruthven, and the rest — she told Bedford that she would neither acquit nor condemn

¹ Randolph to Cecil, June 17. The letter is addressed significantly "To Mr. Secretary's self, and only for himself." — *Burleigh Papers*, Vol. I.

² Sir R. Melville to Elizabeth, April 1: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House*.

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himself to fly into the Highlands. One of the three gentlemen was executed; but the Queen while she used his information repaid his baseness with deserved scorn. The bond which he had signed was under her eyes; and the stories which he had told against her were brought forward by the Lords in their own justification. While distrust and fear and suspicion divided home from home and friend from friend, the contempt and hate of all alike was centred on the unhappy caitiff who had betrayed both parties in turn; and Darnley, who was so lately dreaming of himself as sovereign of England and Scotland, was left to wander alone about the country as if the curse of Cain was clinging to him.¹

Meanwhile Elizabeth was reaping a harvest of inconveniences from her exaggerated demonstrations of friendliness. The Queen of Scots, taking her at her word, demanded that Morton and Ruthven should be either surrendered into her hands or at least should not be permitted to remain in England. Elizabeth would have consented if she had dared, but Argyle and Murray identified their cause with that of their friends. Murray was so anxious that they should do well that "he wished himself banished for them to have them as they were." Though they had generously begged him to run no risks in their interest, he had told his sister "that they had incurred their present danger only on his account;" while Argyle sent word to Elizabeth that if she listened to the Queen of Scots' demands he would

¹ "He is neither accompanied nor looked upon by any nobleman; attended by certain of his own servants and six or eight of his guard, he is at liberty to do or go what or where he will."—Randolph to Cecil, April 25: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

join Shan O'Neil.¹ Vainly Elizabeth struggled to extricate herself from her dilemma; resentment was still pursuing her for her treachery in the past autumn. She dared not shelter the conspirators, for the Queen of Scots would no longer believe her fair speeches, and De Silva was watching her with keen and jealous eyes; "she dared not surrender or expel them lest the last Englishman in Ireland should be flung into the sea. She could but shuffle and equivocate in a manner which had become too characteristic. Ruthven was beyond the reach of human vengeance: he had risen from his sick bed to enact his part in Holyrood; he had sunk back upon it to die. To Morton she sent an order, a copy of which could be shown to the Queen of Scots, to leave the country; but she sent with it a private hint that England was wide, and that those who cared to conceal themselves could not always be found.³ Argyle she tried to soothe and work upon, and she directed Randolph to "deal with him." She understood, she said, "that there was a diminution of his good will towards her service, and specially in the matter of Ireland," and that "he alleged a lack of her favour in time of his need." "She had been right sorry for the trouble both of him and his friends; she had done all that in honour she could do, omitting nothing for the Earl of Murray's preservation but open hostility; she trusted therefore that he would alter his mind and withdraw

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¹ Randolph to Cecil, May 13 and May 23: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

² "Con todas las promesas y demostraciones que esta Reyna ha hecho á la de Escocia al presente de la prometer ayuda y serle amiga y no consentir estos ultimos conspiradores en su Reyno, como oygo estan en Newcastle." De Silva to Phillip, May 18: *MS. Simancas.*

³ Morton to Cecil, May 16; Leicester to Cecil, July 11: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

them till she was more fully informed of their conduct, and that for the present they might remain under his protection ;¹ but she insisted that they must move to a distance from the frontier, and Melville was allowed to promise Mary Stuart "that they should meet with nothing but rigour."

De Silva informed Philip that the terror of the scene through which she had passed had destroyed the hope which the Queen of Scots had entertained of combining her subjects against the Queen of England. "She had found them a people fierce, strange, and changeable ; she could trust none of them ;² and she had therefore responded graciously to the tone which Elizabeth assumed towards her." In an autograph letter of passionate gratitude Mary Stuart placed herself as it were under her sister's protection ; she told her that in tracing the history of the late conspiracy she had found that the Lords had intended to imprison her for life, and if England or France came to her assistance they had meant to kill her ; she implored Elizabeth to shut her ears to the calumnies which they would spread against her, and with engaging frankness she begged that the past might be forgotten ; she had experienced too deeply the ingratitude of those by whom she was surrounded to allow herself to be tempted any more into dangerous enterprises ; for her own part she was resolved never to give offence to her good sister again ; nothing should be wanting to restore the happy relations which had once existed between them ; and should she recover safely from her confinement, she hoped that in the summer Elizabeth would make a progress to the north, and that at last she might have an

¹ Elizabeth to Bedford, April 2: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

² De Silva to Philip: *MS. Simancas.*

opportunity of thanking her in person for her kindness and forbearance.¹

This letter was sent by the hands of a certain Thornton, a confidential agent of Mary Stuart, who had been employed on messages to Rome. "A very evil and naughty person, whom I pray you not to believe," was Bedford's credential for him in a letter of the 1st of April to Cecil. He was on his way to Rome again on this present occasion. The public in Scotland supposed that he was sent to consult the Pope on the possibility of divorcing Darnley; and it is remarkable that the Queen of Scots at the close of her own letter desired Elizabeth to give credit to him on some secret matter which he would communicate to her. She perhaps hoped that Elizabeth would now assist her in the dissolution of a marriage which she had been so anxious to prevent.

It was not till her return to Edinburgh that the whole circumstances became known to her which preceded the murder; and whether she had lost in Ritzio a favoured lover, or whether the charge against her had been invented by Darnley to heat the blood of his kindred, in either case his offence against the Queen was irreparable and deadly, and every fresh act of baseness into which he plunged increased the loathing with which she regarded him. The poor creature laboured to earn his pardon by denouncing accomplices after accomplice. Maitland's complicity was unsuspected till it was revealed by Darnley. He gave up the names of three other gentlemen "whom only he and no man else knew to be privy."² Maitland's lands were seized, and he had

Darnley betrays the names of the conspirators.

¹ The Queen of Scots to Elizabeth, April 4: *Scotch MSS.* Printed by Labanoff, Vol. VII. p. 300.

² Randolph to Cecil, April 2: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

himself to fly into the Highlands. One of the three gentlemen was executed; but the Queen while she used his information repaid his baseness with deserved scorn. The bond which he had signed was under her eyes; and the stories which he had told against her were brought forward by the Lords in their own justification. While distrust and fear and suspicion divided home from home and friend from friend, the contempt and hate of all alike was centred on the unhappy caittiff who had betrayed both parties in turn; and Darnley, who was so lately dreaming of himself as sovereign of England and Scotland, was left to wander alone about the country as if the curse of Cain was clinging to him.¹

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³ Morton to Cecil, May 16; Leicester to Cecil, July 11: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

himself to fly into the Highlands. One of the three gentlemen was executed; but the Queen while she used his information repaid his baseness with deserved scorn. The bond which he had signed was under her eyes; and the stories which he had told against her were brought forward by the Lords in their own justification. While distrust and fear and suspicion divided home from home and friend from friend, the contempt and hate of all alike was centred on the unhappy caittiff who had betrayed both parties in turn; and Darnley, who was so lately dreaming of himself as sovereign of England and Scotland, was left to wander alone about the country as if the curse of Cain was clinging to him.¹

Meanwhile Elizabeth was reaping a harvest of inconveniences from her exaggerated demonstrations of friendliness. The Queen of Scots, taking her at her word, demanded that Morton and Ruthven should be either surrendered into her hands or at least should not be permitted to remain in England. Elizabeth would have consented if she had dared, but Argyle and Murray identified their cause with that of their friends. Murray was so anxious that they should do well that "he wished himself banished for them to have them as they were." Though they had generously begged him to run no risks in their interest, he had told his sister "that they had incurred their present danger only on his account;" while Argyle sent word to Elizabeth that if she listened to the Queen of Scots' demands he would

¹ "He is neither accompanied nor looked upon by any nobleman; attended by certain of his own servants and six or eight of his guard, he is at liberty to do or go what or where he will."—Randolph to Cecil, April 25: *Scott. MSS. Rolls House.*

join Shan O'Neil.¹ Vainly Elizabeth struggled to extricate herself from her dilemma; resentment was still pursuing her for her treachery in the past autumn. She dared not shelter the conspirators, for the Queen of Scots would no longer believe her fair speeches, and De Silva was watching her with keen and jealous eyes;"² she dared not surrender or expel them lest the last Englishman in Ireland should be flung into the sea. She could but shuffle and equivocate in a manner which had become too characteristic. Ruthven was beyond the reach of human vengeance: he had risen from his sick bed to enact his part in Holyrood; he had sunk back upon it to die. To Morton she sent an order, a copy of which could be shown to the Queen of Scots, to leave the country; but she sent with it a private hint that England was wide, and that those who cared to conceal themselves could not always be found.³ Argyle she tried to soothe and work upon, and she directed Randolph to "deal with him." She understood, she said, "that there was a dintinution of his good will towards her service, and specially in the matter of Ireland," and that "he alleged a lack of her favour in time of his need." "She had been right sorry for the trouble both of him and his friends; she had done all that in honour she could do, omitting nothing for the Earl of Murray's preservation but open hostility; she trusted therefore that he would alter his mind and withdraw

May.
Argyle
threatens to
join Shan
O'Neil.

¹ Randolph to Cecil, May 13 and May 23: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

² "Con todas las promesas y demostraciones que esta Reyna ha hecho á la de Escocia al presente de la prometer ayuda y serle amiga y no consentir estos ultimos conspiradores en su Reyno, como oygo estan en Newcastle." De Silva to Philip, May 18: *MS. Simancas.*

³ Morton to Cecil, May 16; Leicester to Cecil, July 11: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

him from the favouring of that principal rebel, being sworn cruel adversary to the state of all true religion." If possible, Randolph was to move Argyle by reasoning and remonstrance; if he failed, "sooner than O'Neil should receive any aid from thence, she would be content to have some portion of money bestowed secretly by way of reward to the hindrance of it." And yet, she said — her thrifty nature coming up again — the money was not to be promised if the Earl could be prevailed on otherwise; "of the matter of money she rather made mention as of a thing for Randolph to think upon until he heard farther from her, than that he should deal with any person therein."¹

But Elizabeth was not to escape so easily, and Argyle's resentment had reached a heat which a more open hand than Elizabeth's would have failed to cool. Murray was ready to forget his own wrongs, but Argyle would not forget them for him, and would not forget his other friends. "If the Queen of England,"

the proud M'Callum-More replied, "would
June. interfere in behalf of the banished Lords, and would undertake that in Scotland there should be no change of religion," he on his part "would become O'Neil's enemy and hinder what he could the practices between the Queen his sovereign and the Papists of England."² But Elizabeth must accept his terms; it was a matter with which money in whatever quantity had nothing to do. The practices with the English Catholics had begun again, or rather, in spite of Mary Stuart's promises to abstain from such transactions for the future, they had never ceased; and a

¹ Elizabeth to Randolph, May 23: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House*, and *Lansdowne MSS.* 9

² Randolph to Cecil, June 13: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

curious discovery was about to be made in connexion with them. A report had been sent by Murray to Cecil that there was an Englishman about the court at Holyrood who was supposed to have come there on no good errand; he was one of the Rokebies of Yorkshire, and was closely connected with the great Catholic families there. But Cecil it seems knew more of Rokeby's doings than Murray knew. He had gone across the Border to be out of the way of the bailiffs; and Cecil, who suspected that Mary Stuart was still playing her old game, and had before been well acquainted with Rokeby, sent him word "that he might purchase pardon and help if he would use his acquaintance in Scotland to the contentation of the Queen's Majesty," in other words if he would do service as a spy. Rokeby, who wanted money and had probably no honour to lose, made little objection. His brother-in-law, Lascelles, who was one of Mary Stuart's stanchest friends and correspondents, gave him letters of introduction, and with these he hastened to Edinburgh and was introduced by Sir James Melville to the Queen.

- In a letter to Cecil he thus describes his reception:—

"In the evening, after ten o'clock, I was sent for in secret manner, and being carried into a little closet in Edinburgh Castle the Queen came to me; and so doing the duty belonging to a prince I did offer my service, and with great courtesy she did receive me, and said I should be very welcome to her, and so began to ask me many questions of news from the court of England, and of the Queen, and of the Lord Robert. I could say but little; so being very late she said she would next day confer with me

A spy at
Mary
Stuart's
court.

in other causes, and willed me take my ease for the night.

“The next night after I was sent for again, and was brought to the same place, where the Queen came to me, she sitting down on a little coffer without a cushion and I kneeling beside. She began to talk of her father, Lascelles, and how much she was beholden to

Mary
Stuart's
friends in
England.

him, and how she trusted to find many friends in England whensoever time did serve; and did name Mr. Stanley, Herbert, and Dacres, from whom she had received letters, and by means she did make account to win friendship of many of the nobility—as the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Derby, Shrewsbury, Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Cumberland. She had better hopes of them for that she thought them all to be of the old religion, which she meant to restore again with all expedition, and thereby win the hearts of the common people. Besides this she practised to have two of the worshipful of every shire of England, and such as were of her religion to be made her friends, and sought of me to know the names of such as were meet for that purpose. I answered and said I had little acquaintance in any shire of England but only Yorkshire, and there were great plenty of Papists. She told me she had written a number of letters to Christopher Lascelles with blank superscriptions; and he to direct them to such as he thought meet for that purpose. She told me she had received friendly letters from diverse, naming Sir Thomas Stanley and one Herbert, and Dacres with the crooked back—thus meaning that after she had friended herself in every shire in England with some of the worshipful or of the best countenance of the country, she meant to cause wars

to be stirred in Ireland, whereby England might be kept occupied; then she would have an army in readiness, and herself with her army to enter England — and the day that she should enter, her title to be read and she proclaimed Queen. And for the better furniture of this purpose she had before travailed with Spain, with France, and with the Pope for aid; and had received fair promises with some money from the Pope and more looked for.”¹

Such a revelation as this might have satisfied Elizabeth that it was but waste of labour to attempt any more to return to cordiality and confidence with the Queen of Scots; yet either from timidity, or because she would not part with the hope that Mary Stuart might eventually shake off her dreams, and qualify herself for the succession by prudence and good sense, she would not submit to the conditions on which Argyle offered to remain her friend. She could not conceal that she was aware of Mary Stuart's intrigues with her subjects; but she chose to content herself with reading her a lecture as excellent as it was useless on the evil of her ways. Messengers were passing and repassing continually between the court at Holyrood and Shan O'Neil. Other and more sincere English Catholics than Rokeby were coming day after day to Holyrood to offer their swords and to be admitted to confidence. Elizabeth in the middle of June sent Sir Henry Killigrew to remonstrate, and “to demand such present answer as should seem satisfactory,”²

¹ Christopher Rokeby to Cecil, June 1566: *Hatfield MSS.* Printed in the *Burleigh Papers*, Vol. I.

² Instructions to Sir H. Killigrew, sent to the Queen of Scots, June 15. Cecil's hand: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

while to his public instructions she added a private letter of her own.

“Madam,” she wrote to the Queen of Scots, “I am informed that open rebels against my authority are receiving countenance and favour from yourself and your councillors. The news, madam, I must tell you with your pardon do much displease us. Remove these briars, I pray you, lest some thorn prick the hand of those who are to blame in this. Such matters hurt to the quick. It is not by such ways as these that you will attain the object of your wishes. These be the byepaths which those follow who fear the open road. I say not this for any dread I feel of harm that you may do me. My trust is in Him who governs all things by His justice, and with this faith I know no alarm. The stone recoils often on the head of the thrower, and you will hurt yourself — you have already hurt yourself — more than you can hurt me. Your actions towards me are as full of venom as your words of honey. I have but to tell my subjects what you are, and I well know the opinion which they will form of you. Judge you of your own prudence — you can better understand these things than I can write them. Assure me under your own hand of your good meaning, that I may satisfy those who are more inclined than I am to doubt you. If you are amusing yourself at my expense, do not think so poorly of me that I will suffer such wrong without avenging it. Remember, my dear sister, that if you desire my affection you must learn to deserve it.”¹

Elizabeth
remonstrates
with the
Queen of
Scots.

Essentially Elizabeth was acting with the truest re-

¹ Elizabeth to the Queen of Scots, June 18: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

gard for the Queen of Scots' interests, and was in fact behaving with extraordinary forbearance. It was unfortunate that petty accidents should have so perpetually given her rival a temporary advantage and an excuse for believing herself the injured party. Among the Catholics of whose presence at her court Sir H. Killigrew was instructed to complain, the spy of Cecil had been especially named. Already the Queen of Scots had been warned to beware how she trusted Rokeby; and at once, with an affected anxiety to meet Elizabeth's wishes, she ordered his arrest and the seizure of his papers. Cecil's letters to him were discovered in his correspondence, and the evidence of the underplot was too plain to permit Elizabeth to return upon so doubtful a ground.¹

These, however, and all subsidiary questions were soon merged in the great event of the summer. On the 19th of June, in Edinburgh Castle, between nine and ten in the morning was born James Stuart, ^{Birth of James Stuart.} heir presumptive to the united crowns of

England and Scotland. Better worth to Mary Stuart's ambition was this child than all the legions of Spain and all the money of the Vatican; the cradle in which he lay, to the fevered and anxious glance of English politicians, was as a Pharos behind which lay the calm waters of an undisturbed succession and the perpetual union of the too long divided realms. Here, if the occasion was rightly used, lay the cure for a thousand evils; where all differences might be forgotten, all feuds be laid at rest, and the political fortunes of Great Britain be started afresh on a newer and brighter career.

Scarcely even in her better mind could the birth of

¹ Killigrew to Cecil, July 4: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

the Prince of Scotland be less than a mortification to Elizabeth — knowing, as she could not fail to know, the effect which it would produce upon her subjects. Parliament was to have met in the spring, and she had attempted to force herself into a resolution upon her own marriage, which would enable her to encounter the House of Commons. In the middle of February she believed that she had made up her mind to the Archduke. Sir Richard Sackville had been selected as a commissioner to arrange preliminaries at Vienna; and she had gone so far as to arrange in detail the conditions on which her intended husband was to reside in England.

“I do understand this to be the state of his [Sackville’s] despatch,” wrote Sir N. Throgmorton to Leicester.¹ “Her Majesty will tolerate the public contract for the exercise of the Archduke’s Roman religion, so as he will promise secretly to her Majesty to alter the said religion hereafter. She doth further say that if the archduke will come to England, she promiseth to marry him unless there be some apparent impediment. She maketh the greatest difficulty to accord unto him some large provision to entertain him at her and the realm’s cost as he demandeth.”

So far had her purpose advanced — even to a haggling over the terms of maintenance; yet at the last moment, the thought of losing Leicester forever became unbearable. He was absent from the court, and Elizabeth determined to see him once more before the fatal step was taken.

“After this was written,” Throgmorton concluded,

¹ February, 1566, endorsed in Leicester’s hand — “A very considerable letter.” — *Pepysian MSS. Magdalen College, Cambridge.*

The Arch-
duke of
Leicester
once more.

"I did understand her Majesty had deferred the signing of Sackville's despatch until your Lordship's coming."

Cecil at the same time wrote to inform Leicester of the Queen's resolution; and either the Earl believed that it was his policy to appear to consent, or else if he may be credited with any interval of patriotism, he was ready for the moment to forget his own ambition in the interest of England.¹

As, however, it had been Mary Stuart's first success after her marriage with Darnley which had driven Elizabeth towards a sacrifice which she abhorred; so Ritizio's murder, the return of Murray and his friends, and the recovered vitality of the Protestants in Scotland gave her again a respite. As Mary Stuart's power to hurt her grew fainter, the Archduke once more ceased to appear indispensable; and when Leicester came back to the court Sackville's mission was again put off. Again the Queen began to nourish convulsive hopes that she could marry her favourite

¹ "I heartily thank you, Mr. Secretary, for your gentle and friendly letter, wherein I perceive how far her Majesty hath resolved touching the matter she dealt in on my coming away. I pray God her Highness may so proceed therein as may bring but contentation to herself and comfort to all that be hers. Surely there can be nothing that shall so well settle her in good estate as that way—I mean her marriage—whensoever it shall please God to put her in mind to like and to conclude. I know her Majesty hath heard enough thereof, and I wish to God she did hear that more that here abroad is wished and prayed for. Good will it doth move in many, and truly it may easily appear necessity doth require of all. We hear ourselves much also when we be there, but methinks it is good sometimes that some that be there should be abroad, for that is sooner believed that is seen than heard; and in hope, Mr. Secretary, that her Majesty will now earnestly intend that which she hath of long time not yet minded, and delay no longer her time, which cannot be won again for any gift, I will leave that with trust of happiest success, for that God hath left it the only means to redeem us in this world."—Leicester to Cecil, February 20, 1566: *Domestic MSS. Eliz., Vol. XXXIX., Rolls House.*

after all. Again Cecil had to interfere with a table of damning contrasts between the respective merits of the Austrian Prince and the English Earl;¹ and

¹ DE MATRIMONIO REGINÆ ANGLIÆ CUM EXTERO PRINCIPE.

April, 1566.

Reasons to move the Queen to accept
Charles.

"Besides his person { his birth,
 his alliance.

1. "She shall not diminish the honour of a prince to match with a prince.

2. "When she shall receive messages from kings, her husband shall have of himself by birth and countenances to receive them.

3. "Whatsoever he shall bring to the realm he shall spend it here in the realm.

4. "He shall have no regard to any person but to please the Queen.

5. "He shall have no opportunity nor occasion to tempt him to seek the crown after the Queen, because he is a stranger, and hath no friends in the realm to assist him.

6. "By marriage with him the Queen shall have the friendship of King Philip, which is necessary, considering the likelihood of falling out with France.

7. "No Prince of England ever remained without good amity of the House of Burgundy, and no prince ever had less alliance than the Queen of England hath, nor any prince ever had more cause to have friendship and power to assist her estate.

Reasons against the Earl of
Leicester.

1. "Nothing is increased by marriage of him, either in riches, estimation, or power.

2. "It will be thought that the slanderous speeches of the Queen with the Earl have been true.

3. "He shall study nothing but to enhance his own particular friends to wealth, to office, to lands, and to offend others —

Sir H. Sidney.	Leighton.
Earl Warwick.	Christmas.
Sir James Crofts.	Middleton.
Henry Dudley.	Middlemore.
John Dudley.	Colshill.
Foster.	Wiseman.
Sir F. Jobson.	Killigrew.
Appleyard.	Molyneux.
Horsey.	

4. "He is infamed by the death of his wife.

5. "He is far in debt.

6. "He is like to prove unkind, or jealous of the Queen's Majesty.

again, when remonstrance seemed to fail, the pale shadow of Amy Robsart was called up out of the tomb, and waved the lovers once more asunder.¹

Thus the season passed on; summer came, and James's birth found Elizabeth as far from marriage as ever; Parliament had been once more postponed, but the public service could be conducted no longer without a subsidy, and a meeting at Michaelmas was inevitable.

Scarcely was Mary Stuart delivered and the child's sex made known, than Sir James Melville was in the saddle. The night of the 19th he slept at Berwick; on the evening of the 22d he rode into London. A grand party was going forward at Greenwich: the Queen was in full force and spirit, and the court in its summer splendour. A messenger glided through the crowd and spoke to Cecil; Cecil whispered to his mistress, and Elizabeth flung herself into a seat, dropped her head upon her hand, and exclaimed, "The Queen of Scots is the mother of a fair son, and I am but a barren stock." Bitter words!—how bitter those only knew who had watched her in the seven years' struggle between passion and duty.

Sir James Melville announces the birth of James.

She could have borne it better perhaps had her own scheme been carried out for a more complete self-sac-

8. "The French King will keep Calais against his pact.

9. "The Queen of Scots pretendeth title to the crown of England, and so did never foreign prince since the Conquest.

10. "The Pope also, and all his parties, are watching adversaries to this crown."—*Burleigh Papers*, Vol. I. p. 444.

¹ It was probably at this time Appleyard made his confession that "he had covered his sister's murder," and that Sir Thomas Blount was secretly examined by the Council. There is little room for doubt that the menace of exposure was the instrument made use of to prevent Elizabeth from ruining herself.—*See* cap. 4.

rifice, and had Leicester been the father of the future king. Then at least she would have seen her darling honoured and great; then she would have felt secure of her rival's loyalty and of the triumph of those great principles of English freedom for which she had fought her long, and as it now seemed, her losing battle. The Queen of Scots had challenged her crown, intrigued with her subjects, slighted her councils, and defied her menaces, and this was the result.

But Elizabeth had been apprenticed in self-control. By morning she had overcome her agitation and was able to give Melville an audience.

The ambassador entered her presence radiant with triumph. The Queen affected, perhaps she forced herself to feel, an interest in his news, and she allowed him to jest upon the difficulty with which the prince had been brought into the world. "I told her," he reported afterwards,¹ "that the Queen of Scots had dearly bought her child, being so sore handled that she wished she had never been married. This I said by the way to give her a scare from marriage and from Charles of Austria." Elizabeth smiled painfully and spoke as graciously as she could, though Melville believed that at heart she was burning with envy and disappointment. The trial was doubtless frightful, and the struggle to brave it may have been but half successful; yet when he pressed her to delay the recognition no longer, she seemed to feel that she could not refuse, and she promised to take the opinion of the lawyers without further hesitation. So great indeed had been the disappointment of English statesmen at the last trifling with the Archduke, that they had abandoned hope. The Scottish Prince was the sole object of their

¹ Melville's *Memoirs*.

interest, and all the motives which before had recommended Mary Stuart were working with irresistible force. Whatever might be the Queen's personal reluctance, Melville was able to feel that it would avail little; the cause of his mistress, if her game was now played with tolerable skill, was virtually won. Norfolk declared for her, Pembroke declared for her, no longer caring to conceal their feelings; even Leicester, now that his own chances were over, became "The Queen of Scots' avowed friend," and pressed her claims upon Elizabeth, "alleging that to acknowledge them would be her greatest security, and that Cecil would undo all."¹ All that Melville found necessary was to give his mistress a few slight warnings and cautions.

July.
Increase of
the party of
the Queen of
Scots in
England.

Her recognition as second person he knew that she regarded as but a step to the dethronement of Elizabeth; nor did he advise her to abandon her ambition. He did not wish her to slacken her correspondence with the Catholics; she need not cease "to entertain O'Neil;" but he required her only to be prudent and secret. "Seeing the great mark her Majesty shot at, she should be careful and circumspect, that her desires being so near to be obtained should not be overthrown for lack of management."²

Schooled for once by advice, Mary Stuart wrote from her sick bed to Melville's brother Robert. The letter appeared to be meant only for himself, but it was designed to be shown among the Protestant nobility of England. She declared in it that she meant nothing but toleration in religion, nothing but good in all ways; she protested that she had no concealed designs, no unavowed wishes; her highest ambition went

¹ Melville's *Memoirs*.

² *Ibid.*

no farther than to be recognized by Parliament, with the consent of her dear sister.

With these words in their hands, the Melvilles made swift progress in England. Elizabeth's uncertainties and changes had shaken her truest friends; and even before Parliament some popular demonstrations were looked for.

“There are threats of disturbance,” De Silva wrote in August, “and trouble is looked for before the meeting of Parliament. For the present we are reassured, but it is likely enough that something will happen. The Queen is out of favour with all sides: the Catholics hate her because she is not a Papist, the Protestants, because she is less furious and violent in heresy than they would like to see her; while the courtiers complain of her parsimony.”¹ James Melville was soon able to send the gratifying assurance to the Queen of Scots that should Elizabeth continue the old excuses and delays “her friends were so increased that many whole shires were ready to rebel, and their captains already named by election of the nobility.”²

In such a world and with such humours abroad, the approaching session could not fail to be a stormy one; and Elizabeth knew, though others might affect to be ignorant, that if she was forced into a recognition of Mary Stuart, a Catholic revolution would not be many months distant.

At the beginning of August, to gather strength and spirit for the struggle, she went on progress, not to the northern counties, where the Queen of Scots had hoped to meet her, but first to Stamford, on a visit to Cecil,

August.
Prospect of
disturbances
in England.

¹ De Silva to Philip, August 23, 1566: *MS. Simancas*.

² Melville's *Memoirs*.

thence round to Woodstock, her old prison in the perilous days of her sister, and finally, on the evening of the 31st, she paid Oxford the honour which ^{Elizabeth at Oxford.} two years before she had conferred on the sister University. The preparations for her visit were less gorgeous, the reception itself far less imposing ; yet the fairest of her cities, in its autumnal robe of sad and mellow loveliness, suited the Queen's humour, and her stay there had a peculiar interest.

She travelled in a carriage. At Wolvercot, three miles out on the Woodstock road, she was met by the heads of houses in their gowns and hoods. The approach was by the long north avenue leading to the north gate ; and as she drove along it she saw in front of her the black tower of Bocardo, where Cranmer had been long a prisoner, and the ditch where, with his brother martyrs, he had given his life for the sins of the people. The scene was changed from that chill, sleety morning, and the soft glow of the August sunset was no unfitting symbol of the change of times ; yet how soon such another season might tread upon the heels of the departing summer none knew better than Elizabeth. She went on under the archway and up the corn-market, between rows of shouting students. The students cried in Latin, " Vivat Regina." Elizabeth, amidst bows and smiles, answered in Latin also, " Gratias ago, gratias ago."

At Carfax, where Bishop Longlands forty years before had burnt Tyndal's Testaments, a professor greeted her with a Greek speech, to which, with unlooked for readiness, she replied again in the same language. A few more steps brought her down to the great gate of Christ Church, the splendid monument of Wolsey and of the glory of the age that was gone.

She left the carriage, and with De Silva at her side, she walked under a canopy across the magnificent quadrangle to the Cathedral. The dean, after evening service, entertained her at his house.

The days of her stay were spent as at Cambridge — in hearing plays, or in attending the exercises of the University. The subjects chosen for disputation in the schools mark the balance of the two streams of ancient and modern thought, and show the matter with which the rising mind of England was beginning to occupy itself. There were discussions on the tides — whether or how far they were caused by the attraction of the moon. There were arguments on the currency — whether a debt contracted when the coin was pure could be liquidated by the payment of debased money of the same nominal value. The keener intellects were climbing the stairs of the temple of Modern Science, though as yet they were few and feeble, and they were looked upon askance with orthodox suspicion. At their side the descendants of the schoolmen were working on the old safe methods, proving paradoxes by laws of logic amidst universal applause. The Professor of Medicine maintained in the Queen's presence that it was not the province of the physician to cure disease, because diseases were infinite, and the infinite was beyond the reach of art; or again, because medicine could not retard age, and age ended in death, and therefore medicine could not preserve life. With trifles such as these the second childhood of the authorities was content to drowse away the hours. More interesting than either science or logic were perilous questions of politics, which Elizabeth permitted to be agitated before her.

September.
Disputations
in the
schools.

The Puritan formula that it was lawful to take arms against a bad sovereign was argued by examples from the Bible and from the stories of the patriot tyrannicides of Greece and Rome. Doctor Humfrey deserted his friends to gain favour with the Queen, and protested his horror of rebellion ; but the defenders of the rights of the people held their ground and remained in possession of it. Pursuing the question into the subtleties of theology, they even ventured to say that God himself might instigate a regicide, when Bishop Jewel who was present, stepped down into the dangerous arena and closed the discussion with a vindication of the divine right of kings.

More critically — even in that quiet haven of peaceful thought — the great subject of the day which Elizabeth called her death-knell, still pursued her. An eloquent student discoursed on the perils to which a nation was exposed when the sovereign died with no successor declared. The comparative advantages were argued of elective and hereditary monarchy. Each side had its hot defenders ; and though the votes of the University were in favour of the natural laws of succession, the champion of election had the best of the argument, and apparently best pleased the Queen. When in the peroration of his speech he said he would maintain his opinion “ with his life, and if need were with his death,”¹ she exclaimed, “ Excellent — oh, excellent ! ”

At the close of the exercises she made a speech in Latin as at Cambridge. She spoke very simply, deprecating the praises which had been heaped upon her. She had been educated well, she said, though the seed had fallen on a barren soil ; but she loved study if she

¹ “ Hoc vitâ et si opus est et morte comprobabo.”

had not profited by it, and for the Universities she would do her best that they should flourish while she lived, and after her death continue long to prosper.

So five bright days passed swiftly, and on the sixth she rode away over Magdalen Bridge to Windsor. As she crested Headington Hill she reined in her horse and once more looked back. There at her feet lay the city in its beauty, the towers and spires springing from amidst the clustering masses of the college elms; there wound beneath their shade the silvery lines of the Cherwell and the Isis.

"Farewell, Oxford!" she cried, "farewell, my good subjects there! — farewell, my dear scholars, and may God prosper your studies! — farewell, farewell!"¹

The Queen of Scots meanwhile had recovered rapidly from her confinement, and it seemed as if she had now but to sit still and wait for the fortune which time had so soon to bestow; yet Melville on his return to Scotland found her less contented than he expected. The Pope, if it was true that she had desired a divorce from her husband, had not smiled upon her wishes; and Melville's well-meant efforts to console her for her domestic troubles with her prospects in England failed wholly of their effect. Five days after James's birth

Position of
Darnley.

Killigrew reported that although Darnley was in the castle and his father in Edinburgh, "small account was made of them;" Murray, though he continued at the court, "found his credit small and his state scarce better than when he looked daily for banishment;" Maitland was still a fugitive, and his estates, with the splendid royalties of Dunbar, were in possession of Bothwell; "Bothwell's credit with the Queen was more than all the rest together."²

¹ Nicholls's *Progresses of Elizabeth*.

² Killigrew to Cecil, June 24.

It seemed as if Mary Stuart, brave as she might be, in that stormy sea of faction and conspiracy required a man's arm to support her: she wanted some one on whose devotion she could depend to shield her from a second night of terror, and such a man she had found in Bothwell — the boldest, the most reckless, the most unprincipled of all

July.
Mary Stuart
and Both-
well.

the nobles in Scotland. Her choice, though imprudent, was not unnatural. Bothwell from his earliest manhood had been her mother's staunchest friend; Bothwell, when the English army was before Leith — though untroubled with faith in Pope, or Church, or God, had been more loyal than the Catholic Lords; and though at that time but a boy of twenty-two, he had fought the cause of France and of Mary of Lorraine when Huntly and Seton were standing timidly aloof. Afterwards when Mary Stuart returned, and Murray and Maitland ruled Scotland, Bothwell continued true to his old colours, and true to the cause which the Queen of Scots in her heart was cherishing. Hating England, hating the Reformers, hating Murray above all living men, he had early conceived projects of carrying off his mistress by force from their control — nor was she herself supposed to have been ignorant of his design. The times were then unripe, and Bothwell had retired from Scotland to spend his exile at the French court, in the home of Mary Stuart's affection; and when he came back to her out of that polished and evil atmosphere, she found his fierce northern nature varnished with a thin coating of Parisian culture, saturated with Parisian villany, and the Earl himself with the single virtue of devotion to his mistress, as before he had been devoted to her mother. Her own nature was altogether higher than Bothwell's; yet courage, strength, and a

readiness to face danger and dare crime for their sakes, attract some women more than intellect however keen, or grace however refined. The affection of the Queen of Scots for Bothwell is the best evidence of her innocence with Ritzio.

As soon as she had become strong enough to move she left the close hot atmosphere of the Castle, and at the end of July, attended by her cavalier, she spent her days upon the sea or at the Castle of Alloa on the Forth. She had condescended to acquaint Darnley with her intention of going, but with no desire that he should accompany her; and when he appeared uninvited at Alloa he was ordered back to the place from which he came. "The Queen and her husband," wrote the Earl of Bedford on the 3d of August, "agree after the old manner. It cannot for modesty nor for the honour of a Queen be reported what she said of him."¹ Sir James Melville, who dreaded the effect in England of the alienation of the friends of Lady Lennox, again remonstrated and attempted to cure the slight with some kind of attention. But Melville was made to feel that he was going beyond his office: in her violent moods Mary Stuart would not be trifled with, and at length he received a distinct order "to be no more familiar with the Lord Darnley."² Water parties and hunting parties in the Highlands consumed the next few weeks. Though inexorable towards her husband, the Queen as the summer went on found it necessary to take her brother into favour again, and to gain the confidence of the English Protestants by affecting a readiness to be guided by his advice. Maitland's peace had been

August.
Pardon of
Maitland.

¹ Bedford to Cecil, August 3: *Cotton MSS. Calig. B. 10.*

² Melville's *Memoirs*.

made also though with more difficulty. Bothwell, who was in possession of his estates, refused to part with them; and in a stormy scene in the Queen's presence Murray told him "that twenty as honest men as he should lose their lives ere he rest Lidington."¹ The Queen felt however that her demand for recognition in England would be effective in proportion to the unanimity with which she was supported by her own nobility; she felt the want of Maitland's help; and visiting her resentment for the death of Ritzio on her miserable husband alone, she was ready to forget the share which Maitland had borne in it, and exerted herself to smooth down and reconcile the factions at the court. She contrived to bring Maitland, Murray, Argyle, and Bothwell secretly together; "the matter in dispute" was talked over, and at last amicably settled.²

From Maitland to Morton was a short step. The Lords now all combined to entreat his pardon from the Queen, and in the restoration to favour of the nobles whom he had invited to revenge his own imagined wrongs, and had thus deserted and betrayed, the miserable King read his own ruin. One after another he had injured them all; and his best hope was in their contempt. Even Murray's face he had good cause to dread. He with Ritzio had before planned Murray's murder, and now seeing Murray at the Queen's side he let fall some wild passionate words as if he would again try to kill him. So at least the Queen reported, for it was she who carried the story to Murray, "and willed the Earl to speer it at the King;" it was believed afterwards that she desired to create a quarrel which would rid her of

September.
Terror and
folly of
Darnley.

¹ Advertisements out of Scotland, August, 1566: *M.S. Rolls House.*

² Maitland to Cecil, September 20: *M.S. Ibid.*

one or both of the two men whom she hated worst in Scotland. But if this was her object she had mistaken her brother's character; Murray was not a person to trample on the wretched or stoop to ignoble game; he spoke to Darnley "very modestly" in the Queen's presence; and the poor boy might have yet been saved could he have thrown himself on the confidence of the one noble-hearted person within his reach. He muttered only some feeble apology, however, and fled from the court "very grieved." He could not bear, so some one wrote, "that the Queen should use familiarity with man or woman, especially the Lords of Argyle and Murray, which kept most company with her."¹

Lennox, as much neglected as his son, was living privately at Glasgow, and between Glasgow and Stirling the forlorn Darnley wandered to and fro "misliked of all," helpless and complaining, and nursing vague impossible schemes of revenge. He had signed the articles by which he bound himself to maintain the Reformation; he now dreamt of taking from Mary the defence of the Church. He wrote to the Pope and to Philip complaining that the Queen of Scots had ceased to care for religion, and that they must look to him only for the restoration of Catholicism. His letters, instead of falling harmless by going where they were directed, were carried to Mary, and might have aggravated her animosity against him had it admitted of aggravation. Still more terrified, he then thought of flying from the kingdom. The Scotch Council was about to meet in Edinburgh in the middle of September; the Queen desired that he would attend the session with her; he refused, and as soon as she was gone

¹ Advertisements out of Scotland, August, 1586: *MS. Rolls House.*

he made arrangements to escape in an English vessel which was lying in the Forth. "In a sort of desperation" he communicated his project to the French ambassador Du Croq, who had remained after the Queen's departure at Stirling. He told him, it seems, that he should go to the Scilly Isles; perhaps like Sir Thomas Seymour with a notion of becoming a pirate chief there. When Du Croq questioned him on his reasons for such a step he complained "that the Queen would give him no authority;" "all the lords had abandoned him," he said; "he had no hope in Scotland, and he feared for his life."

Darnley
proposes to
fly to Eng-
land.

Better far it would have been had they allowed him to go, better for himself, better for Mary Stuart, better for human history which would have escaped the inky stain which blots its page; yet his departure at such a time and in such a manner would attract inconvenient notice in England — it would be used in Parliament in the debate on the succession. Du Croq carried word to Mary Stuart. Lennox, after endeavouring in vain to dissuade him, wrote to her also, in the hope that he might appease her by giving proofs of his own loyalty; and Darnley, finding his purpose betrayed, followed the French ambassador to Edinburgh, and on the evening of the 29th of September presented himself at the gates of Holyrood. He sent in word of his arrival — but he said he would not enter as long as Murray, Argyle, and Maitland were in the palace. The Queen went out to him, carried him to her private apartments, and kept him there for the night. The next morning the council met and he was brought or led into their presence. There they sat — a hard ring of stony faces: on one side the Lords of the Congregation who had risen in insurrection to prevent

Darnley
before the
Scotch
Council

his marriage with the Queen, whom afterwards he had pledged his honour to support, and whom he had again betrayed — now by some inexplicable turn of fortune restored to honour while he was himself an outcast ; on the other side Huntly, Caithness, Bothwell, Athol, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, all Catholics, all Ritzio's friends, yet hand in hand now with their most bitter enemies, united heart and soul to secure the English succession for a Scotch Princess, and pressing with the weight of unanimity on the English Parliament ; yet he who had been brought among them in the interest of that very cause was excluded from share or concern in the prize ; every noble present had some cause of mortal enmity against him ; and as he stood before them desolate and friendless, he must have felt how short a shrift was allowed in Scotland for a foe whose life was inconvenient.

The letter of the Earl of Lennox was read aloud. Mary Stuart said that she had tried in vain to draw from her husband the occasion of his dissatisfaction ; she trusted that he would tell the Lords what he had concealed from herself ; and then turning to him with clasped hands like a skilled actress on the stage, "Speak," she said, "speak ; say what you complain of ; if the blame is with me do not spare me."

The Lords followed, assuring him with icy politeness that if he had any fault to find they would see it remedied.

Du Croq implored him to take no step which would touch his own honour or the Queen's.

What could he say ? Could he tell the truth, that he believed his Royal Mistress and those honourable Lords were seeking how to rid the world of him ? That was his fear ; and she and they and he alike

knew it — but such thoughts could not be spoken. And yet he had spirit enough to refuse to cringe or to stand at the bar to be questioned as a prisoner. He said a few unmeaning words and turned to go, and they did not dare detain him. “Adieu, Madam,” he said as he left the room, “you will not see my face for a long space ; gentlemen, adieu.”¹

Four days later they heard that the ship was ready in which he was about to sail ; and it appears as if they had resolved to let him go. But in an evil hour for himself he had another interview with the French ambassador ; Du Croq, after a long conversation, persuaded him that the clouds would clear away and that fortune would again look beneficently upon him. The English ship sailed away, and Darnley remained behind to drift upon destruction, “hated,” as Du Croq admitted, “by all men and by all parties — because being what he was he desired to be as he had been and to rule as a king.”² In him the murderers of Rizzio found a scapegoat, and the Queen accepted with seeming willingness the vicarious sacrifice. The political relations between England and Scotland relapsed into their old bearings. Maitland was found again corresponding with the English ministers on the old subject of the union of the realms, while the Queen of Scots herself wrote to Cecil with affected confidence and cordiality, just touching — enough to show that she understood it — on the treachery of Rokeby, but professing to believe that Cecil wished well to her and would assist her to gain her cause.³

¹ Du Croq to the Archbishop of Glasgow ; October 15 ; The Lords of Scotland to the Queen-mother of France, October 8 : Printed in Keith.

² Du Croq to the Queen-mother of France, October 17 : Teulet, Vol. II.

³ Maitland to Cecil, October 4 ; The Queen of Scots to Cecil, October 5 : *M.S. Rolls House.*

So stood the several parties in the two kingdoms when Elizabeth returned from her progress and prepared to meet her Parliament.¹ Four years had passed since the last troubled session: spring after spring, autumn after autumn, notice of a Parliament had gone out; but ever at the last moment Elizabeth had flinched, knowing well what lay before her. Further delay was at last impossible: the Treasury was empty, the humour of the people was growing dangerous. Thus at last on the 30th of September the Houses reassembled. The first fortnight was spent in silent preparations; on the 14th the campaign opened with a petition from the bishops, which was brought forward in the form of a statute in the House of Commons. It will be remembered that after the Bill was passed in the last session empowering the Anglican prelates to tender the vote of allegiance to their predecessors

October.
Meeting of
the English
Parliament.

The
Bishops'
Bill.

¹ An entry in the *Privy Council Register* shows how anxiously the English Government were still watching the Queen of Scots, and how little they trusted her assurances.

October 8, 1566.

"A letter to Sir John Foster, Warden of the Middle Marches, touching the intelligence received out of Scotland of the sending of the Earl of Argyll towards Shan O'Neil with a hundred soldiers of those that were about the Scottish Queen's own person, with commission also to levy all his own people and the people of the Isles to assist Shan against the Queen's Majesty. And because the understanding of the truth of this matter is of great importance, and necessary to be boulded out with speed, he is required that under pretence of some other message he take occasion to send with convenient speed some discreet person to the Scottish Court, to procure by all the best means he may to bould out the very certainty hereof. And in case he shall find indeed that the said advertisements are true, then to demand audience of the Scottish Queen and to deliver unto her the Queen's Majesty's letter,* sent herewith, requiring answer with speed; and in case he shall find the said enterprise is intended only, and not executed, then he shall procure to stay the same by the best means he may."

* Not found.

in the Tower, they had been checked in their first attempt to put the law in execution by a denial of the sacredness of their consecration, and the judges had confirmed the objection. To obviate this difficulty, and to enable the bench at last to begin their work of retaliation, a Bill was brought in declaring that "inasmuch as the bishops of the Church of England had been nominated according to the provisions of the Act of Henry the Eighth,¹ and had been consecrated according to the form provided in the Prayer-book, they should be held to have been duly and lawfully appointed, any statute, law, or canon to the contrary notwithstanding." In this form, untrammelled by further condition, the Act went from the Commons to the Lords, and had it passed in its first form there would have been an immediate renewal of the attempt to persecute. The Lords, however, were better guardians than the Commons of English liberties. Out of 81 peers, 22 were the bishops themselves, who as the promoters of the Bill unquestionably voted for it in its fulness; yet it was sent back, perhaps as an intimation that there had been enough of spiritual tyranny, and that the Church of England was not to disgrace itself with imitating the iniquities of Rome. A proviso was added that the Act should be retrospective only as it affected the general functions of the episcopal office,² but was not to be construed as giving valid-

¹ 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 20.

² "Provided always that no person or persons shall at any time hereafter be impeached or molested in body, lands, livings, or goods, by occasion or means of any certificate by any Archbishop or Bishop heretofore made, or before the last day of this present Session of Parliament to be made by authority of any Act passed in the first session of this present Parliament, touching or concerning the refusal of the oath declared and set forth by Act of Parliament in the first year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady the Queen: and that all tenders of the said oath made by any Archbishop or

ity to the requisition of the oath of allegiance in the episcopal courts, or as giving the bishops power over the lives or lands of the prisoners who had refused to swear.¹ The Bill, although thus modified, left the bench with powers which for the future they might abuse; and although there was an understanding that those powers were not to be put in force, eleven lay peers still spoke and voted absolutely against admitting the episcopal position of men who had been thrust into already occupied sees.² To have thrown the measure out altogether, however, would have been equivalent to denying the Church of England a right to exist: it passed with this limitation, and the bishops, with a tacit intimation that they were on their good behaviour, were recognized as legitimate.

The Consecration Bill was, however, but a preliminary skirmish, preparatory to the great question which

Bishop aforesaid, or before the last day of the present Session to be made by authority of any Act established in the first Session of this present Parliament, and all refusals of the same oath so tendered, or before the last day of this present Session to be tendered by any Archbishop or Bishop by authority of any law established in the first Session of this present Parliament, shall be void, and of none effect or validity in the law." — *Statutes of the Realm*, 8 Eliz. cap. I.

¹ "La petición que se dió en el Parlamento por parte de los obispos Protestantes acerca de su confirmacion se pasó por la Camara baja sin contradiccion. En la alta tuvo once contradicciones, pero pasóse; no confirmandolo ellos sino á lo que hasta aqui se habia hecho en el ejercicio de su officio; con tanto que no se entendiese la confirmacion contra lo que hubiesen hecho ni podrian hacer en materia de sangre ni de bienes temporales. Lo de la sangre se entiende por el juramento que pedian á Bonner el buen Obispo de Londres, y á otros, acerca de lo de la religion, que es por lo que principalmente dicen que pedian la confirmacion; aunque daban á entender que por otros fines lo de bienes temporales han sentido; pero no fué segun entiendo este el intento; sino que obviar á que no les pierdan los, que no querian hacer el juramento." — *De Silva to the King*, November 11, 1566: *MS. Simmons*.

² Non-contents — Earls Northumberland, Westmoreland, Worcester, and Sussex; Lords Montague, Morley, Dudley, Darcy, Mounteagle, Cromwell, and Mordaunt.

both Houses, with opposite purposes, were determined to bring forward. The House of Commons was the same which had been elected at the beginning of the reign in the strength of the Protestant reaction. The oscillation of public feeling had left the majority of the members unaffected; they were still anxious to secure the reversion of the crown to the dying Lady Catherine and her children; and the tendencies of the country generally in favour of the Scotch succession made them more desirous than ever not to let the occasion pass through their hands. The House of Lords was in the interest of Mary Stuart, but some divisions had been already created by her quarrel with Darnley. The Commons perhaps thought that although the peers might prefer the Queen of Scots, they would acquiesce in the wife of Lord Hertford sooner than endure any more uncertainty; the Peers may have hoped the same in favour of their own candidate: they may have felt assured that when the question came once to be discussed, the superior right of the Queen of Scots, the known opinions of the lawyers in her favour, the scarcely concealed preference of the great body of English gentlemen, with the political advantages which would follow on the union of the crowns, must inevitably turn the scale for Mary Stuart, whatever the Commons might will. Both Houses at all events were determined to bear Elizabeth's vacillation no longer, to believe no more in promises which were made only to be broken, and either to decide once for all the future fortunes of England, or lay such a pressure on the Queen that she should be forbidden to trifle any more with her subjects' anxiety for her marriage.

On the 17th of October Cecil brought forward in

the Lower House a statement of the expenses of the French and Irish wars. On the 18th Mr. Molyneux, a barrister, proposed at once, amidst universal approbation, "to revive the suit for the succession," and to consider the demands of the exchequer only in connexion with the determination of an heir to the throne.¹

Elizabeth's first desire was to stifle the discussion at its commencement. Sir Ralph Sadler rose when Molyneux sat down, and "after divers propositions" "declared that he had heard the Queen say in the presence of the nobility that her highness minded to marry." Sadler possessed the confidence of the Protestants, and from him, if from any one, they would have accepted a declaration with which so steady an opponent of the Queen of Scots was satisfied; but the disappointment of the two previous sessions had taught them the meaning of words of this kind; a report of something said elsewhere to "the nobility" would not meet the present irritation; "their mind was to continue their suit, and to know her Highness's answer."

Elizabeth found it necessary to be more specific. The next day, first Cecil, then Sir Francis Knowles, then Sir Ambrose Cave declared formally that "the Queen by God's special providence was moved to marry, that she minded for the wealth of the commons to prosecute the same, and persuaded to see the sequel of that before further suit touching the succession."² Cecil and Cave were good Protestants, Knowles was an advanced Puritan, yet they were no more successful than Sadler; "the lawyers" still insisted; the House went with them in de-

¹ "October 18. — Motion made by Mr. Molyneux for the reviving of the suit for the succession, and to proceed with the subsidy, was very well allowed by the House." — *Commons' Journals*, 8 Eliz.

² *Ibid.*

clining to endure any longer a future which depended on the possible "movements" of the Queen's mind; and a vote was carried to press the question to an issue, and to invite the Lords to a conference. The Lords, as eager as the Commons, instantly acquiesced. Public business was suspended, and committees of the two Houses sat daily for a fortnight, preparing an address to the crown.¹

¹ Cecil, who was a member of the Commons' Committee, has left a paper of notes touching the main points of the situation:—

"October, 1566.

"To require both marriage and the stablishing of the succession is the uttermost that can be desired.

"To deny both the uttermost that can be denied.

"To require marriage is most natural, most easy, most plausible to the Queen's Majesty.

"To require certainty of succession is most plausible to all people.

"To require the succession is hardest to be obtained, both for the difficulty to discuss the right and the loathsomeness of the Queen's Majesty to consent thereto.

"The difficulty to discuss it is by reason of—

1. "The uncertainty of indifferency in the parties that shall discuss it.

2. "The uncertainty of the right pretended.

"The loathsomeness to grant it is by reason of natural suspicion against a successor that hath right by law to succeed.

"Corollarium.

"The mean betwixt them is to determine effectually to marry, and if it succeed not, then proceed to discussion of the right of succession." — *Domestic MSS.*, Eliz., Vol. XL.

Another paper, also in Cecil's hand, contains apparently a rough sketch for the address to the Crown:—

"That the marriage may proceed effectually.

"That it may be declared how necessary it is to have the succession stablished for sundry causes.

"Surety and quietness of the Queen's Majesty that no person may attempt anything to the furtherance of any supposed title when it shall be manifest how the right is settled. Whereunto may also be added sundry devices to stay every person in his duty, so as her Majesty may reign assuredly.

"The comfort of all good subjects that may remain assured, how and whom to obey lawfully, and how to avoid all errors in disobedience, whereby civil wars may be avoided.

"And because presently it seemeth very uncomfortable to the Queen's Majesty to hear of this at this time, and that it is hoped that God will direct

In spite of her struggles the Queen saw the net closing round her. Fair speeches were to serve her turn no longer, and either she would have to endure some husband whom she detested the very thought of, or submit to a settlement the result of which it was easy to foresee. Into her feelings, or into such aspect of them as she chose to exhibit, we once more gain curious insight through a letter of De Silva. So distinctly was Elizabeth's marriage the object of the present move of the House of Commons that the Queen of Scots, in dread of it, was contented to withdraw the pressure for a determination in her own favour, and consented to bide her time.

GUZMAN DE SILVA TO PHILIP II.

October 26.

"The Parliament is in full debate on the succession. The Queen is furious about it; she is advised that if the question come to a vote in the Lower House the greatest number of voices will be for the Lady Catherine. This lady and her husband, Lord Hertford, are Protestants; and a large number, probably an actual majority of the Commons, being heretics also, will declare for her in self-defence.

"I have never ceased to urge upon the Queen the inconvenience and danger to which she will be exposed if a successor is declared, and on

The Queen
and De
Silva.

her heart to think more comfortably hereof, it may be required that her marriage may proceed with all convenient speed; and that if her Majesty cannot condescend to enter into the disquisition and stablishing of the succession in this Session, that yet for the satisfaction of her people she will prorogue this Parliament until another short time, within which it may be seen what God will dispose of her marriage, and then to begin her Parliament again, and to proceed in such sort as shall seem meetest then for the matter of succession, which may with more satisfaction be done to her Majesty if she shall then be married." — *Domestic MSS. Rolls House.*

¹ *MS. Simancas.*

the other hand her perfect security as soon as she has children of her own. She understands all this fully, and she told me three days ago that she would never consent. The Parliament, she said, had offered her two hundred and fifty thousand pounds as the price of her acquiescence ; but she had refused to accept anything on conditions. She had requested a subsidy for the public service in Ireland and elsewhere, and it should be given freely and graciously or not at all. She says she will not yield one jot to them, let them do what they will ; she means to dissemble with them and hear what they have to say, so that she may know their views, and the lady which each declares for¹ — meaning the Queen of Scots and Lady Catherine. I told her that if she would but marry, all this worry would be at an end. She assured me she would send this very week to the Emperor and settle everything ; and yet I learn from Sir Thomas Heenege, who is the person hitherto most concerned in the Archduke affair, that she has grown much cooler about it.

“ The members of the Lower House are almost all Protestants, and seeing the Queen in such a rage at them, I took occasion to point out to her the true character of this new religion, which will endure no rule and will have everything at its own pleasure without regard to the sovereign authority ; it was time for her to see to these things, and I bade her observe the contrast between these turbulent heretics and the quiet and obedience of her Catholic subjects. She said she could not tell what those devils were after.² They want liberty, madam, I replied, and if princes do not

¹ “ Por conocer las voluntades y saber la dama de cada uno.”

² “ Respondióme que no sabía que querían *estos demonios*.”

look to themselves and work in concert to put them down, they will find before long what all this is coming to.¹

"She could not but agree with me : she attempted a defence of her own subjects, as if there was some justice in their complaints of the uncertainty of the succession ; but she knows at heart what it really means, and by and by when she finds them obstinate she will understand it better. I told her before that I knew they would press her, and she would not believe me.

"Melville, the agent of the Queen of Scots, was with me yesterday. Her disagreement with her husband is doing her much mischief here ; yet that Queen has so much credit with the good all over the realm, that the blame is chiefly laid on the Lord Darnley. I have told Melville to urge upon them the necessity of reconciliation ; and I have written to the Commendador Major of Castile at Rome to speak to the Pope about it, and to desire his Holiness to send them his advice to the same effect. Melville tells me the Lords there are working together wonderfully well. He has given this Queen to understand that since she is reluctant to have the succession discussed, his mistress is so anxious to please her that she will not press for it ; she will only ask that if the question is forced forward after

¹ Elizabeth had before affected to be alarmed at the revolutionary tendencies of Protestantism. On the 15th of the preceding July, De Silva wrote —

"The Queen must be growing anxious. She often says to me that she wonders at the tendency of subjects now-a-days to anarchy and revolution. I invariably reply that this is the beginning, middle, and end of the inventors of new religions. They have an eye only to their own interests ; they care neither for God nor law, as they show by their works ; and princes ought to take order among themselves and unite to chastise their excesses." *MS. Sinancas.*

all, she may have notice in time that she may send some one to plead in her behalf.

"This Queen is full of gratitude for her forbearance; she has told her that her present resolution is to keep the matter quiet; should her endeavours be unsuccessful, however, the Queen of Scots shall have all the information and all the help which she herself can give.

"Melville learns from a private source that this Queen will fail in her object. The question will be forced in the Queen of Scots' interest, and with the best intentions. Her friends are very numerous; we shall soon see how things go."

Melville's information was right. Having failed in full Parliament, Elizabeth tried next to work on the committee. The Marquis of Winchester was put forward to prevent the intended address. He brought to bear the weight of an experience which was older than the field of Bosworth; but he was listened to with impatience; not a single voice either from Peers or Commons was found to second him. Unable to do anything through others, the Queen sent for the principal noblemen concerned, to remonstrate with them herself in private.

Both Houses
determine to
press for a
settlement.

The Duke of Norfolk was the first called, and rumour said, though she herself afterwards denied the words, that she called him traitor and conspirator. Leicester, Pembroke, Northampton, and Lord William Howard came next. Norfolk had complained of his treatment to Pembroke: Pembroke told her that the Duke was a good friend both to the realm and to herself; if she would not listen to advice and do what the service of the commonwealth required, they must do it themselves.

Elizabeth
sends separately
for the Lords.

She was too angry to argue ; she told Pembroke he spoke like a foolish soldier, and knew not what he was saying. Then seeing Leicester at his side, "You, my lord," she said, "you ! If all the world forsook me I thought that you would be true !"

"Madam," Leicester said, "I am ready to die at your feet !"

"What has that to do with it ?" she answered.

"And you, my Lord Northampton," she went on, turning from one to the other, — "you, who when you had a wife of your own already could quote Scripture texts to help you to another ;¹ you forsooth must meddle with marriages for me ! You might employ yourself better I think."

She could make nothing of them nor they of her. Both Queen and Lords carried their complaints to De Silva ; the Lords urging him to use his influence to force her into taking the Archduke ; Elizabeth complaining of their insolence, and especially of the ingratitude of Leicester. Her very honour, she said, had suffered for the favour which she had shown to Leicester ; and now she would send him to his house in the country, and the Archduke should have nothing to be jealous of.²

The committee went on with the work. On the 2d of November the form of the address was still undetermined ; they were undecided whether to insist most on the marriage, or on the nomination, or on both. In some shape or other, however, a petition of a serious kind would unquestionably be presented, and Elizabeth prepared to receive it

¹ Northampton's divorce and second marriage had been one of the great scandals of the days of Edward.

² De Silva to Philip, November 4: *MS. Simancas*.

with as much self-restraint as she could command. Three days later she understood that the deliberations were concluded. To have the interview over as soon as possible Elizabeth sent for the committee at once; and on the afternoon of the 5th of November, "by her Highness's special commandment," twenty-five lay Peers, the Bishops of Durham and London, and thirty members of the Lower House presented themselves at the palace at Westminster.

The address was read by Bacon.

After grateful acknowledgments of the general government of the Queen, the two Houses ^{Presentation of the address.} desired, first, to express their wish that her Highness would be pleased to marry "where it should please her, with whom it should please her, and as soon as it should please her."

Further, as it was possible that her Highness might die without children, her faithful subjects were anxious to know more particularly the future prospects of the realm. Much as they wished to see her married, the settlement of the succession was even more important, "carrying with it such necessity, that without it they could not see how the safety of her royal person or the preservation of her imperial crown and realm could be or should be sufficiently and certainly provided for." "Her late illness" (the Queen had been unwell again), "the amazedness that most men of understanding were by fruit of that sickness brought unto," and the opportunity of making a definite arrangement while Parliament was sitting, were the motives which induced them to be more urgent than they would otherwise have cared to be. History and precedent alike recommended a speedy decision. They hoped that she might live to have a child of her own; but she was

mortal, and should she die before her subjects knew to whom their allegiance was due, a civil war stared them in the face. The decease of a prince leaving the realm without a government was the most frightful disaster which could befall the commonwealth; with the vacancy of the throne all writs were suspended, all commissions were void, law itself was dead. Her Majesty was not ignorant of these things. If she refused to provide a remedy, "it would be a dangerous burden before God upon her Majesty!" They had therefore felt it to be their duty to present this address; and on their knees they implored her to consider it and to give them an answer before the session closed."¹

Elizabeth had prepared her answer; as soon as Bacon ceased, she drew herself up and spoke as follows:—

Elizabeth
answers. "If the order of your cause had matched the weight of your matter, the one might well have craved reward, and the other much the sooner be satisfied. But when I call to mind how far from dutiful care, yea rather how nigh a traitorous trick this tumbling cast did spring, I muse how men of wit can so hardly use that gift they hold. I marvel not much that bridleless colts do not know their rider's hand whom bit of kingly rein did never snaffle yet. Whether it was fit that so great a cause as this should have had this beginning in such a public place as that, let it be well weighed. Must all evil bodings that might be recited be found little enough to hap to my share? Was it well meant, think you, that those that knew not how fit this matter was to be granted by the

¹ Dewes' *Journals*, 8 Eliz.

prince, would prejudicate their prince in aggravating the matter? so all their arguments tended to my careless care of this my dear realm."

So far she spoke from a form which remains in her own handwriting.¹ She continued perhaps in the same style; but her words remain only in the Spanish of De Silva.

"She was not surprised at the Commons," she said; "they had small experience and had acted like boys; but that the Lords should have gone along with them she confessed had filled her with wonder. There were some among them who had placed their swords at her disposal when her sister was on the throne, and had invited her to seize the crown; 2 She knew but too well that if she allowed a successor to be named, there would be found men who would approach him or her with the same encouragement to disturb the peace of the realm. If she pleased she could name the persons to whom she alluded. When time and circumstances would allow she would see to the matter of their petition before they asked her; she would be sorry to be forced into doing anything which in reason and justice she was bound to do; and she concluded with a request that her words should not be misinterpreted."

So long as she was speaking to the lay Peers she controlled her temper; but her passion required a safety-valve, and she rarely lost an opportunity of affronting and insulting her bishops.

¹ Answer to the Parliament by the Queen; Autograph: *Domestic MSS.*, Eliz., Vol. XLI. *Rolls House*.

² "Entre los cuales habia habido algunos que reynando su hermana le ofresian á ella ayuda y la querian mover á que quisiese procurar en su vida la corona." — De Silva al Rey, 11 November, 1566: *MS. Simancas*. It is tolerably certain that the Queen used these words. De Silva heard them first from the Queen herself, and afterwards from the Lords who were present.

Turning sharp round where Grindal and Pilkington were standing —

“And you, *doctors*,” she said — it was her pleasure to ignore their right to a higher title¹ — “you, The Bishops. I understand, make long prayers about this business. One of you dared to say in times past that I and my sister were bastards; and you must needs be interfering in what does not concern you. Go home and amend your own lives, and set an honest example in your families. The Lords in Parliament should have taught you to know your places; but if they have forgotten their duty I will not forget mine. Did I so choose I might make the impertinence of the whole set of you an excuse to withdraw my promise to marry; but for the realm’s sake I am resolved that I will marry; and I will take a husband that will not be to the taste of some of you. I have not married hitherto out of consideration for you; but it shall be done now, and you who have been so urgent with me will find the effects of it to your cost. Think you the prince who will be my consort will feel himself safe with such as you, who thus dare to thwart and cross your natural Queen?”

She turned on her heel and sailed out of the hall of audience, vouchsafing no other word. At once she sent for De Silva, and after profuse thanks to himself and Philip for their long and steady kindness, swelling with anger as she was, she gave him to understand that her course was chosen at last and forever; she would accept the Archduke and would be all which Spain could desire.

¹ “Volviendose á los obispos que se halláron presentes á la plática, dijo, Vosotros doctores, no les llamando obispos, que hacéis muchas oraciones,” &c.

Many of the peers came to her in the evening to make their excuses: they said that they had been misled by the Council, who had been the most in favour of the address; and they had believed themselves to be acting as she had herself desired. The Upper House she might have succeeded in controlling; but the Commons were in a more dangerous humour. They were prepared for a storm when they commenced the debate; and they were not disposed to be lectured into submission. The next day Cecil rose in his place: the Queen, he said, had desired him to tell them that she was displeased, first, that the succession question should have been raised in that House without her consent having been first asked; and secondly, because "by the publication abroad of the necessity of the matter," and the danger to the realm if it was left longer undecided, the responsibility of the refusal was thrown entirely upon her Majesty. The "error" she was ready to believe had risen chiefly from want of thought, and she was ready to overlook it. For the matter itself, her Highness thought that by her promises to marry she had rather deserved thanks than to be troubled with any new petition. "The word of a prince spoken in a public place" should have been taken as seriously meant; and if her Majesty had before told them that she was unwilling, they should have been more ready to believe her when she said that she had made up her mind. Time and opportunity would prove her Majesty's sincerity, and it was unkind to suppose that she would fail in producing children. Loyal subjects should hope the best. Her Majesty had confidence in God's goodness; and except for the assurance that she would have an heir, she would not marry at all. On this point she re-

Cecil tries
to soothe the
Commons.

quired the Houses to accept her word. For the succession she was not surprised at their uneasiness; she was as conscious as they could be of the desirableness of a settlement. At the present moment, however, and in the existing state of parties in the realm, the thing was impossible, and she would hear no more of it."¹

The Queen expected that after so positive a declaration she would escape further annoyance; but times were changing, and the relations with them between sovereigns and subjects. The House listened in silence, not caring to conceal its dissatisfaction. The Friday following, being the 8th of November, "Mr. Lambert began a learned oration for iteration of the suit to the Queen on the succession."²

Whether they were terrified by the spectre of a second York and Lancaster war, or whether they were bent on making an effort for Lady Hertford before they were dissolved and another House was elected in the Scottish interest, or whether they disbelieved Elizabeth's promises to marry, notwithstanding the vehemence of her asseverations, the Commons seemed resolute at all hazards to persevere. Other speeches followed on the same side, expressing all of them the same fixed determination; and matters were now growing serious. The Spanish ambassador never lost a chance of irritating the Queen against the Protestant party; and on Saturday, stimulated by De Silva's invectives, and convinced, perhaps with justice, that she was herself essentially right, Elizabeth sent down an order that the subject should be approached

¹ Report made to the Commons' House by Mr. Secretary: *Domestic MSS. Rolls House.*

² *Commons' Journals.*

no further on pain of her displeasure. The same night a note was flung into the presence-chamber saying that the debate on the succession had been undertaken because the commonwealth required it, and that if the Queen interfered it might be the worse for her.¹

In the most critical period of the reign of Henry the Eighth, speech in Parliament had been ostentatiously free; the Act of Appeals had been under discussion for two years and more; Catholic and Protestant had spoken their minds without restraint; yet among the many strained applications of the treason law no peer or commoner had been called to answer for words spoken by him in his place in the legislature. The Queen's injunction of silence had poured oil

Question of
privilege.

into the fire, and raised a fresh and more dangerous question of privilege. As soon as the House met again on Monday morning, Mr. Paul Wentworth rose to know whether such an order "was not against the liberties" of Parliament.² He and other members inquired whether a message sent by a public officer was authority sufficient to bind the House, or if neither the message itself nor the manner in which it was delivered was a breach of privilege, "what offence it was for any of the House to declare his opinion to be otherwise."³ The debate lasted five hours, and (a rare if not unprecedented occurrence) was adjourned.

Elizabeth, more angry than ever, sent for the Speaker; she insisted "that there should be no further

¹ "Á noche echáron en la camera de presencia un escrito que contenia en sustancia que se había tratado en el Parlamento de la sucesion porque convenia al bien del Reyno, y que si la Reyna no consentia que se tratase dello que veria algunas cosas que no le placieran."—De Silva to Philip, November 11: *MS. Simancas*.

² *Commons' Journals*, 8 Eliz.

³ Note of Proceedings in Parliament, November 11: *Domestic MSS. Eliz*, Vol. XLI.

argument: " if any member of either House was dissatisfied he must give his opinion before the Council.

The Commons having gone so far had no intention of yielding; and De Silva watched the crisis with a malicious hope of a collision between the two Houses, and of both with the Queen. The Lower House, he said, was determined to name a successor, and was all but unanimous for Lady Catherine; the Peers were as decided for the Queen of Scots.¹ A dissolution would leave the Treasury without a subsidy, and could not be thought of save at the last extremity. On the return of the Speaker the Commons named a committee to draw up an answer, which though in form studiously courteous was in substance as deliberately firm.² The finishing touch was given to it by Cecil, and the sentences added in his hand were those which insisted most on the liberty of Parliament, and most justified the attitude which the Commons had assumed.

After thanking the Queen for her promise to marry, and assuring her that whatever she might think to the contrary they meant nothing but what became them as loyal subjects, they said that they submitted reluctantly to her resolution to postpone the settlement of the succession, *being most sorry that any manner of impediment had appeared to her Majesty so great as to stay her from proceeding in the same.*³ They had however received a message implying " that they had deserved to be deprived, or at least seques-

¹ "Ellos pretenden libertad de proceder á lo del nombramiento de la sucesion en la qual en la camara superior tendra mucha parti la de Escocia; se tiene por cierto y assi lo creo que Caterina tendra casi todos los de la Camara baja, y assi parece que inelina todo á emocion." — De Silva to Philip, November 13: *MS. Simancas*.

² Draft of an Address to the Queen, submitted to the Committee of the Commons' House: *Domestic MSS.*, Eliz., Vol. XLI.

³ The words in Italics were added by Cecil.

trated, *much to their discomfort and infamy*,¹ from their ancient and laudable custom, always from the beginning necessarily annexed to their assembly, and by her Majesty *always* ² confirmed — that is, a lawful sufferance and dutiful liberty to treat and devise matters honourable to her Majesty and profitable to the realm.” Before this message reached them “they had made no determination to deal in any way to her discontentation; they therefore besought her of her motherly love that they might continue in their course of duty, honouring and serving her like children, without any unnecessary, *unaccustomed*,³ or undeserved yoke of commandment; so ⁴ should her Majesty continue the singular favour of her honour, wherein she did excel all monarchs, for ruling her subjects without misliking; and they also would enjoy the like praise above all other people for obeying without constraint — than the which no prince could desire more earthly honour, nor no people more earthly praise.”

No one knew better than Elizabeth how to withdraw from an indefensible position, and words so full of firmness and dignity might perhaps have produced an effect; but before the address could be presented a fresh apple of discord was thrown into the arena.

A book had appeared in Paris, written by a refugee Scot named Patrick Adamson. The subject of it was the birth of James; and the Queen of Scots' child was described as the heir of the English throne. Copies had been scattered about

Patrick
Adamson
on the
succession

¹ Added in Cecil's hand.

² The word first written was “graciously.” Cecil scratched through ‘graciously,’ as if it implied that the liberties of the House of Commons depended on the pleasure of the Sovereign, and substituted “always.”

³ Cecil's hand.

⁴ The conclusion is entirely Cecil's.

London, and Elizabeth had already directed Mary Stuart's attention to the thing "as a matter strange and not to be justified."¹

On the 21st of November, on occasion of a measure laid before the House against the introduction of seditious books from abroad, a Mr. Dalton brought forward this production of Adamson in the fiercest Protestant spirit.

“How say you,” he exclaimed, “to a libel set forth in print calling the Infant of Scotland Prince of England, Scotland, and Ireland? Prince of England, Scotland, and Ireland! What enemy to the peace and quietness of the realm of England — what traitor to the crown of this realm hath devised, set forth, and published this dishonour against the Queen's most excellent Majesty and the crown of England? Prince of England, and Queen Elizabeth as yet having no child! — Prince of England, and the Scottish Queen's child! — Prince of Scotland and England, and Scotland before England! who ever heard or read that before this time? What true English heart may sustain to hear of this villany and reproach against the Queen's highness and this her realm? It is so that it hath pleased her highness at this time to bar our speech; but if our mouths shall be stopped, and in the mean time such despite shall happen and pass without revenge, it will make the heart of a true Englishman break within his breast.”

“With the indignity of the matter being,” as he afterwards said, “set on fire,” Dalton went on to touch on dangerous matters, and entered on the forbidden

¹ Elizabeth to Bedford, November 13: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House*

subject of the Scottish title. The Speaker gently checked him, but not before he had uttered words which called out the whole sympathy of the Commons, and gave them an opportunity of showing how few friends in that house Mary Stuart as yet could count upon.¹

The story was carried to the Queen; she chose to believe that the House of Commons intended to defy her; she ordered Dalton into arrest and had him examined before the Star Chamber; she ^{Arrest of Dalton.} construed her own orders into a law, and seemed determined to govern the House of Commons as if it was a debating society of riotous boys.

The Commons behaved with great forbearance: they replied to the seizure of the offending member by requesting "to have leave to ^{The Commons demand a conference.} confer upon the liberties of the House."

The original question of the succession was lost in the larger one of privilege, and the address which they had previously drawn seemed no longer distinct enough for the occasion. The Council implored Elizabeth to consider what she was doing. As soon as her anger cooled she felt herself that she had gone too far, and not caring to face a conference, "foreseeing that thereof must needs have ensued more inconvenience than were meet," she drew back with temper not too ruffled to save her dignity in giving way. Her intention had been to extort or demand the sanction of the House for the prosecution of Dalton. Discovering in time that if they refused she had no means of compelling them, she would not risk an open ^{The Queen gives way.} rupture. The prisoner was released "with-

¹ Mr. Dalton's Speech, according to the Report: *Domestic MSS.*, *Eliz.* Vol. XL.

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¹ Mr. Dalton's Speech, according to the Report: *Domestic MSS.*, *Elizabeth*. Vol. XLI.

out further question or trial," and on the 25th she sent orders to the Speaker "to relieve the House of the burden of her commandment." She had been assured, she said, that they had no intention of molesting her, and that they had been "much perplexed" by the receipt of her order; "she did not mean to prejudice any part of the laudable liberties heretofore granted to them;" she would therefore content herself with their obedient behaviour, and she trusted only that if any person should begin again to discuss any particular title, the Speaker would compel him to be silent.¹

The Commons were prudent enough to make the Queen's retreat an easy one. Having succeeded in resisting a dangerous encroachment of the crown they did not press their victory. The message sent through the Speaker was received by the House "most joyfully, with most hearty prayers and thanks for the same,"² and with the consent of all parties the question of Parliamentary privilege was allowed to drop.

Yet while ready to waive their right of discussing further the particular pretensions of the claimants of the crown, the Commons would not let the Queen believe that they acquiesced in being left in uncertainty. Two months had passed since the beginning of the session, and the subsidy had not been so much as discussed. The succession quarrel had commenced with the first motion for a grant of money, and had lasted with scarcely an interval ever since.

It was evident that although Elizabeth's objection to name a successor was rested on general grounds, it applied as strongly to Lady Catherine as to the Queen

¹ Note of the words of the Queen to the Speaker of the House of Commons: *Domestic MSS.*, Eliz., Vol. XLI. Leicester to Cecil, November 27: *MS. Ibid.*

² *Commons' Journals*, 8 Eliz.

of Scots, and had arisen professedly from the Queen's own experience in the lifetime of her sister; yet the Commons either suspected that she was secretly working in the Scottish interest, or they thought at all events that her procrastination served only to strengthen that interest, and that Mary Stuart's friends every day grew more numerous.

The Money Bill was reintroduced on the 27th. The House was anxious to compensate by its liberality for the trouble which it had given on other subjects, and the Queen was privately informed that the grant would be made unusually large. Elizabeth, determined not to be outdone, replied that although for the public service she might require all which they were ready to offer, "she counted her subjects in respect of their hearty good will her best treasurers;" and "she therefore would move them to for-
The Subsidy Bill.
bear at that time extending their gift as they proposed." The manner as well as the matter of the message was pointedly gracious, yet the Commons would have preferred her taking the money and listening to their opinions; and the bribe was as unsuccessful as the menace, in keeping them silent. They voted freely the sum which she would consent to take. It amounted in a rough estimate to an income tax of seven per cent. for two years; but an attempt was made to attach a preamble to the Bill which would commit the Queen in accepting it to what she was straining every nerve to avoid. Referring to the promise which she had made to the Committee, "the Commons humbly and earnestly besought her with the assistance of God's grace, having resolved to marry, to accelerate without more loss of time all her honourable actions tending thereto;" while "submitting themselves to

the will of Almighty God, in whose hands all power and counsel did consist, they would at the same time beseech Him to give her Majesty wisdom well to foresee, opportunity speedily to consult, and power with assent of the realm sufficiently to fulfil, without unnecessary delay, all that should be needful to her subjects and their posterity in the stablishing the succession of the crown, first in her own person and progeny, and next in such persons as law and justice should peaceably direct — according to the answer of Moses: ‘The Lord God of the spirit of all flesh set one over this great multitude which may go out and in before them, and lead them out and in, that the Lord’s people may not be as sheep without a shepherd.’”¹

The meaning of language such as this could not be mistaken. All the political advantages of
December the Scottish succession would not compensate to “the Lord’s people” for such a shepherd as the person into whose hands they seemed to be visibly drifting. It was a grave misfortune for the Protestants that they could produce no better candidate than Lady Catherine Grey, who had professed herself a Catholic when Catholicism seemed likely to serve her turn; and to whom, notwithstanding her legal claim through the provisions of the will of Henry the Eighth, there were so many and so serious objections. The friends of the Queen of Scots had set in circulation a list of difficulties in the way of her acknowledgment, the weight of which fanaticism itself could not refuse to admit.²

¹ Preamble for the Subsidy Bill: *Domestic MSS.*, Vol. XLI. *Rolls House*.

² “Whatever be said, it is notorious that when Sir Charles Brandon married the French Queen he had a wife already living.

“The Lady Catherine is therefore illegitimate.

It is uncertain whether the preamble was ever forced on Elizabeth's attention. The draft of it alone remains to show what the Commons intended; and

"Even if this were not so, yet such hath been her life and behaviour, and so much hath she stained herself and her issue, as she is to be thought unworthy of the crown. For she was married, as you know, to the Lord Herbert; the marriage was performed and perfected by all necessary circumstances; there was consent of parties, consent of parents, open solemnizing, continuance till lawful years of consent, and in the mean time, carnal copulation; all which, save the last, are commonly known, and the last, which might be most doubtful, is known by confession of them both. She herself hath earnestly acknowledged the same.

"A divorce was procured by the Earl of Pembroke, in Queen Mary's reign, against their wills, so that it cannot be legal.

"Afterwards, she by dalliance fell to carnal company with the Earl of Hertford, which was not descried till the bigness of her belly bewrayed her ill hap. The marriage between them was declared unlawful by the bishop who examined it.

"The mother wicked and lascivious; the issue bastarded.

"If she were next in the blood royal, her fault is so much the more to have so foully spotted the same. She can have no lawful children. Deut. xiii. 23: — It is written, 'a bastard and unlawful-born person may not bear rule in the church and commonweal;' a law devised to punish the parents for their sins, so that such a mother ought in no case to be allowed to succeed.

"Next as to King Henry's will: —

"He had no power to bequeath the crown, except so far as Parliament gave him leave; and Parliament could only give him leave so far as the power of Parliament extended. The words of the statute give him no absolute or unlimited power to appoint an unfit person to the crown, not capable of the same — as unto a Turk, an Infidel, an infamous or opprobrious person, a fool, or a madman.

"But again, he had power to order the succession, either by Letters Patent, or by his will, signed with his own hand.

"He has not done it by Letters Patent; of that there is no doubt.

"His will, there are witnesses sufficient, and some of them that subscribed the same testament can truly and plainly testify, that he did not subscribe.

"The stamp might be appended when the King was void of memory, or else when he was deceased, as indeed it happened, as more manifestly appeared by open declaration made in Parliament by the late Lord Paget and others, that the King did not sign it with his own hand, and as it is plain and probable enough by the pardon obtained for one William Clerke for putting the stamp to the said will after the King was departed.

"As to the enrolment in Chancery, and the evidence on the Rolls that the will was accepted and acted on, this is nothing. It was his will whether signed or not, and so far as legacies, etc., were concerned, such as he had

either they despaired of prevailing on the Queen to accept the grant while such a prelude was linked to it, and were unwilling to embarrass the public service; or they preferred another expedient, to which they trusted less objection might be raised: the preamble at all events was abandoned; they substituted for it a general expression of gratitude for the promise to marry, and sent the Bill to the Lords on the 17th of December.

Meanwhile on the 5th a measure was introduced which, if less effective in the long run for the protection of the Reformation than the declaration of a Protestant successor, would have ended at once the ambiguity of the religious position of Elizabeth. The Thirty-nine Articles, strained and cracked by three centuries of evasive ingenuity, scarcely embarrass now the feeblest of consciences. The clergyman of the nineteenth century subscribes them with such a smile as might have been worn by Samson when his Philistine mistress bound his arms with the cords and withes. In the first years of Elizabeth they were the symbols by which the orthodox Protestant was distinguished from the concealed Catholic. The liturgy, with purposed ambiguity, could be used by those who were Papists save in the name; the Articles affirmed the falsehood of doctrines declared by the Church to be divine, and the Catholic who signed them either passed over to the new opinions or imperilled his soul with perjury. In their anxiety for conciliation, and for the semblance of unanimity, Elizabeth's Government had

power to make by the common law, so far it might be acted on. But in so far as the succession was concerned, it was invalid, because the form prescribed by the empowering statute, 35 Hen. VIII., had not been observed." *Answer to Mr. Hale's Book of the Successions, December, 1586: Domestic MSS., Eliz., Vol. XLI.*

as yet held these formulas at arm's length : the Convocation of 1562 had reimposed them so far as their powers extended ; but the decrees of Convocation were but shadows until vitalized by the legislature ; and both Queen and Parliament had refused to give the authority of law to a code of doctrines which might convulse the kingdom.

On the failure of the suit for the succession, a Bill was brought into the Lower House to make Bill for the reimposition of the Thirty-nine Articles. subscription to the Articles a condition for the tenure of benefices in the Church of England. The move was so sudden and the Commons were so swift that there was no time for resistance. It was hurried through its three readings and given to the bishops to carry through the Lords. A letter from De Silva to Philip shows the importance which both Catholic and Protestant attached to it : —

DE SILVA TO PHILIP II.

December, 1566.

"Religion is again under discussion here ; these heretic bishops are urging forward their malicious pretences ; they say that it is desirable for the realm to profess an uniform belief, and they desire to have their doctrine enforced by temporal penalties as soon as it has been sanctioned by Parliament.

"The Catholics are in great alarm and entreat the Queen to withhold her sanction. I spent some time with her yesterday, and to bring on the subject I said that the Subsidy Bill having been De Silva advises the Queen to dissolve Parliament. passed it would be well if she let the Parliament end. The longer it lasted the more annoyance it would cause to her ; and she might assure herself that these popular assemblies could not fail to produce

disquiet, more particularly where the Commons had liberty of speech and were so much inclined to novelties.

"She agreed with me in this. She said the Commons had now entered upon a subject which was wholly alien to their duties; they were acting in contradiction to their late professions, and she would endeavour to send them about their business before Christmas.

"I pointed out to her the mischievous intention of the men who had brought these religious questions forward. They had no care for her or for the commonwealth, and they simply meant sedition. She was at peace so far, and had lived and reigned in safety all these years on the principles on which Cecil had carried on the government. If there was now to be a change, the insolence of the upholders of novelties would disturb everything. Hitherto the Pope and the Catholic powers had abstained from declaring against her, in the belief that her subjects were equitably and wisely governed, and that she would allow no one to be injured or offended. Should they now see her preparing to change her course they would perhaps reconsider the situation, and troubles might ensue, of which I, as the minister of your Majesty who so ardently desired her well-being, could not but give her honest warning.

"She went into the subject at some length. She said that those who were engaged upon it had given her to understand that it was for her own good, and had promised every one of them to stand by her and defend her against all her enemies.

"I told her she could not but see that these new religionists were only frightening her—in order that they might bring her to declare more decisively for them and against the Catholics. They pretended that

if she separated herself from them — if she did not yield in all points to what they wished — she would be in danger on account of the sentence which had been given at Rome in favour of Queen Catherine. I could assure her that she had but to express a desire to that effect and the Pope would immediately remove the difficulty ; I knew in fact that he was extremely anxious to remove it. Being her father's daughter, born in his house, having been named by him with consent of Parliament to succeed after her sister, and being Queen in possession, she had nothing really to fear — she would find powerful friends everywhere.

“It was true, she admitted, that the Pope had offered to reverse the sentence, but he had made it a condition that she should submit to him absolutely and unreservedly.

“If his Holiness had done this, I said, he was not actuated by any covetous ambition, but by the sincerest interest in herself and the realm. In the present Pope she might feel the fullest confidence ; and at all events there was no more reason for making innovations now than there had been at the beginning of her reign. She would do better to wait till time should enable her to see her way.

“She said that she thought as I did : she believed, however, that her people were afraid if she married the Archduke that the old religion would be brought in again : they were pressing forward these changes as a precaution.

“A little while ago, I said, her Council were most afraid that she would not marry at all.

“True, she answered ; that was their fear or their pretended fear — and their present conduct showed how dishonest they had been. Marry, however, she

would, if it was only to vex them. She would have been glad, she said, had there been any one in Parliament who could have checked the Bill in its progress; if it passed the Lords, she feared she would be unable to resist the pressure which would be brought to bear upon her."

Either Elizabeth feared another quarrel and distrusted her own strength, or she wished to deceive De Silva into believing her opposition to the Bill to be more sincere than it really was. The remonstrances of the Catholics, however, and her own better judgment prevailed at last. She collected her courage and sent a message to the Peers desiring that the Bill of Religion should go no further. The bishops were the persons in the Upper House for whom alone the question had much interest; and Elizabeth understood how to manage them. The Commons had resisted one order — the bishops thought they could resist another. Their first impulse was to entreat the Queen to reconsider her command — to let the debate go forward, and "if the Bill was found good by the Lords, that she would be pleased for the glory of God to give her gracious assent to the same."¹ A petition to this effect was presented carrying the signatures of the two archbishops and thirteen bishops. The Queen sent immediately for Parker and three or four more, and inquired which of them had been the first promoters of the Bill. Though it first appeared in the Lower House, she said, it must have originated with some one on the Bench; and though she had no objection to the doctrine of the Articles — "for it was that which she did openly pro-

¹ Petition of the Bishops to the Queen, December, 1566: *Domestic MSS.*, Eliz., Vol. XLI.

fess" — she objected seriously to sudden irregular action "without her knowledge and consent" on a question of such magnitude.

Had Elizabeth scolded in the tone usual with her towards the Church authorities, she might have found them obstinate; but she spoke reasonably and they were frightened. The archbishops, though their names headed the signatures to the petition, disclaimed eagerly the responsibility of the initiation. She bade them find out by whom it had been done. The Archbishop of Canterbury reported to Cecil "that most of his brethren answered, as he had done, that they knew nothing of it." Having extracted a disavowal from the majority of the Bench, Elizabeth was able to shield her objections behind their indifference; she had checkmated them, and the obnoxious measure disappeared.

The Bill is stopped.

Thus gradually the storms of the session were blowing over. The Queen seemed at last to have really resolved on marriage, and her determination gave her courage to encounter her other difficulties with an increase of firmness. She promised the advocates of the Scotch title that the will of Henry the Eighth should be examined immediately on the close of the session, and that a fair legal opinion should be taken on the Queen of Scots' claims;¹ and she gave Mary Stuart a significant evidence of her good will in closing promptly and peremptorily a discussion which had commenced at Lincoln's Inn in the interests of the rival candidate. The lawyers, disappointed of their debate in the House of Commons, began it again in the Inns of Court — where there was no privilege to protect incautious speakers. Mr. Thornton,

Elizabeth forbids the discussion of the Scottish title.

¹ De Silva to Philip, December 16: *MS. Simancas*.

an eloquent advocate of Lady Catherine, was sent to the Tower; and even Cecil earned the thanks of the Queen of Scots by the energy with which he seconded his mistress in silencing opposition.¹

¹ On the 5th of January, Murray thanked Cecil in his own and the Queen's name for "his cordial dealing." "Her Majesty," wrote Maitland to him, "is very well satisfied with your behaviour. I pray you so continue, not doubting but you shall find her a thankful princess." "Melville," he added, "reports nothing but good of you, touching the repairing the injury done against my mistress at Lincoln's Inn." — *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

Cecil's conduct in the succession struggle is not easy to make out. Neither memorandum nor letter of his own remain to show his real feelings; but though he might naturally have been looked for among the supporters of Lady Catherine Grey, he seems to have given thorough satisfaction to the friends of the Queen of Scots. He must have written to Maitland immediately after Elizabeth's first answer to the address of the Houses, regretting her resolution to leave the question unsettled; and he must have led Maitland to suppose that he had wished Mary Stuart to have been the person nominated; for Maitland, answering his letter on the 11th of November, gave him "hearty thanks for the pains which he had taken in the busy matter which he had had in hand," and then went on more pointedly —

"I look not in my time to see the matter in any perfection, for I think it is not the pleasure of God to have the subjects of this isle thoroughly settled in their judgment; for which cause he doth keep things most necessary undetermined, so as they shall always have somewhat wherewith to be exercised. The experience I have had of late in my own person makes me the less to marvel when I hear your doings are misconstrued by backbiters. Whosoever will meddle with public affairs and princes must be content to bear that burden. I never doubted the sincerity of your intentions, and I doubt not time shall convince those that think the contrary even in their own conscience, whenas themselves shall be content to justify your councils, which now are ignorant to what scope they are directed."

On the 17th of November, Mary Stuart herself wrote to Cecil, saying "that the bruits were passed which reported him to be a hinderer to her advancement, and that she knew him to be a wise man."

On the 18th, Murray wrote that "he had always found Cecil most earnest to produce good feeling and a sound understanding between England and Scotland, and between the two Queens; and so," he said, "my trust is that ye will continue favourable to the end in all her Highness's affairs, which for my own part I will most earnestly crave of you, being most assured there is no daughter in the isle doth more reverence her natural mother nor my Sovereign the Queen your mistress. Nor sure I am can she be induced by any means to seek or procure that which may in any sort offend her Majesty." — *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

It is possible that even Cecil's vigilance had been laid asleep by the sub-

Elizabeth herself wrote to the Queen of Scots, no longer insisting on the Treaty of Leith — no longer stipulating for embarrassing conditions. Substantially conceding all the points which were in dispute between them, she proposed that they should mutually bind themselves by a contract in which Mary Stuart should undertake to do nothing against Elizabeth during the lifetime of herself or her children; while Elizabeth would “engage never to do or suffer anything to be done to the prejudice of the Queen of Scots’ title and interest as her next cousin.”¹

Proposed
bond
between
Elizabeth
and the
Queen of
Scots.

The Queen of Scots declared herself, in reply, assured of Elizabeth’s “good mind and entire affection” towards her; “she did not doubt that in time her sister would proceed to the perfecting and consideration of that which she had begun to utter, as well to her own people as to other nations — the opinion which her sister had of the equity of her cause;” and she promised to send a commission to London to settle the terms in which the contract “might pass orderly to both their contentments.”²

January.

Thus the struggle was over; though unrecognized by a formal Act of Parliament, Mary Stuart had won the day, and was virtually regarded as the heir presumptive to the English throne. Elizabeth’s own wishes had pointed throughout to this conclusion, if the Queen of Scots would consent to seek her object in any other capacity than as the representative of a revolution. The reconciliation of the two factions in Scotland, and the restoration of Murray and Maitland

missive attitude which the Queen of Scots had assumed towards Elizabeth, and by the seeming restoration of Murray to her confidence.

¹ Elizabeth to the Queen of Scots, December, 1566: *MS. Rolls House.*

² The Queen of Scots to Elizabeth, January 3, 1567: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

to confidence and authority, were accepted as an indication of a changed purpose; and harassed by her subjects, goaded into a marriage which she detested, and exhausted by a struggle which threatened a dangerous breach between herself and the nation, Elizabeth closed the long chapter of distrust, and yielded or prepared to yield all that was demanded of her.

Having thus made up her mind she resolved to break up the Parliament, and to punish the refractory House of Commons by a dissolution. After another election the Puritans would be in a minority. The succession could be legally established without division or quarrel, guarded by such moderate guarantees as might secure the mutual toleration of the two creeds.

For the first time in Parliamentary history a session had been wasted in barren disputes. On the 2d of January, between two and three in the afternoon, the Queen appeared in the House of Lords to bring it to an end. The Commons were called to the bar; the Speaker, Mr. Onslow, read a complimentary address, in which he described the English nation as happy in a sovereign who understood her duties, who prevented her subjects from injuring one another, and knew "how to make quiet among the ministers of religion." He touched on the many excellences of the constitution, and finally with some imprudence ventured an allusion to the restrictions on the royal authority.

"There be," he said, "for the prince provided princely prerogatives and royalties, yet not such as the prince can take money or other things or do as she will at her own pleasure without order; but quietly to suffer her subjects to enjoy their own without wrong-

The close of
the Session.

ful oppression ; whereas other princes by their liberty do take as pleaseth them."

"Your Majesty," he went on turning to Elizabeth, "has not attempted to make laws contrary to order but orderly has called this Parliament, which perceived certain wants and thereunto have put their helping hands, and for help of evil manners good laws are brought forth."

Then going to the sorest of all sore and wounding subjects he concluded, "we give hearty thanks to God for that your highness has signified your pleasure of your inclination to marriage, which afore you were not given unto ; which is done for our safeguard, that when God shall call you, you may leave of your own body to succeed you. Therefore God grant us that you will shortly embrace the holy state of matrimony, when and with whom God shall appoint and shall best like your Majesty."

Elizabeth's humour, none the happiest at the commencement, was not improved by this fresh chafing of her galled side. She had come prepared to lecture others, not to listen to a homily. She beckoned Bacon to her and spoke a few words to him. He then rose and said that the general parts of the Speaker's address her Majesty liked well, and therefore he need not touch on them ; on the latter and more particular expressions used in it a few words were necessary.

"Politick orders," he said, "be the rules of all good acts, and touching them that you have made to the overthrowing of good laws" (your Bill of Religion, with which you meant to tyrannize over conscience), "these deserve reproof as well as the others deserve praise. In which like cause you err in bringing her Majesty's prerogative into question, and for that thing

wherein she meant not to hurt any of your liberties. Her Majesty's nature, however, is mild ; she will not be austere ; and therefore though at this time she suffer you all to depart quietly into your counties for your amendment, yet as it is needful she hopeth the offenders will hereafter use themselves well."

The Acts of the session were then read out and received the royal assent ; all seemed over, and it was by this time dusk ; when Elizabeth herself, in the uncertain light, rose from the throne, stood forward in her robes, and spoke.

"My Lords and other Commons of this assembly :
Speech of Elizabeth. although the Lord Keeper hath according to order very well answered in my name, yet as a periphrasis I have a few words further to speak unto you, notwithstanding I have not been used nor love to do it in such open assemblies. Yet now, not to the end to amend his talk, but remembering that commonly princes' own words are better printed in the hearers' memory than those spoken by her command, I mean to say thus much unto you.

"I have in this assembly found such dissimulation where I always professed plainness, that I marvel thereat : yea two faces under one hood, and the body rotten, being covered with the two vizors succession and liberty — which they determined must be either presently granted, denied, or deferred ; in granting whereof they had their desire ; and denying or deferring thereof, those things being so plaudable as indeed to all men they are, they thought to work me that mischief which never foreign enemy could bring to pass — which is the hatred of my Commons.

"But alas ! they began to pierce the vessel before

the wine was fined, and began a thing not foreseeing the end, how by this means I have seen my well-willers from my enemies, and can as meseemeth very well divide the House into four : —

“ 1. The broachers and workers thereof, who are in the greatest fault.

“ 2. The speakers, who by eloquent tales persuaded the rest, are next in degree.

“ 3. The agreeers, who being so light of credit that the eloquence of those tales so overcame them that they gave more credit thereunto than unto their own wits.

“ 4. Those that sat still and mute, and meddled not therewith, but rather wondered disallowing the matter ; who in my opinion are most to be excused.

“ But do you think that either I am so unmindful of your surety by succession, wherein is all my care, considering I know myself to be but mortal ? No, I warrant you. Or that I went about to break your liberties ? No, it never was in my meaning ; but to stay you before you fell into the ditch. For all things have their time ; and although perhaps you may have after me a better-learned or wiser, yet I assure you, none more careful over you ; and therefore henceforth, whether I live to see the like assembly or no, or whoever it be, yet beware how you prove your prince's patience as you have now done mine.

“ And now to conclude all this ; notwithstanding, not meaning to make a Lent of Christmas, the most part of you may assure yourselves that you depart in your prince's grace.

“ My Lord Keeper, you will do as I bid you.”

Again Bacon rose and in a loud voice said, “ The

Dissolution
of Parlia-
ment.
ure."

Queen's Majesty doth dissolve this Parli-
ment. Let every man depart at his pleas-

Elizabeth swept away in the gloom, passed to her barge, and returned to the palace. The Lords and Commons scattered through the English counties, and five years went by before another Parliament met again at Westminster in a changed world.

On that evening the immediate prospect before Eng-
land was the Queen's marriage with an Aus-
trian Catholic prince, the recognition more
or less distant of the Catholic Mary Stuart as heir presumptive, the establishment with the support and sanction of the Catholic powers of some moderate form of government, under which the Catholic worship would be first tolerated and then creep on towards ascendancy. It might have ended, had Elizabeth been strong enough, in broad intellectual freedom; more likely it would have ended in the reappearance of the Marian fanaticism, to be encountered by passions as fierce and irrational as itself; and to the probable issue of that conflict conjecture fails to penetrate.

But the era of toleration was yet centuries distant; and the day of the Roman persecutors was gone never more to reappear. Six weeks later a powder barrel exploded in a house in Edinburgh, and when the smoke cleared away the prospects of the Catholics in England were scattered to all the winds.

The murder of Henry Stuart Lord Darnley is one of those incidents which will remain till the end of time conspicuous on the page of history. In itself the death of a single boy, prince or king though he might be, had little in it to startle the hard world of the sixteenth century. Even before the folly and falsehood

by which Mary Stuart's husband had earned the hatred of the Scotch nobility, it had been foreseen that such a frail and giddy summer pleasure-boat would be soon wrecked in those stormy waters. Had Darnley been stabbed in a scuffle or helped to death by a dose of arsenic in his bed, the fair fame of the Queen of Scots would have suffered little, and the tongues that dared to mutter would have been easily silenced. But conspiracies in Scotland were never managed with the skilful villany of the Continent; and when some conspicuous person was to be removed out of the way, the instruments of the deed were either fanatic religionists, who looked on themselves as the servants of God, or else they had been wrought up to the murder point by some personal passion which was not contented with the death of its victim, and required a fuller satisfaction in the picturesqueness of dramatic revenge. The circumstances under which the obstacle to Mary Stuart's peace was disposed of challenged the attention of the whole civilized world, and no after efforts availed in court, creed, or nation, to hide the memory of the scenes which were revealed in that sudden lightning flash.

The disorders of the Scots upon the Border had long been a subject of remonstrance from the English Government. The Queen of Scots, while the Parliament was sitting at Westminster, desired to give some public proof of her wish to conciliate; and after the strange appearance of Darnley in September at the Council at Edinburgh, she proposed to go in person to Jedburgh and hear the complaints of Elizabeth's wardens. The Earl of Bothwell had taken command of the North Marches: he had gone down to prepare the way for the Queen's ap-

*The Queen
of Scots
goes to
Jedburgh.*

pearance, and on her arrival she was greeted with the news that he had been shot through the thigh in a scuffle and was lying wounded in Hermitage Castle. The Earl had been her companion throughout the summer; her relations with him at this time—whether innocent or not—were of the closest intimacy; and she had taken into her household a certain Lady Reres, who had once been his mistress.

She heard of his wound with the most alarmed anxiety: on every ground she could ill afford to lose him;¹ and careless at all times of bodily fatigue or danger, she rode on the 15th of October twenty-five miles over the moors to see him. The Earl's state proved to be more painful than dangerous, and after remaining two hours at his bed-side she returned the same day to Jedburgh. She had not been well: "thought and displeasure," which as she herself told Maitland,² "had their root in the King," had already affected both her health and spirits. The long ride, the night air, and "the great distress of her mind for the Earl," proved too much for her; and though she sat her horse till her journey's end, she fainted when she was lifted from the saddle, and remained two hours unconscious. Delirium followed with violent fever, and in this condition she continued for a week. She was frequently insensible: food refused to remain upon her stomach; yet for the first few days there seemed to be "no tokens of death;" she slept tolerably, and on Tuesday and Wednesday, the 22d and 23d, she was thought to be improving. An ex-

October.
Bothwell is
wounded.

Illness of
the Queen
of Scots.

¹ "Ce ne luy eust pas esté peu de perte de le perdre!" were the unsuspecting words of Du Crocq on the 17th of October. — Teulet, Vol. II. p. 289.

² Maitland to the Archbishop of Glasgow: Printed in Keith.

press had been sent to Glasgow for Darnley, but he did not appear. On Friday, the 25th, there was a relapse; shiverings came on, the body grew rigid, the eyes were closed, the mouth set and motionless; she lost consciousness so entirely that she was supposed to be dying or dead; and in expectation of an immediate end a menacing order to keep the peace was sent out by Murray, Maitland, Huntly, and the other Lords who were in attendance on her.

The physician, "Master Naw," however, "a perfytt man of his craft," "would not give the matter over." He restored the circulation by chafing the limbs; the Queen came to herself at last, broke into a profuse perspiration, and fell into a natural sleep. When she awoke, the fever was gone, but her strength was prostrated. For the few next days she still believed herself in danger, and with the outward signs, and so far as could be seen with the inward spirit of Catholic piety, she prepared to meet what might be coming upon her. The Bishop of Ross was ever on his knees at her bed-side; and courageous always, she professed herself ready to die if so it was to be. She recommended the Prince to the Lords; through Murray she bequeathed the care of him to Elizabeth — through Du Crocq, to the King of France and Catherine de Medici — and for Scotland she implored them all as her last request "to trouble no man in his conscience that professed the Catholic faith," in which she herself had been brought up and was ready to die.

How much of all this was real, how much theatrical, it is needless to inquire; the most ardent admirer of Mary Stuart will not claim for her a character of piety, in any sense of the word which connects it with the moral law; those who regard her with most suspicion

will not refuse her the credit of devotion to the Catholic cause.

In a week all alarm was at an end. At length, but so late that his appearance was an affront, Darnley arrived: he was received with coldness; but for the interposition of Murray he would not have been allowed to remain a single night, and the next morning he was dismissed to return to his father. In unhappy contrast the Earl of Bothwell was brought as soon as he could be moved to Jedburgh; and on the 10th of November the court broke up, and proceeded by slow journeys towards Edinburgh for the Prince's baptism. At Kelso the Queen found a letter from her husband. It seems that he had been again writing in complaint of her to the Pope and the Catholic powers.¹ He was probably no less unwise in the words which he used to herself; and she exclaimed passionately in Murray's and Maitland's presence "that unless she was freed of him in some way she had no pleasure to live, and if she could find no other remedy she would put hand to it herself."²

Leaving Kelso and skirting the Border, she looked from Halydon Hill over Berwick and the English lines, and that fair vision of the future where Darnley was the single darkening image. A train of knights and gentlemen came out to do her homage and attend her to Ayemouth; the Berwick batteries as she went by saluted the heiress of the English crown; all through Northumberland,

Mary Stuart
on the
English
Border.

¹ De Silva in a letter, late in the winter, to Philip, spoke of writing to the Queen of Scots — "Á cerca del mal oficio que su marido habia hecho contra ella con V. Md. y con el Papa y Principes en lo de su religion." — *MS. Simancas.*

² Calderwood.

through Yorkshire, to the very gates of London, had she cared to visit Elizabeth, Mary Stuart would have been then received with all but regal honours. The Earl of Bedford — of all English nobles the most determined of her opponents — was preparing to be present at the approaching baptism, to make his peace as Elizabeth's representative. From Dunbar she wrote to Cecil and the rest of the Council as to "her good friends," to whom she committed the care of "her cause." From thence she passed on to Craigmillar¹ to recruit her strength in the keen breezy air.

Some heavy weight still hung upon her spirits: her brilliant prospects failed to cheer her. "The Queen is at Craigmillar," wrote Du Croq at the end of November; "she is still sick, and I believe the principal part of her disease to consist of a deep grief and sorrow: nor can she, it seems, forget the same; again and again she says she wishes she were dead."²

To the Lords who had attended her to Dalkeith the cause of her trouble was but too notorious. Instead of listening to her entreaties to relieve her of her husband, the Pope had probably followed the advice of De Silva, and had urged her to be reconciled to him: at any rate she must have known the anxiety of her English friends, and must have felt more wearily than ever the burden of the chain with which she had bound herself. Bothwell, Murray, Maitland, and Huntly continued at her side, and at Craigmillar they were joined by Argyle.

The lords and gentlemen who had been concerned in Ritzio's murder had by this time most of them re-

¹ Three miles south of Edinburgh, on the road to Dalkeith.

² Du Croq to the Archbishop of Glasgow: Keith.

ceived their pardon ; but the Queen had still found herself unable to forgive Morton, who, with Lindsay, young Ruthven, and Ker, was still an exile in England. Their friends had never ceased to intercede for them.

December.
Consultation
of the Lords.

One morning while Argyle was still in bed, Murray and Maitland came to his room ; and Maitland beginning upon the subject, said that " the best way to obtain Morton's pardon was to promise the Queen to find means to divorce her from her husband."

Argyle said he did not know how it could be done.

" My Lord," said Maitland, " care you not for that, we shall find the means to make her quit of him well enough, if you and Lord Huntly will look on and not take offence."

Scotland was still entangled in the Canon Law, and some trick could be made available if the nobles agreed to allow it. Huntly entered as the others were talking. They offered him the restoration of the Gordon estates if he would consent to Morton's return : he took the price, and agreed with the rest to forward the divorce.

The four noblemen then went together to Bothwell, who professed equal readiness : he accompanied them to the Queen ; and Maitland in the name of the rest undertook to deliver her from Darnley on condition that she pardoned Morton and his companions.

Mary Stuart was craving for release : she said generally that she would do what they required ; but embarrassed as she was by her connexion with Rome, she was unable to understand how a divorce could be managed, or how if they succeeded they could save the legitimacy of her child. So obvious a difficulty could

not have been unforeseen. Under the old law of the Church the dissolution of marriage was so frequent and facile, that by a kind of tacit agreement children born from connexions assumed at the time to be lawful were, like Mary and Elizabeth of England, allowed to pass as legitimate, and to succeed to their fathers' estates. The Earl of Angus and Queen Margaret were divorced, yet the English Council had tried in vain to fix a stigma on the birth of Lady Lennox. Archbishop Parker more recently had divorced Hertford and Lady Catherine Grey, yet their son was still the favourite for the succession of the English Protestants. Bothwell was ready with an instance from his own experience. The marriage between his own father and mother had been declared invalid, yet he had inherited the earldom without challenge.

The interests which depended on the young Prince of Scotland, however, were too vast to be lightly put in hazard; there was another and a shorter road out of the difficulty.

"Madam," said Maitland, "we are here the chief of your Grace's council and nobility; we shall find the means that your Majesty shall be quit of your husband without prejudice of your son, and albeit that my Lord of Murray here present be little less scrupulous for a Protestant than your Grace is for a Papist, I am assured he will look through his fingers thereto, and will behold our doings, saying nothing to the same."

The words were scarcely ambiguous, yet Murray said nothing. Such subjects are not usually discussed in too loud a tone, and he may not have heard them distinctly. He himself swore afterwards "that if any man said he was present when purposes were held in

his audience tending to any unlawful or dishonourable end, he spoke wickedly and untruly."¹

But Mary herself — how did she receive the dark suggestion? This part of the story rests on the evidence of her own friends, and was drawn up in her excuse and defence. According to Argyle and Huntly she said she "would do nothing to touch her honour and conscience;" "they had better leave it alone;" "meaning to do her good, it might turn to her hurt and displeasure."²

She may be credited with having refused her consent to the proposals then made to her; and yet that such a conversation should have passed in her presence (of the truth of the main features of it there is no room for doubt) was serious and significant. The secret was ill kept: it reached the ears of the Spanish ambassador, who, though he could not believe it true, wrote an account of it to Philip.³ The Queen was perhaps serious in her reluctance; perhaps she desired not to know what was intended till the deed was done.

"This they should have done,
And not have spoken of it. In her 't was villany;
In them it had been good service."

Those among the Lords at all events who were most in Mary Stuart's confidence concluded that if they went their own way they had nothing to fear from her resentment. Four of the party present — Argyle, Huntly, Maitland, and Bothwell, with a cousin of

¹ Reply of Murray to the declarations of the Earls of Huntly and Argyle: Keith.

² Declarations of Huntly and Argyle: Ibid.

³ "Había entendido que viendo algunos el desgusto que había entre estos Reyes, habían ofrecido á la Reyna de hacer algo contra su marido, y que ella no había venido en ello. Aunque tuve este aviso de buena parte, parecióme cosa que no se debía creer que se hubiese tratado con la Reyna semejante plática." — De Silva to Philip, January 18: *MS. Simancas*.

Bothwell, Sir James Balfour — signed a bond immediately afterwards, while the court was still at Craigmillar, to the following purpose : —

“ That for sae meikle as it was thought expedient and profitable for the commonweal, by the nobility and lords underwritten, that sic an young fool and proud tyran (as the King) should not bear rule of them — for divers causes therefore they all had concluded that he should be put forth by one way or other — and whosoever should take the deed in hand or do it, they should defend and fortify it, for it should be by every one of them reckoned and holden done by themselves.”¹

The curtain, which was thus for a moment drawn aside, again closes. The Queen went in the first week of December to Stirling, where Darnley was allowed to join her ; and the English Catholics, who had been alarmed at the rumours which had gone abroad, flattered themselves into a hope that all would again go well. The King would make amends for the past by affection and submission ; Mary Stuart would in time obliterate the painful feelings which her neglect of him had aroused.²

A few days after, the Earl of Bedford arrived from England : the Parliament was then approaching its conclusion ; the storm had subsided, and Elizabeth, free to act for herself, had commissioned Bedford to tell the Queen of Scots that her claims should be investigated as soon as possible, and “ should receive as much fa-

¹ Ormeston's confession: Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials of Scotland*.

² “ El Rey de Escocia ha ya viente dias que esta con la Reyna, y comen juntos ; y aunque parece que no perderá tan presto del todo el desgusto del Rey por las cosas pasadas, todavia piensa que el tiempo, y estar juntos, y el Rey determinado de complacerle, hará mucho en la buena reconciliacion.”
— De Silva to Philip, December 18: *MS. Simancas*.

your as she could desire to her contentation.”¹ The ambassador had brought with him a magnificent font of gold weighing 330 ozs. as a splendid present to the heir of the English throne. The Prince, who was to have been dipped in it at his baptism, had grown too large by the delay of the ceremony; but Elizabeth suggested that it might be used for “the next child.”²

The time had been when these things would have satisfied Mary Stuart's utmost hopes, and have filled her with exultation. Her thoughts, interests, and anxieties were now otherwise occupied. On the 15th, at five in the evening, the Prince was baptized by torch-light in Stirling Chapel; the service was that of the Catholic Church; the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, the most abandoned of all Episcopal scoundrels, officiated, supported by three of his brethren. The French ambassador carried the child into the aisle; the Countess of Argyle, the same who had been present at Ritzy's murder, held him at the font as Elizabeth's representative; and three of the Scottish noblemen — Eglinton, Athol, and Ross — were present at the ceremony. The rest, with the English ambassador, stood outside the door. It boded ill for the supposed reconciliation that the Prince's father, though in the castle at the time, remained in his own room, either still brooding over his wrongs and afraid that some insult should be passed upon him, or else forbidden by the Queen to appear.

As soon as the baptism was over the suit for the restoration of Morton was continued: Bedford added his intercession to that of Murray; Bothwell, Athol, and all the other noblemen joined in the entreaty; and

¹ Instructions to the Earl of Bedford going to Scotland: Keith.

² Ibid.

on the 24th the Queen, with some affectation of reluctance, gave way. George Douglas, who had been the first to strike Ritzio, and Faldonside, who had held a pistol to her breast, were alone excepted from a general and final pardon.¹

Pardon of
Morton and
terror of
Darnley.

Under any circumstances it could only have been with terror that Darnley could have encountered Morton and young Ruthven; but the conversation at Craigmillar, which had stolen into England, had been carried equally to his own ear. He knew that the pardon of Ritzio's murderers had been connected with his own destruction; and a whisper had reached him also of the bond which, though unsigned by the Queen, had been "drawn by her own device."² So long as Morton remained in exile he could hope that the conspiracy against him was incomplete. The proclamation of the pardon was his death knell, and the same night, swiftly, "without word spoken or leave taken, he stole away from Stirling and fled to his father."

That at such a crisis he should have been attacked by a sudden and dangerous illness was, to say the least of it, a singular coincidence. A few miles from the castle blue spots broke out over his body, and he was carried into Glasgow languid and drooping, with a disease which the court and the friends of the court were pleased to call small-pox.

Darnley
flies from
Stirling and
is taken ill.

There for a time he lay, his father absent, himself hanging between life and death, attended only by a few faithful servants, while the Queen with recovered health and spirits spent her Christmas with Bothwell at Drummond Castle and Tullibardine, waiting the issue of the disease.

¹ Bedford to Cecil, December 30: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

² Deposition of Thomas Crawford: *MS. Ibid.*

Unfortunately for all parties concerned, the King after a few days was reported to be slowly recovering. Either the natural disorder was too weak to kill him, or the poison had failed of its work. The Queen returned to Stirling: the favourite rode south to receive the exiles on their way back from England. "In the yard of the hostelry of Whittingham," Bothwell and Morton met; and Morton long after — on the eve of his own execution, when to speak the truth might do him service where he was going, and could do him no hurt in this world — thus described what passed between them: —

January. Bothwell proposes the murder of Darnley to Morton. "The Earl of Bothwell," said Morton, "proposed to me the purpose of the King's murder, seeing that it was the Queen's mind that he should be taken away, because she blamed the King of Davie's slaughter more than me."

Morton, "but newly come from one trouble, said that he was in no haste to enter into a new," and required to be assured that the Queen indeed desired it.

Bothwell said "he knew what was in the Queen's mind, and she would have it done."

"Bring me the Queen's hand for a warrant," Morton said that he replied, "and then I will answer you."¹

Rash and careless as Mary Stuart's passion made her, she was not so blind to prudence as to commit her signature as her husband had done. Bothwell promised that he would produce an order from her, but it never came, and Morton was saved from farther share in the conspiracy.

On the 14th of January the Queen brought the

¹ The Earl of Morton's confession: *Illustrations of Scottish History* p. 494.

Prince to Edinburgh ; on the 20th she wrote a letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow at Paris, complaining of her husband's behaviour to her, while the poor wretch was still lying on his sick-bed ;¹ and about the same time she was rejoined by Bothwell on his return from the Border. So far the story can be traced with confidence. At this point her conduct passes into the debatable land, where her friends meet those who condemn with charges of falsehood and forgery. The evidence is neither conflicting nor insufficient : the dying depositions of the instruments of the crime taken on the steps of the scaffold ; the "undesigned coincidences" between the stories of many separate witnesses, with letters which after the keenest inquiry were declared to be in her own handwriting, shed a light upon her proceedings as full as it is startling ; but the later sufferings of Mary Stuart have surrounded her name with an atmosphere of tenderness, and half the world has preferred to believe that she was the innocent victim of a hideous conspiracy.

The so-called certainties of history are but probabilities in varying degrees ; and when witnesses no longer survive to be cross-questioned, those readers and writers who judge of truth by their emotions can believe what they please. To assert that documents were forged, or that witnesses were tampered with, costs them no effort ; they are spared the trouble of reflection by the ready-made assurance of their feelings.

The historian who is without confidence in these easy criteria of certainty can but try his evidence by such means as remain. He examines what is doubtful by the light of what is established, and offers at last

¹ The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow, January 20: Keith.

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the conclusions at which his own mind has arrived, not as the demonstrated facts either of logic or passion, but as something which, after a survey of the whole case, appears to him to be nearest to the truth.¹

The Queen then, after writing the letter of complaint against her husband to the Archbishop of Glasgow, suddenly determined to visit his sick-bed. On Thursday the 23d of January she set out for Glasgow attended by her lover. They spent the night at Callendar together.² In the morning they parted; the Earl returned to Edinburgh; Mary Stuart pursued her journey attended by Bothwell's French servant Paris, through whom they had arranged to communicate.

The news that she was on her way to Glasgow anticipated her appearance there. Darnley was still con-

¹ The story in the text is taken from the depositions in Anderson and Pitcairn; from the deposition of Crawford, in the Rolls House; and from the celebrated casket letters of Mary Stuart to Bothwell. The authenticity of these letters will be discussed in a future volume in connexion with their discovery, and with the examination of them which then took place. Meantime I shall assume the genuineness of documents, which, without turning history into a mere creation of imaginative sympathies, I do not feel at liberty to doubt. They come to us after having passed the keenest scrutiny both in England and Scotland. The handwriting was found to resemble so exactly that of the Queen that the most accomplished expert could detect no difference. One of the letters could have been invented only by a genius equal to that of Shakspeare; and that one once accomplished, would have been so overpoweringly sufficient for its purpose that no forger would have multiplied the chances of detection by adding the rest. The inquiry at the time appears to me to supersede authoritatively all later conjectures. The English Council, among whom were many friends of Mary Stuart, had the French originals before them, while we have only translations, or translations of translations.

² "When Bothwell was conducting the Queen to Glasgow, where she was going to the King, at Callendar after supper, late, Lady Reres came to Bothwell's room, and seeing me there, said, 'What does M. Paris here?' 'It is all the same,' said he; 'Paris will say nothing.' And thereupon she took him to the Queen's room."—Examination of French Paris: Anderson's Collection. Paris was Bothwell's servant.

fined to his room ; but hearing of her approach he sent a gentleman who was in attendance on him, named Crawford, a noble, fearless kind of person, to apologize for his inability to meet her. It seems that after hearing of the bond at Craigmillar he had written some letter to her, the inconvenient truths of which had been irritating ; and she had used certain bitter expressions about him which had been carried to his ears. His heart half sunk in him when he was told that she was coming ; and Crawford, when he gave his message, did not hide from her that his master was afraid of her.

"There is no remedy against fear," the Queen said shortly.

"Madam," Crawford answered, "I know so far of my master that he desires nothing more than that the secrets of every creature's heart were writ in their faces."¹

Crawford's suspicions were too evident to be concealed. The Queen did not like them ; she asked sharply if he had more to say ; and when he said he had discharged his commission, she bade him "hold his peace."

Lord Darnley had made some use of his illness ; as he lay between life and death he had come to understand that he had been a fool, and for the first time in his life had been thinking seriously. When the Queen entered his room she found him lying on his couch, weak and unable to move.

The Queen
at her
husband's
bed-side.

Her first question was about his letter ; it was not her cue to irritate him, and she seemed to expostulate on the credulity with which he had listened to calumnies against her. He excused himself faintly. She allowed

¹ Crawford's deposition: *M.S. Rolls House.*

her manner to relax, and she inquired about the cause of his illness.

A soft word unlocked at once the sluices of Darnley's heart; his passion gushed out uncontrolled, and with a wild appeal he threw himself on his wife's forgiveness.

"You are the cause of it," he said; "it comes only from you who will not pardon my faults when I am sorry for them. I have done wrong, I confess it; but others besides me have done wrong, and you have forgiven them, and I am but young. You have forgiven me often, you may say; but may not a man of my age, for want of counsel, of which I am very destitute, fall twice or thrice, and yet repent and learn from experience? Whatever I have done wrong, forgive me; I will do so no more. Take me back to you; let me be your husband again or may I never rise from this bed. Say that it shall be so," he went on with wild eagerness; "God knows I am punished for making my God of you — for having no thought but of you."¹

He was flinging himself into her arms as readily as she could hope or desire; but she was afraid of exciting his suspicions by being too complaisant. She answered kindly that she was sorry to see him so unwell; and she asked him again why he had thought of leaving the country.

He said that "he had never really meant to leave it; yet had it been so there was reason enough; she knew how he had been used."

She went back to the bond of Craigmillar. It was necessary for her to learn who had betrayed the secret and how much of it was known.

¹ Crawford's deposition. The conversation, as related by Darnley to Crawford, tallies exactly with that given by Mary herself to Bothwell in the casket letters.

Weak and facile as usual, Darnley gave up the name of his informant; it was the Laird of Minto; and then he said that "he could not believe that she who was his own proper flesh would do him harm;" "if any other would do it," he added with something of his old bravado, "they should buy him dear, unless they took him sleeping."

Her part was difficult to act. As she seemed so kind, he begged that she would give him his food; he even wished to kiss her, and his breath after his illness was not pleasant. "It almost killed me," she wrote to Bothwell, "though I sate as far from him as the bed would allow: he is more gay than ever you saw him; in fact, he makes love to me, of the which I take so great pleasure that I enter never where he is but incontinent I take the sickness of my sore side which I am so troubled with."¹

When she attempted to leave the room he implored her to stay with him. He had been told, he said, that she had brought a litter with her; did she mean to take him away?

She said she thought the air of Craigmillar would do him good; and as he could not sit on horseback, she had contrived a means by which he could be carried.

The name of Craigmillar had an ominous sound. The words were kind, but there was perhaps some odd glitter of the eyes not wholly satisfactory.

He answered that if she would promise him on her honour to live with him as his wife, and not to leave him any more, he would go with her to the world's end, and care for nothing; if not, he would stay where he was.

¹ Mary Stuart to Bothwell: *Anderson's Collection*.

It was for that purpose, she said, tenderly, that she had come to Glasgow ; the separation had injured both of them, and it was time that it should end ; “ and so she granted his desire, and promised it should be as he had spoken, and thereupon gave him her hand and faith of her body that she would love him and use him as her husband ; ” she would wait only till his health was restored ; he should use cold baths at Craigmillar, and then all should be well.

Again she returned to his letter ; she was still uneasy about his knowledge of the bond, and she asked whether he had any particular fear of either of the noblemen. He had injured Maitland most, and he shivered when she named him. He felt but too surely with what indifference Maitland would set his heel on such a worm as he was.

She spoke of Lady Reres, Bothwell's evil friend. Darnley knew what that woman had been, and suspected what she might be. He said he liked her not, and wished to God she might serve the Queen to her honour ; but he would believe her promise, he would do all that she would have him do, and would love all that she loved.

She had gained her point ; he would go with her, and that was all she wanted. A slight cloud rose between them before she left the room. He was impatient at her going, and complained that she would not stay with him : she on her part said that he must keep her promise secret ; the Lords would be suspicious of their agreement, and must not know of it.

He did not like the mention of the Lords ; the Lords, he said, had no right to interfere ; he would never excite the Lords against her, and she, he trusted, would not again make a party against him.

She said that their past disagreements had been no fault of hers. He, and he alone, was to blame for all that had gone wrong.

With these words she left him. Mary Stuart was an admirable actress ; rarely, perhaps, on the world's stage has there been a more skilful player. But the game was a difficult one ; she had still some natural compunction, and the performance was not quite perfect.

Darnley, perplexed between hope and fear, affection and misgiving, sent for Crawford. He related the conversation which had passed, so far as he could recollect it, word for word, and asked him what he thought.

Darnley relates to Crawford his conversation with the Queen.

Crawford, unblinded by passion, answered at once "that he liked it not ;" if the Queen wished to have him living with her, why did she not take him to Holyrood ? Craigmillar — a remote and lonely country house — was no proper place for him ; if he went with her, he would go rather as her prisoner than her husband.

Darnley answered that he thought little less himself ; he had but her promise to trust to, and he feared what she might mean ; he had resolved to go, however ; "he would trust himself in her hands though she should cut his throat."¹

And Mary, what was her occupation after parting thus from her husband ? Late into the night she sat writing an account of that day's business to her lover, "with whom," as she said, "she had left her heart." She told him of her meeting with Crawford, and of her coming to the King ; she related, with but slight verbal variations, Darnley's passionate

The Queen in her cabinet.

¹ Crawford's deposition: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

appeal to her, as Darnley himself had told it to his friend.

“I pretend,” she wrote, “that I believe what he says; you never saw him better, or heard him speak more humbly. If I did not know his heart was wax, and mine a diamond, whereinto no shot can enter but that which comes from your hand, I could almost have had pity on him; but fear not, the plan shall hold to the death.”

If Mary Stuart was troubled with a husband, Bothwell was inconvenienced equally with a wife.

“Remember in return,” she continued, “that you suffer not yourself to be won by that false mistress of yours, who will travail no less with you for the same; I believe they learnt their lesson together. He has ever a tear in his eye. He desires I should feed him with my own hands. I am doing what I hate. Would you not laugh to see me lie so well, and dissemble so well, and tell truth betwixt my hands. We are coupled with two bad companions. The devil sunder us, and God knit us together to be the most faithful couple that ever he united. This is my faith — I will die in it. I am writing to you while the rest are sleeping, since I cannot sleep as they do, and as I would desire — that is in your arms, my dear love; whom I pray God preserve from all evil and send you repose.”

Without much moral scrupulousness about her, Mary Stuart had still feelings which answer to a loose man’s “sense of honour.”

"I must go forward," she said, "with my odious purpose. You make me dissemble so far that I abhor it, and you cause me to do the office of a traitress. If it were not to obey you, I had rather die than do it; my heart bleeds at it. He will not come with me except I promise him that I shall be with him as before, and doing this he will do all I please and come with me. To make him trust me, I had to fence in some things with him; so when he asked that when he was well we should have both but one bed, I said that if he changed not purpose between now and then, it should be so; but in the mean time I bade him take care that he let nobody know of it, because the Lords would fear, if we agreed together, he would make them feel the small account they made of him. In fine, he will go anywhere that I ask him. Alas! I never deceived anybody; but I remit me altogether to your pleasure. Send me word what to do, and I will do it. Consider whether you can contrive anything more secret by medicine. He is to take medicine and baths at Craig-millar. He suspects greatly, and yet he trusts me. I am sorry to hurt any one that depends on me; yet you may command me in all things. About Lady Reres he said, I pray God she may serve you to your honour. He suspects the thing you know, and of his life; but as to the last, when I speak two or three kind words, he is happy and out of doubt. Burn this letter, for it is dangerous and nothing well said in it."

Then following the ebb and flow of her emotions to that strange point where the criminal passion of a woman becomes almost virtue in its utter self-abandonment, she appealed to Bothwell not to despise her for the treachery to which for his sake she was condescending.

"Have no evil opinion of me for this," she concluded; "you yourself are the cause of it; for my own private revenge I would not do it to him. Seeing, then, that to obey you, my dear love, I spare neither honour, conscience, hazard, nor greatness, take it, I pray you, in good part. Look not at that woman whose false tears should not be so much regarded as the true and faithful labour which I am bearing to deserve her place; to obtain which — against my nature — I betray those that may hinder me. God forgive me, and God give you, my only love, the happiness and prosperity which your humble and faithful friend desires for you. She hopes soon to be another thing to you. It is late. I could write to you forever; yet now I will kiss your hand and end."¹

With these thoughts in her mind, Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, lay down upon her bed — to sleep, doubtless — sleep with the soft tranquillity of an innocent child. Remorse may disturb the slumbers of the man who is dabbling with his first experiences of wrong. When the pleasure has been tasted and is gone, and nothing is left of the crime but the ruin which it has wrought, then, too, the Furies take their seats upon the midnight pillow. But the meridian of evil is for the most part left unvexed; and when a man has chosen his road he is let alone to follow it to the end.

The next morning the Queen added a few closing words:

"If in the mean time I hear nothing to the contrary, according to my commission I will bring the man to Craigmillar on Monday — where he will be all Wednesday."

¹ Mary Stuart to Bothwell: *Anderson's Collection*.

day — and I will go to Edinburgh to draw blood of me. Provide for all things and discourse upon it first with yourself.”

This letter, and another to Maitland, she gave in charge to Paris to take to Edinburgh. In delivering them she bade him tell Bothwell that she had prevented the King from kissing her, as Lady Reres could witness; and she told him to ask Maitland whether Craigmillar was to be the place, or whether they had changed their plan. They would give him answers with which he would come back to her immediately. She would herself wait at Glasgow with the King till his return.

Paris, after being a day upon the road, reached Edinburgh with his despatches on the night of Saturday the 25th. On going to Bothwell's room the next morning he found the Earl absent, and a servant directed him to a house belonging to Sir Robert Balfour, brother of James Balfour who signed the Craigmillar bond.

St. Mary's-in-the-Fields, called commonly Kirk-a-Field, was a roofless and ruined church, standing just inside the old town walls of Edinburgh, at the north-western corner of the present College. Adjoining it there stood a quadrangular building which had at one time belonged to the Dominican monks. The north front was built along the edge of the slope which descends to the Cowgate; the south side contained a low range of unoccupied rooms which had been “priests' chambers;” the east consisted of offices and servants' rooms; the principal apartments in the dwelling, into which the place had been converted, were in the western wing, which completed the square. Under the windows there was a narrow strip of grass-plot dividing the house from the town wall,

Paris goes to
Bothwell for
instructions.

Plan of the
house at
Kirk-a-Field

and outside the wall were gardens into which there was an opening through the cellars by an underground passage. The principal gateway faced north and led direct into the quadrangle.

Here it was that Paris found Bothwell with Sir James Balfour. He delivered his letter and gave his message. The Earl wrote a few words in Bothwell's message. reply. "Commend me to the Queen," he said as he gave the note, "and tell her that all will go well. Say that Balfour and I have not slept all night, that everything is arranged, and that the King's lodgings are ready for him. I have sent her a diamond. You may say I would send my heart too were it in my power — but she has it already."

A few more words passed, and from Bothwell Paris went to Maitland, who also wrote a brief answer. To the verbal question he answered, "Tell her Majesty to take the King to Kirk-a-Field;" and with these replies the messenger rode back through the night to his mistress.

She was not up when he arrived; her impatience could not rest till she was dressed, and she received him in bed. He gave his letters and his messages. She asked if there was anything further. He answered that Bothwell bade him say "he would have no rest till he had accomplished the enterprise, and that for love of her he would train a pike all his life." The Queen laughed. "Please God," she said, "it shall not come to that."¹

A few hours later she was on the road with her victim. He could be moved but slowly. Darnley is removed to Kirk-a-Field. She was obliged to rest with him two days at Linlithgow; and it was not till the 30th that she was

¹ Examination of Paris: Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, Vol. I.

able to bring him to Edinburgh. As yet he knew nothing of the change of his destination, and supposed that he was going on to Craigmillar. Bothwell, however, met the cavalcade outside the gates and took charge of it. No attention was paid either to the exclamations of the attendants or the remonstrances of Darnley himself; he was informed that the Kirk-a-Field house was most convenient for him, and to Kirk-a-Field he was conducted.

“The lodgings” prepared for him were in the west wing, which was divided from the rest of the house by a large door at the foot of the staircase. A passage ran along the ground floor from which a room opened which had been fitted up for the Queen. At the head of the stairs a similar passage led first to the King’s room — which was immediately over that of the Queen — and further on to closets and rooms for the servants.

Here it was that Darnley was established during the last hours which he was to know on earth. The keys of the doors were given ostentatiously to his groom of the chamber, Thomas Nelson; the Earl of Bothwell being already in possession of duplicates. The door from the cellar into the garden had no lock, but the servants were told that it could be secured with bolts from within. The rooms themselves had been comfortably furnished, and a handsome bed had been set up for the King with new hangings of black velvet. The Queen, however, seemed to think that they would be injured by the splashing from Darnley’s bath, and desired that they might be taken down and changed. Being a person of ready expedients, too, she suggested that the door at the bottom of the staircase was not required for protection. She had it taken down and

turned into a cover for the bath-vat; "so that there was nothing left to stop the passage into the said chamber but only the portal door."¹

After this little attention she left her husband in possession; she intended herself to sleep from time to time there, but her own room was not yet ready.

The further plan was still unsettled. Bothwell's first notion was to tempt Darnley out into the country some sunny day for exercise, and then to kill him. But "this purpose was changed because it would be known;"² and was perhaps abandoned with the alteration of the place from Craigmillar.

The Queen meanwhile spent her days at her husband's side, watching over his convalescence with seemingly anxious affection, and returning only to sleep at Holyrood. In the starry evenings, though it was mid-winter, she would go out into the garden with Lady Reres, and "there sing and use pastime."³ After a few days her apartment at Kirk-a-Field was made habitable; a bed was set up there in which she could sleep, and particular directions were given as to the part of the room where it was to stand. Paris through some mistake misplaced it. "Fool that you are," the Queen said to him when she saw it, "the bed is not to stand there; move it yonder to the other side."⁴ She perhaps meant nothing, but the words afterwards seemed ominously significant. A powder-barrel was to be lighted in that room to blow the house and every one in it into the air. They had placed the bed on the spot where the powder was to stand, immediately below the bed of the King.

¹ Examination of Thomas Nelson: Piteairn.

² Hepburn's confession: Anderson.

³ Depositions of Thomas Nelson: Piteairn.

⁴ "Sot que tu es, je ne veulx pas que mon lit soyt en cest endroyt la, et du fait le feist oster." — Examination of Paris: *Ibid.*

Whatever she meant, she contrived when it was moved to pass two nights there. The object was, to make it appear as if in what was to follow her own life had been aimed at as well as her husband's. February. Wednesday the 5th she slept there, and Friday the 7th, and then her penance was almost over, for on Saturday the thing was to have been done.

Among the wild youths who followed Bothwell's fortunes, three were found who consented to be the instruments — young Hay, the Laird of Tallo, Hepburn of Bolton, and the Laird of Ormeston — gentlemen retainers of Bothwell's house, and ready for any desperate adventure.¹ Delay only created a risk of discovery, and the Earl on Friday arranged his plans for the night ensuing.²

It seems, however, that at the last moment there was an impression either that the powder might fail or that Darnley could be more conveniently killed in a scuffle with an appearance of accident. Lord Robert Stuart, Abbot of St. Cross, one of James the Fifth's wild brood of children whom the Church had provided with land and title, had shared in past times in the King's riots, and retaining some regard for him had warned the poor creature to be on his guard. Darnley, making love to destruction, told the Queen; and Stuart, knowing that his own life might pay the forfeit of his

¹ Hepburn on his trial said that when Bothwell first proposed the murder to him, "he answered it was an evil purpose, but because he was servant to his Lordship he would do as the rest." So also said Hay and Ormeston. Paris, according to his own story, was alike afraid to refuse and to consent. Bothwell told him the Lords were all agreed. He asked what Murray said. "Murray, Murray!" said the Earl, "il ne se veult n'ayder ni nuyre, mais r'est tout ung." "Monsieur," Paris replied, "il est sage." — Examination of Paris: Pitcairn.

² Examination of Hay of Tallo: Anderson.

interference, either received a hint that he might buy his pardon by doing the work himself, or else denied his words and offered to make the King maintain them at the sword's point. A duel, could it be managed, would remove all difficulty; and Bothwell would take care how it should end.

Something of this kind was in contemplation on the Saturday night, and the explosion was deferred in consequence. The Queen that evening at Holyrood bade Paris tell Bothwell "that the Abbot of St. Cross should go to the King's room and do what the Earl knew of." Paris carried the message, and Bothwell answered, "Tell the Queen that I will speak to St. Cross and then I will see her."¹

But this too came to nothing. Lord Robert went, and angry words according to some accounts were exchanged between him and Darnley; but a sick man unable to leave his couch was in no condition to cross swords; and for one more night he was permitted to survive.

So at last came Sunday, eleven months exactly from the day of Ritzio's murder; and Mary Stuart's words that she would never rest till that dark business was revenged were about to be fulfilled. The Earl of Murray, knowing perhaps what was coming, yet unable to interfere, had been long waiting for an opportunity to leave Edinburgh. Early that morning he wrote to his sister to say that Lady Murray was ill at St. Andrew's, and that she wished him to join her; the Queen with some reluctance gave him leave to go.

It was a high day at the Court; Sebastian, one of the musicians, was married in the afternoon to Margaret Cawood, Mary Stuart's favourite waiting-woman.

¹ Examination of Paris: Anderson.

When the service was over, the Queen took an early supper with Lady Argyle, and afterwards accompanied by Cassilis, Huntly, and the Earl of Argyle himself, she went as usual to spend the evening with her husband, and professed to intend to stay the night with him. The hours passed on.

February 9.
Mary Stuart
in Darnley's
room.

She was more than commonly tender; and Darnley, absorbed in her caresses, paid no attention to sounds in the room below him, which had he heard them might have disturbed his enjoyment.

At ten o'clock that night two servants of Bothwell, Powrie and Patrick Wilson, came by order to the Earl's apartments in Holyrood. Hepburn, who was waiting there, pointed to a heap of leather bags and trunks upon the floor, which he bade them carry to the gate of the gardens at the back of Kirk-a-Field. They threw the load on a pair of pack-horses, and led the way in the dark as they were told; Hepburn himself went with them, and at the gate they found Bothwell, with Hay, Ormeston, and another person, muffled in their cloaks. The horses were left standing in the lane. The six men silently took the bags on their shoulders and carried them to the

The powder
is brought
in.

postern door which led through the town wall. Bothwell then went in to join the Queen, and told the rest to make haste with their work and finish it before the Queen should go. Powrie and Wilson were dismissed; Hepburn and the three others dragged the bags through the cellar into Mary Stuart's room. They had intended to put the powder into a cask, but the door was too narrow, so they carried it as it was and poured it out in a heap upon the floor.

They blundered in the darkness. Bothwell, who was listening in the room above, heard them stumbling

at their work, and stole down to warn them to be silent; but by that time all was in its place. The dark mass in which the fire spirit lay imprisoned rose dimly from the ground; the match was in its place, and the Earl glided back to the Queen's side.

It was now past midnight. Hay and Hepburn were to remain with the powder alone. "You know what you have to do," Ormeston whispered; "when all is quiet above, you fire the end of the lint and come away."

With these words Ormeston passed stealthily into the garden. Paris, who had been assisting in the arrangement, went up stairs to the King's room, and his appearance was the signal concerted beforehand for the party to break up. Bothwell whispered a few words in Argyle's ear; Argyle touched Paris on the back significantly; there was a pause—the length of a Paternoster¹—when the Queen suddenly recollected that there was a masque and a dance at the Palace on the occasion of the marriage, and that she had promised to be present. She rose, and with many

The Queen returns to Holyrood. regrets that she could not stay as she intended, kissed her husband, put a ring on his finger, wished him good-night, and went. The Lords followed her. As she left the room, she said, as if by accident, "It was just this time last year that Ritzio was slain."²

In a few moments the gay train was gone. The Queen walked back to the glittering halls in Holyrood; Darnley was left alone with his page,* Taylor, who slept in his room, and his two servants, Nelson and Edward Seymour. Below in the darkness, Bothwell's

¹ Examination of Paris: Pitcairn.

² Calderwood.

two followers shivered beside the powder heap, and listened with hushed breath till all was still.

The King, though it was late, was in no mood for sleep, and Mary's last words sounded awfully in his ears. "She was very kind," he said to Nelson, "but why did she speak of Davie's slaughter?"

Just then Paris came back to fetch a fur wrapper which the Queen had left, and which she thought too pretty to be spoiled. "What will she do?" Darnley said again when he was gone; "it is very lonely." The shadow of death was creeping over him; he was no longer the random boy who two years before had come to Scotland filled with idle dreams of vain ambition. Sorrow, suffering, disease, and fear, had done their work. He was said to have opened the Prayer-book, and to have read over the 55th Psalm, which, by a strange coincidence, was in the English service for the day that was dawning.

If his servant's tale was true, these are the last words which passed the lips of Mary Stuart's husband:

"Hear my prayer, O Lord, and hide not thyself from my petition.

"My heart is disquieted within me, and the fear of death is fallen upon me.

"Fearfulness and trembling are come upon me, and an horrible dread hath overwhelmed me.

"It is not an open enemy that hath done me this dishonour, for then I could have borne it.

"It was even thou my companion, my guide, and my own familiar friend."

Forlorn victim of a cruel time! Twenty-one years old — no more. At the end of an hour he went to bed, with his page at his side. An hour later they two were lying dead in the garden under the stars.

The exact facts of the murder were never known — only at two o'clock that Monday morning, a "crack" was heard which made the drowsy citizens of Edinburgh turn in their sleep, and brought down all that side of Balfour's house of Kirk-a-Field in a confused heap of dust and ruin. Nelson, the sole survivor, went to bed and slept when he left his master, and "knew nothing till he found the house falling about him;" Edward Seymour was blown in pieces; but Darnley and his page were found forty yards away, beyond the town wall, under a tree, with "no sign of fire on them," and with their clothes scattered at their side.

Some said that they were smothered in their sleep; some, that they were taken down into a stable and "wirried;" some, that, "hearing the keys grate in the doors below them, they started from their beds, and were flying down the stairs, when they were caught and strangled." Hay and Hepburn told one consistent story to the foot of the scaffold: — When the voices were silent overhead, they lit the match and fled, locking the doors behind them. In the garden they found Bothwell watching with his friends, and they waited there till the house blew up, when they made off and saw no more. It was thought, however, that in dread of torture they left the whole dark truth untold; and over the events of that night a horrible mist still hangs, unpenetrated and unpenetrable forever.

This only was certain, that with her husband Mary Stuart's chances of the English throne perished also, and with them all serious prospect of a Catholic revolution. With a deadly instinct the world divined the author of the murder; and more than one nobleman,

on the night on which the news reached London, hastened to transfer his allegiance to Lady Catherine Grey.¹

The faithful Melville hurried up to defend his mistress — but to the anxious questions of De Silva, though he called her innocent, he gave confused answers.² “Lady Lennox demands vengeance upon the Queen of Scots,” De Silva said; “nor is Lady Lennox alone in the belief of her guilt; they say it is revenge for the Italian secretary. The heretics denounce her with one voice; the Catholics are divided; her own friends acquit her; the connexions of the King cry out upon her without exception.”³

On the 1st of March, Moret, the Duke of Savoy's ambassador at the Scotch court, passed through London on his way to the Continent. He had been in Edinburgh at the time of the murder; and De Silva turned to him for comfort. But Moret had no comfort to give. “I pressed him,” said De Silva, “to tell me whether he thought the Queen was innocent; he did not condemn her in words, but he said nothing in her favour;”⁴ “the spirits of the Catholics are broken;”⁵ should it turn out that she is guilty, her party in England is gone, and by her means there is no more chance of a restoration of religion.”⁶

¹ De Silva to Philip, February 17: *MS. Simancas*.

² “Aunque este salvó á la Reyna, veo le algo confuso.” — Same to same, February 22: *MS. Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ “Apretandole que me dixese lo que le parecia conforme á lo que el habia visto y colegido si la Reyna tenia culpa dello, aunque no la le condeño de palabra, no le salvó nada.” — De Silva to Philip, March 1: *MS. Ibid.*

⁵ “Mucho ha este caso enflaquecido los animos de los Catolicos.” — *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER XI.

THE Earl of Sussex, having failed alike to beat Shan O'Neil in the field or to get him satisfactorily murdered, had at last been recalled, leaving the government of Ireland in the hands of Sir Nicholas Arnold. An unsuccessful public servant never failed to find a friend in Elizabeth, whose disposition to quarrel with her ministers was usually in proportion to their ability. She had shared the confidence of the late Deputy in what to modern eyes appears unpardonable treachery; she received him on his return to England with undiminished confidence, and she allowed him to confirm her in her resolution to spend no more money in the hopeless enterprise of bringing the Irish into order; while she left Arnold to set the bears and bandogs to tear each other, and watched contentedly the struggle in Ulster between O'Neil and the Scots of the Isles.

The breathing-time would have been used to better advantage had the reform been carried to completeness which had been commenced with the mutinous miscreants miscalled the English army. But the bands could not be discharged with decency till they had received their wages; without money they could only continue to maintain themselves on the plunder of the farmers of the Pale; and the Queen, provoked with the past expenses to which she had so reluctantly assented, knotted her purse-strings, and seemed determined that Ireland should in future bear the cost of its

own government. The worst peculations of the principal officers were inquired into and punished: Sir Henry Ratcliff, Sussex's brother, was deprived of his command, and sent to the castle; but Arnold's vigour was limited by his powers. The paymasters continued to cheat the Government in the returns of the number of their troops; the Government defended themselves by letting the pay run into arrear; the soldiers revenged their ill-usage on the people; and so it came to pass that in O'Neil's country alone in Ireland — defended as it was from attacks from without, and enriched with the plunder of the Pale — were the peasantry prosperous, or life or property secure.

Munster was distracted by the feuds between Ormond and Desmond; while the deep bays and creeks of Cork and Kerry were the nests and hiding-places of English pirates, whose numbers had just received a distinguished addition in the person of Sir Thomas Stukely, with a barque of four hundred tons and "a hundred tall soldiers, besides mariners."

Stukely had been on his way to Florida with a license from the Crown to make discoveries and to settle there; but he had found a convenient halting-place in an Irish harbour, from which he could issue out and plunder the Spanish galleons.¹ He had taken up his quarters at Kinsale, "to make the sea his Florida;"² and in anticipation of the terms on which he was likely to find himself with Elizabeth, he contrived to renew an acquaintance which he had com-

Sir T.
Stukely in
Ireland.

¹ "Stukely's piracies are much railed at here in all parts. I hang down my head with shame. Alas! though it cost the Queen roundly, let him for honour's sake be fetched in. These pardons to such as be *hostes humani generis* I like not." — Chaloner to Cecil, Madrid, December 14, 1564: *Spanish MSS. Rolls House*.

² Sir Thomas Wroth to Cecil, November 17: *Irish MSS. Ibid.*

menced in England with Shan O'Neil. The friendship of a buccaneer who was growing rich on Spanish plunder might have seemed inconvenient to a chief who had offered Ireland as a fief to Philip; but Shan was not particular: Philip had as yet shown but a cold interest in Irish rebellion, and Stukely filled his cellars with sherry from Cadiz, amused him with his magniloquence, and was useful to him by his real dexterity and courage. So fond Shan became of him that he had the impertinence to write to Elizabeth in favour "of that his so dearly loved friend and her Majesty's worthy subject," with whom he was grieved to hear that her Majesty was displeased. He could not but believe that she had been misinformed; but if indeed so good and gallant a gentleman had given her cause of offence, Shan entreated that her Majesty, for his sake and in the name of the services which he had himself rendered to England, would graciously pardon him; and he, with Stukely for a friend and confidant, would make Ireland such as Ireland never was since the world began.¹

Among so many mischiefs "religion" was naturally in a bad way. "The lords and gentlemen of the Pale went habitually to mass."² The Protestant bishops were chiefly agitated by the vestment controversy. Adam Loftus, the titular Primate, to whom sacked villages, ravished women, and famine-stricken skeletons crawling about the fields were matters of every-day indifference, shook with terror at the mention of a surplice.³ Robert Daly wrote in anguish to Cecil, in dismay at the countenance to "Papistry,"

The Irish
bishops.

¹ Shan O'Neil to Elizabeth, June 18, 1565: *Irish MSS. Rolls House*.

² Adam Loftus to Elizabeth, May 17: *MS. Ibid.*

³ Adam Loftus to Cecil, July 16: *MS. Ibid.*

and at his own inability to prolong a persecution which he had happily commenced.¹

Some kind of shame was felt by statesmen in England at the condition in which Ireland continued. Unable to do anything real towards amending it, they sketched out among them about this time a scheme for a more effective government. The idea of the division of the country into separate presidencies lay at the bottom of whatever hopes they felt for an improved order of things. So long as the authority of the sovereign was represented only by a Deputy residing at Dublin, with a few hundred ragged marauders called by courtesy "the army," the Irish chiefs would continue, like O'Neil, to be virtually independent; while by recognizing the reality of a power which could not be taken from them, the English Government could deprive them of their principal motive for repudiating their allegiance.

The aim of the Tudor sovereigns had been from the first to introduce into Ireland the feudal
administration of the English counties; they Irish policy of the Tudor sovereigns.

¹ "The bruit of the alteration in religion is so talked of here among the Papists, and they so triumph upon the same, it would grieve any good Christian heart to hear of their rejoicing; yea, in so much that my Lord Primate, my Lord of Meath, and I, being the Queen's commissioners in ecclesiastical causes, dare not be so bold now in executing our commissions in ecclesiastical causes as we have been to this time. To what end this talk will grow I am not able to say. I fear it will grow to the great contempt of the Gospel and of the ministers of the same, except that spark be extinguished before it grow to flame. The occasion is that certain learned men of our religion are put from their livings in England; upon what occasion is not known here as yet. The poor Protestants, amazed at the talk, do often resort to me to learn what the matter means; whom I comfort with the most faithful texts of Scripture that I can find. . . . But I beseech you send me some comfortable words concerning the stablishing of our religion, wherewith I may both confirm the wavering hearts of the doubtful, and suppress the stout brags of the sturdy and proud Papists." — Robert Daly to Cecil, July 2: *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*

had laboured to persuade the chiefs to hold their lands under the Crown, with the obligations which landed tenures in England were supposed always to carry with them. The large owner of the soil, to the extent that his lordship extended, was in the English theory the ruler of its inhabitants, magistrate from the nature of his position, and representative of the majesty of the Crown. Again and again they had endeavoured to convince the Irish that order was better than anarchy ; that their faction fights, their murders, their petty wars and robberies, were a scandal to them ; that till they could amend their ways they were no better than savages. Fair measures and foul had alike failed so far. Once more a project was imagined of some possible reformation, which might succeed at least on paper.

In the system which was at last to bring a golden age to Ireland, the four provinces were to be governed each by a separate president and council. Every county was to have its sheriff; and the Irish noblemen and gentlemen were to become the guardians of the law which they had so long defied. The poor should no longer be oppressed by the great; and the wrongs which they had groaned under so long should be put an end to forever by their own Parliament. "No poor persons should be compelled any more to work or labour by the day or otherwise without meat, drink, wages, or some other allowance during the time of their labour;" no "earth-tillers, nor any others inhabiting a dwelling under any lord, should be distrained or punished in body or goods for the faults of their landlord;" nor any honest man lose life or lands without fair trial, by Parliamentary attainder, "according to the antient laws of England and Ireland." Noble provisions were

pictured out for the rebuilding of the ruined churches at the Queen's expense, with "twelve free grammar schools," where the Irish youth should grow into civility, and "twelve hospitals for aged and impotent folk." A University should be founded in Elizabeth's name, and endowed with lands at Elizabeth's cost; and the devisers of all these things, warming with their project, conceived the Irish nation accepting willingly a reformed religion, in which there should be no more pluralities, no more abuse of patronage, no more neglect, or idleness, or profligacy. The bishops of the Church of Ireland were to be chosen among those who had risen from the Irish schools through the Irish University. The masters of the grammar schools should teach the boys "the New Testament, Paul's Epistles, and David's Psalms, in Latin, that they being infants might savour of the same in age, as an old cask doth of its first liquor." In every parish from Cape Clear to the Giant's Causeway, there should be a true servant of God for a pastor, who would bring up the children born in the same in the knowledge of the Creeds, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Catechism; "the children to be brought to the Bishop for confirmation at seven years of age, if they could repeat them, or else to be rejected by the Bishop for the time with reproach to their parents."¹

Here was an ideal Ireland, painted on the retina of some worthy English minister; but the real Ireland was still the old place: as it was in the days of Brian Boroihmie and the Danes, so it was in the days of Shan O'Neil and Sir Nicholas Arnold; and the Queen, who was to found all these fine institutions, cared chiefly to

¹ Device for the better government of Ireland: *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*

burden her exchequer no further in the vain effort to drain the black Irish morass — fed as it was from the perennial fountains of Irish nature.

The Pope might have been better contented with the condition of his children : yet he too had his grounds of disquiet, and was not wholly satisfied with Shan, or with Shan's rough-riding primate. A nuncio had resided secretly for four years at Limerick, who from time to time sent information of the state of the people to Rome ; and at last an aged priest named Creagh, who in past days had known Charles the Fifth, and had been employed by him in relieving English Catholic exiles, went over with letters from the nuncio recommending the Pope to refuse to recognize the appointment of Terence Daniel to the Primacy, and to substitute Creagh in his place. The old man, according to his own story, was unambitious of dignity, and would have preferred "to enter religion" and end his days in a monastery. The Pope, however, decided otherwise. Creagh was consecrated Archbishop of Armagh in the Sistine Chapel, and was sent back "to serve among those barbarous, wild, uncivil folk," taking with him a letter from Pius to Shan O'Neil, "whom he did not know whether to repute for his foe or his friend."

Thus Ireland had three competing Primates : Adam
Three
Primates in
Ireland. Loftus, the nominee of Elizabeth ; Shan's
 Archbishop, Terence Daniel ; and Creagh, sent by the Pope. The latter, however, had the misfortune to pass through London on his way home, where Cecil heard of him. He was seized and sent to the Tower, where "he lay in great misery, cold, and hunger," "without a penny," "without the means of getting his single shirt washed, and without gown or hose."

The poor old man petitioned "to be let go to teach youth." "He would do it for nothing," he said, "as he had done all the days of his life, never asking a penny of the Church or any benefice of any man;"¹ and so modest a wish might have been granted with no great difficulty, considering that half the preferments in England were held by men who scarcely affected to conceal that they were still Catholics. Either Creagh, however, was less simple than he pretended, or Cecil had reason to believe that his presence in Ireland would lead to mischief; he was kept fast in his cage, and would have remained there till he died, had he not contrived one night to glide over the walls into the Thames.

His imprisonment was perhaps intended as a gratification to Shan O'Neil. No sooner had he escaped than Elizabeth considered that of the two Catholic Archbishops Terence Daniel might be the least dangerous, and that to set Shan against the Pope might be worth a sacrifice of dignity. It was intimated that if Shan would be a good subject, he should have his own Primate, and Adam Loftus should be removed to Dublin.² Shan, on his part, gave the Queen to understand that when Terence was installed at Armagh, and he himself was created Earl of Tyrone, she should have no more trouble; and the events of the spring of 1565 made the English Government more than ever anxious to come to terms with a chieftain whom they were powerless to crush.

Since the defeat of the Earl of Sussex, Shan's influence and strength had been steadily growing. His re-

¹ Questions for Creagh, with Creagh's answers, February 22, 1565; Further answers of Creagh, March 17: *Irish MSS. Rolls House*.

² Private instructions to Sir Henry Sidney. Cecil's hand, 1565 *MS* *Ibid*.

turn unscathed from London, and the fierce attitude which he assumed on the instant of his reappearance in Ulster, convinced the petty leaders that to resist him longer would only ensure their ruin. O'Donnell was an exile in England, and there remained unsubdued in the north only the Scottish colonies of Antrim, which were soon to follow with the rest. O'Neil lay quiet through the winter. With the spring

Shan O'Neil
defeats the
Scots. and the fine weather, when the rivers fell and the ground dried, he roused himself out of his lair, and with his galloglasse and kern, and a few hundred "harquebussmen," he dashed suddenly down upon the "Redshanks," and broke them utterly to pieces. Six or seven hundred were killed in the field; James M'Connell and his brother Sorleboy¹ were taken prisoners; and for the moment the whole colony was swept away. James M'Connell himself, badly wounded in the action, died a few months later, and Shan was left undisputed sovereign of Ulster.

The facile pen of Terence Daniel was employed to communicate to the Queen this "glorious victory," for which "Shan thanked God first, and next the Queen's Majesty; affirming the same to come of her good fortune."² The English Government, weary of the ill success which had attended their own dealings with the Scots, were disposed to regard them as a "malicious and dangerous people, who were gradually fastening on the country;"³ and with some misgivings, they were inclined to accept Shan's account of himself; while Shan, finding Elizabeth disinclined to quarrel with him, sent Terence over to her to explain more

¹ Spelt variously Sorleboy, Sarlebos, Surlebois, and Surlyboy.

² Terence Daniel to Cecil, June 24: *Irish MSS. Rolls House*.

³ Opinion of Sir H. Sidney, May 20: *MS. Ibid.*

fully the excellence of his intentions. Sir Thomas Cusack added his own commendations both of Terence and his master, and urged that now was the time to make O'Neil a friend forever. Sir Nicholas Arnold, with more discrimination, insisted that it was necessary to do one thing or the other, but he too seemed to recommend the Queen, as the least of two evils, to be contented with Shan's nominal allegiance, and to leave him undisturbed.

"If," he said, "you use the opportunity to make O'Neil a good subject, he will hardly swerve hereafter. The Pale is poor and unable to defend itself. If he do fall out before the beginning of next summer, there is neither outlaw, rebel, murderer, thief, nor any lewd or evil-disposed person — of whom God knoweth there is plenty swarming in every corner amongst the wild Irish, yea, and in our own border too — which would not join to do what mischief they might."¹

Alas! while Arnold wrote there came news that Shan's ambition was still unsatisfied. He had followed up his successes against the Scotch by seizing the Queen's castles of Newry and Dundrum. Turning west, he had marched into Connaught "to require the tribute due of owld time to them Invasion of Connaught. that were kings in that realm." He had exacted pledges of obedience from the western chiefs, frightened Clanrickard into submission, "spoiled O'Rourke's country," and returned to Tyrone, driving before him four thousand head of cattle. Instead of the intended four presidencies in Ireland, there would soon be only one; and Shan O'Neil did not mean to rest till he had revived the throne of his ancestors, and reigned once more in "Tara's halls."

¹ Sir T. Cusack to Cecil, August 23; O'Neil to Elizabeth, August 25; Sir N. Arnold to the English Council, August 31: *Irish MSS. Rolls Hon*

"Excuse me for writing plainly what I think," said Lord Clanrickard to Sir William Fitzwilliam.
October.

"I assure you it is an ill likelihood toward — that the realm, if it be not speedily looked unto, will be at a hazard to come as far out of her Majesty's hands as ever it was out of the hands of any of her predecessors. Look betimes to these things, or they will grow to a worse end."¹

The evil news reached England at the crisis of the convulsion which had followed the Darnley marriage. The Protestants in Scotland had risen in rebellion, relying on Elizabeth's promises; and Argyle, exasperated at her desertion of Murray, was swearing that he would leave his kinsmen unrevengeed, and would become Shan's ally and friend. Mary Stuart was shaking her sword upon the Border, at the head of 20,000 men; and Elizabeth, distracted between the shame of leaving her engagements unredeemed or bringing the Irish and Spaniards upon her head, was in no humour to encounter fresh troubles. Shan's words were as smooth as ever; his expedition to Connaught was represented as having been undertaken in the English interest. On his return, he sent "a petition" to have "his title and rule" determined without further delay; while "in consideration of his good services" he begged "to have some augmentation of living granted him in the Pale," and "her Majesty to be pleased not to credit any stories which his evil-willers might spread abroad against him."²

Elizabeth
resolves to
make the
best of
Shan.

Elizabeth allowed herself to believe what it was most pleasant to her to hope. "We must allow something," she wrote to Sir

¹ Clanrickard to Fitzwilliam, October 11: *Irish MSS. Rolls House*.

² Shan O'Neill to Elizabeth, October 27: *MS. Ibid.*

Henry Sidney, "for his wild bringing up, and not expect from him what we should expect from a perfect subject; if he mean well, he shall have all his reasonable requests granted."¹

But it was impossible to leave Ireland any longer without the presence of a deputy. Sir Nicholas Arnold had gone over with singular and temporary powers; the administration was out of joint, and the person most fitted for the government by administrative and military capacity was Leicester's brother-in-law, Sir Henry Sidney, President of Wales.

Sidney knew Ireland well from past experience. He had held command there under Sussex himself; he had seen deputy after deputy depart for Dublin with the belief that he at last was the favoured knight who would break the spell of the enchantment; and one after another he had seen them return with draggled plumes and broken armour. Gladly would he have declined the offered honour. "If the Queen would but grant him leave to serve her in England, or in any place in the world else saving Ireland, or to live private, it should be more joyous to him than to enjoy all the rest and to go thither." It was idle to think that O'Neil could be really "reformed" except by force; and "the Irishry had taken courage through the feeble dealing with him." If he was to go, Sidney said, he would not go without money. Ten or twelve thousand pounds must be sent immediately to pay the outstanding debts. He must have more and better troops; two hundred horse and five hundred foot at least, in addition to those which were already at Dublin. He would keep his patent as President of Wales; he would have leave to return to England at his dis-

¹ Elizabeth to Sir H. Sidney, November 11: *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*

cretion if he saw occasion; and for his personal expenses, as he could expect nothing from the Queen, he demanded — strange resource to modern eyes — permission to export six thousand kerseys and clothes free of duty.¹

His requests were made excessive perhaps to ensure their refusal; but the condition of Ireland could not be trifled with any longer, and if he hoped to escape he was disappointed.

“In the matter of Ireland was found such an example as was not to be found again in any place; that a sovereign prince should be owner of such a kingdom, having no cause to fear the invasion of any foreign prince, neither having ever found the same invaded by any foreign power, neither having any power born or resident within that realm that denied or ever had directly or indirectly denied the sovereignty of the Crown to belong to her Majesty; and yet, contrary to all other realms, the realm of Ireland had been and yet continued so chargeable to the Crown of England, and the revenues thereof so mean, and those which were, so decayed and so diminished, that great yearly treasures were carried out of the realm of England to satisfy the stipends of the officers and soldiers required for the governance of the same.”²

Sir Henry Sidney paid the penalty of his ability in being selected to terminate in some form or other a state of things which could no longer be endured. Again before he would consent

Sir H. Sidney is chosen Deputy.

¹ Petition of Sir H. Sidney going to Ireland: *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*

² Instructions to Sir H. Sidney, October 5: *MS. Ibid.*

he repeated and even exaggerated his conditions. He would not go as others had gone, "fed on the chameleon's dish," to twine ropes of sand and sea-slime to bind the Irish rebels with. He would go with a force to back him, or he would not go at all. He must have power, he said, to raise as many men as the Queen's service required; and she must trust his honour to keep them no longer than they were absolutely wanted. No remedial measures could be attempted till anarchy had been trampled down; and then the country would prosper of itself."

"To go to work by force," he said, "will be chargeable it is true; but if you will give the people justice and minister law among them, ^{Intended policy of Sidney.} and exercise the sword of the sovereign, and put away the sword of the subject — omnia hæc adjicientur vobis — you shall drive the now man of war to be an husbandman, and he that now liveth like a lord to live like a servant; and the money now spent in buying armour and horses and waging of war should be bestowed in building of towns and houses. By ending these incessant wars ere they be aware, you shall bereave them both of force and beggary, and make them weak and wealthy. Then you can convert the military service due from the lords into money; then you can take up the fisheries now left to the French and the Spaniards; then you can open and work your mines, and the people will be able to grant you subsidies." ¹

The first step towards the change was to introduce a better order of government: and relapsing upon the

¹ Opinions of Sir H. Sidney: *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*

scheme for the division into presidencies, Sidney urged Elizabeth to commence with appointing a President of Munster, where Ormond and Desmond were tearing at each other's throats. The expense — the first consideration with her — would be moderate. The President would be satisfied with a mark (13s. 4d.) a day; fifty men — horse and foot — would suffice for his retinue, with 9d. and 8d. a day respectively; and he would require two clerks of the signet, with salaries of a hundred pounds a year. The great Munster noblemen — Ormond, Desmond, Thomond, Clancarty, with the Archbishop of Cashel and the Bishops of Cork, Waterford, and Limerick, would form a standing council; and a tribunal would be established where disputes could be heard and justice administered without the perpetual appeal to the sword.¹

¹ It is noticeable that we find in an arrangement which was introduced as a reform and as a means of justice the following clause:—

"Also it shall be lawful for the President and Council, or any three of them, the President being one, in cases necessary, upon vehement suspicion and presumption of any great offence in any party committed against the Queen's Majesty, to put the same party to torture as they shall think convenient." — Presidency of Munster, February 1, 1566: *Irish MSS. Rolls House*.

Even in England torture continued to be freely used. On December 23, 1566, a letter was addressed by the Privy Council to the Attorney-General and others, that:—

"Where they were heretofore appointed to put Clement Fisher, now prisoner in the Tower, in some fear of torture whereby his lewdness and such as he might detect might the better come to light, they are requested, for that the said Fisher is not minded to be plain, as thereby the faults of others might be known, to cause the said Fisher according to their discretion to feel some touch of the rack, for the better boulding out and opening of that which is requisite to be known." — *Council Register. Eliz. MSS.*

And again, January 18, 1567. A letter to the Lieutenant of the Tower:—

"One Rice, a buckler-maker, committed there, is discovered to have been concerned in a robbery of plate four years before; the lieutenant to examine the said Rice about this robbery, and if they shall perceive him not willing to confess the same then to put him in fear of the torture, and

A clause was added to the first sketch in Cecil's hand: "The Lord President to be careful to observe Divine service and to exhort others to observe it; and also to keep a preacher who shall be allowed his diet in the household, to whom the said President shall cause due reverence to be given in respect of his office which he shall have for the service of God."

With an understanding that this arrangement for Munster should be immediately carried out, that the precedent, if successful in the south, should be followed out in the other provinces, and that his other requests should be complied with, Sidney left London for Ireland in the beginning of December.

Every hour's delay had increased the necessity for his presence. Alarmed at the approach of another deputy, and excited on the other hand by the Queen of Scots' successes, Shan O'Neil had attached himself eagerly to her fortunes. In October he offered to assist her against Argyle, who was then holding out against her in the Western Highlands.¹ His pleasure was as great as his surprise when he found Argyle ready to allow the Western Islanders to join with him to drive the English out of Ireland, and punish Elizabeth for her treachery to Murray. So far Argyle carried his resentment, that he met Shan somewhere in the middle of the winter, and to atone for the disgrace of his half-sister, he arranged marriages between a son and daughter which she had borne to Shan, and two children of James M'Connell, whom Shan had killed; O'Neil undertook to settle on them the disputed lands of Antrim,

December.

Alliance
between
O'Neil and
the Earl of
Argyle.

to let him feel some smart of the same whereby he may be the better brought to confess the truth," — *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*

¹ Adam Loftus to Leicester, November 20; *MS. Ibid.*

and Argyle consented at last to the close friendship in the interest of the Queen of Scots for which the Irish chief had so long been vainly suing.

No combination could be more ominous to England. Foul weather detained Sidney for six weeks at Holyhead. In the middle of January, but not without "the loss of all his stuff and horses," which were wrecked on the coast of Down, he contrived to reach Dublin: The state of things which he discovered on his arrival was worse than the worst which he had looked for. The English Pale he found "as it were overwhelmed with vagabonds; stealth and spoils daily carried out of it; the people miserable; not two gentlemen in the whole of it able to lend twenty pounds; without horse, armour, apparel, or victual." "The soldiers were worse than the people: so beggarlike as it would abhor a general to look on them." "Never a married wife among them," and therefore "so allied with Irish women," that they betrayed secrets, and could not be trusted on dangerous service; "so insolent as to be intolerable; so rooted in idleness as there was no hope by correction to amend them."

Sidney
lands in
Ireland

Condition of
the country.

So much for the four shires. "In Munster," as the fruit of the Ormond and Desmond wars, "a man might ride twenty or thirty miles and find no houses standing," in a county which Sidney had known "as well inhabited as many counties in England." Connaught was quiet so far, and Clanrickard was probably loyal; but he was weak, and was in constant expectation of being overrun.

"In Ulster," Sidney wrote, "there tyrannizeth the prince of pride; Lucifer was never more puffed up with pride and ambition than that

March.

O'Neil is ; he is at present the only strong and rich man in Ireland, and he is the dangerouslest man and most like to bring the whole estate of this land to subversion and subjugation either to him or to some foreign prince, that ever was in Ireland."¹

The Deputy's first step after landing was to ascertain the immediate terms on which the dreaded chief of the North intended to stand towards him. He wrote to desire Shan to come into the Pale to see him, and Shan at first answered with an offer to meet him at Dundalk ; but a letter followed in which he subscribed himself as Sidney's "loving gossip to command," the contents of which were less promising. For himself, Shan said, he had so much affection and respect for Sir Henry, that he would gladly go to him anywhere ; but certain things had happened in past years which had not been wholly forgotten. The Earl of Sussex had twice attempted to assassinate him. Had not the Earl of Kildare interfered, the Earl of Sussex, when he went to Dublin to embark for England, "would have put a lock upon his hands, and have carried him over as a prisoner." His "timorous and mistrustful people," after these experiences, would not trust him any more in English hands.²

All this was unpleasantly true, and did not diminish Sidney's difficulties. It was none the less necessary for him, however, to learn what he was to expect from Shan. Straining a point at the risk of offending Elizabeth, he accepted the services of Stukely, which gave the latter an opportunity of covering part of his misdoings by an act of good service, and sent him with another gentleman to Shan's castle, "to discover if possible what he was, and what he was like to at-

¹ Sidney to Leicester, March 5: *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*

² Shan O'Neil to Sidney, February 18: *MS. Ibid.*

tempt.”¹ A better messenger, supposing him honest, could not have been chosen. Shan was at his ease with a person whose life was as lawless as his own. He had ceased to care for concealment, and spoke out freely. At first “he was very flexible but very timorous to come to the Deputy, apprehending traitorous practices.” One afternoon “when the wine was in him,” he put his meaning in plainer language. Stukely had perhaps hinted that there would be no earldom for him unless his doings were more satisfactory. The Irish heart and the Irish tongue ran over.

“I care not,” he said, “to be made an earl unless
O'Neill's
views for
himself. I may be better and higher than an earl, for I am in blood and power better than the best of them; and I will give place to none but my cousin of Kildare, for that he is of my house. You have made a wise earl of M'Carty More. I keep as good a man as he. For the Queen I confess she is my Sovereign, but I never made peace with her—but by her own seeking. Whom am I to trust? When I came to the Earl of Sussex on safe conduct he offered me the courtesy of a handlock. When I was with the Queen, she said to me herself that I had, it was true, safe conduct to come and go, but it was not said when I might go; and they kept me there till I had agreed to things so far against my honour and profit, that I would never perform them while I live. That made me make war, and if it were to do again I would do it. My ancestors were kings of Ulster; and Ulster is mine, and shall be mine. O'Donnell shall never come into his country, nor Bagenal into Newry, nor Kildare into Dundrum or Lecale. They are now mine. With this sword I won them; with this sword I will keep them.”

¹ Sidney to Leicester, March 5: *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*

"My Lord," Sidney wrote to Leicester, "no Attila nor Totila, no Vandal or Goth that ever was, was more to be doubted for overrunning any part of Christendom than this man is for overrunning and spoiling of Ireland. If it be an angel of heaven that will say that ever O'Neil will be a good subject till he be thoroughly chastised, believe him not, but think him a spirit of error. Surely if the Queen do not chastise him in Ulster, he will chase all hers out of Ireland. Her Majesty must make up her mind to the expense, and chastise this cannibal. She must send money in such sort as I may pay the garrison throughout. The present soldiers who are idle, treacherous, and incorrigible, must be changed. Better have no soldiers than those that are here now — and the wages must be paid. It must be done at last, and to do it at once will be a saving in the end. My dear Lord, press these things on the Queen. If I have not money, and O'Neil make war, I will not promise to encounter with him till he come to Dublin. Give me money, and though I have but five hundred to his four thousand, I will chase him out of the Pale in forty-eight hours. If I may not have it, for the love you bear me have me home again. I have great confidence in Lord Kildare. As to Sussex and Arnold, it is true that all things are in disorder and decay; but the fault was not with them — impute it to the iniquity of the times. These malicious people so hated Sussex, as to ruin him they would have ruined all. Arnold has done well and faithfully; and Kildare very well. Remember this, and if possible let him have the next garter that is vacant." ¹

To the long letter to his brother-in-law, Sidney

¹ Sidney to Leicester March 5, (condensed): *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*

added a few words equally anxious and earnest to Cecil. "Ireland," he said, "would be no small loss to the English Crown, and it was never so like to be lost as now. O'Neil has already all Ulster, and if the French were so eager about Calais, think what the Irish are to recover their whole island. I love no wars: but I had rather die than Ireland should be lost in my government."¹

Evidently, notwithstanding all his urgency before he left England, notwithstanding the promises which he extracted from Elizabeth, the treasury doors were still locked. Months had passed; arrears had continued to grow; the troops had become more disorganized than ever, and the summer was coming, which would bring O'Neil and his galloglasse into the Pale, while the one indispensable step was still untaken which must precede all preparations to meet him. Nor did these most pressing letters work any speedy change. March

April.
Sidney ap-
plies for
men and
money.

went by and April came; and the smacks from Holyhead sailed up the Liffey, but they brought no money for Sidney and no despatches. At length, unable to bear his suspense and disappointment longer, he wrote again to Leicester:—

"My Lord, if I be not speedier advertised of her Highness's pleasure than hitherto I have been, all will come to naught here, and before God and the world I will lay the fault on England, for there is none here. By force or by fair means the Queen may have anything that she will in this country, if she will minister means accordingly, and with no great charge. If she will resolve of nothing, for her Majesty's advantage and for the benefit of this miserable country, persuade

¹ Sidney to Cecil, March, 1566: *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*

her Highness to withdraw me, and pay and discharge this garrison. As I am, and as this garrison is paid, I undo myself; the country is spoiled by the soldiers, and in no point defended. Help it, my Lord, for the honour of God, one way or the other.”¹

Two days later a London post came in, and with it letters from the Council. The help would have come long since had it rested with them. On the receipt of his first letter, they had agreed unanimously that every wish should be complied with. Money, troops, discretionary power — all should have been his — “so much was every man’s mind inclined to the extirpation of that proud rebel, Shan.” The Munster Council, which had hung fire also, should have been set on foot without a day’s delay; and Sir Warham St. Leger, according to Sidney’s recommendation, would have been appointed the first President. Elizabeth only had fallen into one of her periodic fits of ill-humour and irresolution, and would neither consent nor refuse. She had not questioned the justice of Sidney’s report; she was “heated and provoked with the monster” who was the cause of so much difficulty. Elizabeth
quarrels
with
Sidney.

Yet to ask her for money was to ask her for her heart’s blood. “Your lordship’s experience of negotiation here in such affairs with her Majesty,” wrote Cecil, “can move you to bear patiently some storms in the expedition;” “the charge was the hindrance;” and while she could not deny that it was necessary, she could not forgive the plainness with which the necessity had been forced upon her.

She quarrelled in detail with everything which Sidney did; she disapproved of the Munster Council be

¹ Sidney to Leicester, April 13: *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*

cause Ireland could not pay for it; and it was useless to tell her that Ireland must be first brought into obedience. She was irritated because Sidney, unable to see with sufficient plainness the faults of Desmond and the exclusive virtues of Ormond, had refused to adjudicate without the help of English lawyers, in a quarrel which he did not understand. She disapproved of Sir Warham St. Leger, because his father, Sir Antony, had been on bad terms with the father of Ormond; she insisted that Sidney should show favour to Ormond, "in memory of his education with that holy young Solomon King Edward;"¹ and she complained bitterly of the employment of Stukely.

It was not till April was far advanced that the Council forced her by repeated importunities to consent that "Shan should be extirpated;" and even then she would send only half of what was wanted to pay the arrears of the troops. "Considering the great sums of money demanded and required of her in Ireland and elsewhere, she would be most glad that for reformation of the rebel any other way might be devised," and she affronted the Deputy by sending Sir Francis Knolles to control his expenditure. If force could not be dispensed with, Sir Francis might devise an economical campaign. "The cost of levying troops in England was four times as great as it used to be;" and it would be enough, she thought, if five or six hundred men were employed for a few weeks in the summer. O'Donnell, O'Reilly, and M'Guyre might be restored to their castles, and they could then be disbanded.² Such at least was her own opinion: should those, however, who had better

Elizabeth
consents to
the war
with Shan.

¹ Cecil to Sidney, March 27: *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*

² Instructions to Sir F. Knolles. By the Queen, April 18: *MS. Ibid.*

means of knowing the truth, conclude that the war so conducted would be barren of result, she agreed with a sigh that they must have their way. She desired only that the cost might be as small as possible ; " the fortification of Berwick and the payment of our foreign debts falling very heavily on her." ¹

Such was ever Elizabeth's character. She had received the Crown encumbered with a debt which with self-denying thrift she was laboriously reducing, and she had her own reasons for disliking over frequent sessions of Parliament. At the last extremity she would yield usually to what the public service demanded, but she gave with grudging hand and irritated temper ; and while she admitted the truth, she quarrelled with those who brought it home to her.

Shan meanwhile was preparing for war. He doubted his ability to overreach Elizabeth any more by words and promises, while the growth of the party of the Queen of Scots, his own connexion with her, and the Catholic reaction in England and Scotland, encouraged him to drop even the faint disguise behind which he had affected to shield himself. He mounted brass " artillery " in Dundrum Castle, and in Lifford at the head of Lough Foyle. The friendship with Argyle grew closer, and another wonderful marriage scheme was in progress for the alliance between the houses of M'Callum-More and O'Neil. " The Countess " was to be sent away, and Shan was to marry the widow of James M'Connell, whom he had killed — who was another half-sister of Argyle, and whose daughter he had married already and divorced. This business " was said to be the Earl's practice." ² The Irish chiefs, it

¹ Instructions to Sir F. Knolles. By the Queen, April 18: *Irish MSS Rolls House*.

² Sidney to the English Council, April 15: *MS. Ibid.*

seemed, three thousand years behind the world, retained the habits and the moralities of the Greek princes in the tale of Troy, when the bride of the slaughtered husband was the willing prize of the conqueror; and when only a rare Andromache was found to envy the fate of a sister

“Who had escaped the bed of some victorious lord.”

Aware that Sidney's first effort would be the restoration of O'Donnell, O'Neil commenced the campaign with a fresh invasion of Tyrconnell, where O'Donnell's brother still held out for England; he swept round by Lough Erne, swooped on the remaining cattle of M'Guyre, and “struck terror and admiration into the Irishry.”¹ Then, stretching out his hands for foreign help, he wrote in the style of a king to Charles the Ninth of France.

“Your Majesty's father, King Henry, in times past required the Lords of Ireland to join with him against the heretic Saxon, the enemies of Almighty God, the enemies of the Holy Church of Rome, your Majesty's enemies and mine.² God would not permit that alliance to be completed, notwithstanding the hatred borne to England by all of Irish blood, until your Majesty had become King in France, and I was Lord of Ireland. The time is come, however, when we all are confederates in a common bond to drive the invader from our shores; and we now beseech your Majesty to send us six thousand well-armed men. If you will grant our request, there will soon be no Englishman left alive among us, and we will be your Majesty's subjects evermore.

¹ The Bishop of Meath to Sussex, April 27, 1566: Wright, Vol. I.

² “Vestra Majestatis et nostrae simul inimicos.”

Help us, we implore you, to expel the heretics and schismatics, and to bring back our country to the holy Roman see." ¹

The letter never reached its destination; it fell into English hands. Yet in the "tickle" state of Europe, and with the progress made by Mary Stuart, French interference was an alarming possibility. More anxious and more disturbed than ever, Elizabeth made Sidney her scapegoat. Lord Sussex, ill repaying Sir Henry's generous palliation of his own shortcomings, envious of the ability of Leicester's brother-in law, and wishing to escape the charge which he had so well deserved of being the cause of Shan's "greatness," whispered in her ear that in times past Sidney had been thought to favour "that great rebel;" that he had addressed him long before in a letter by the disputed title of "O'Neil," and was, perhaps, his secret ally.

Sussex intrigues against Sidney.

Elizabeth did not seriously believe this preposterous story; but it suited her humour to listen to a suspicion which she could catch at as an excuse for economy. The preparations for war were suspended, and instead of receiving supplies, Sidney learnt only that the Queen had spoken unworthy words of him.

Sidney's blood was hot; he was made of bad materials for a courtier. He wrote at once to Elizabeth herself, "declaring his special grief at hearing that he was fallen from her favour," and "that she had given credit to that improbable slander raised upon him by the Earl of Sussex." He wrote to the Council, entreating them not to allow these idle stories to relax their energies in suppressing the rebellion; but he

¹ O'Neil to Charles IX. 1566: *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*

begged them at the same time to consider his own "unaptness to reside any longer in Ireland, or to be an actor in the war." The words which the Queen had used of him were gone abroad in the world. "He could find no obedience." "His credit being gone, his power to be of service was gone also." He therefore demanded his immediate recall, Sidney demands his recall. "that he might preserve the small remnant of his patrimony, already much diminished by his coming to Ireland." As for the charge brought against him by the Earl of Sussex, he would reply with his sword and body "against an accusation concealed hitherto he knew not with what duty, and uttered at last with impudency and unshamefastness."¹

But Elizabeth meant nothing less than to recall Sidney. She neither distrusted his loyalty nor questioned his talents; she chose merely to find fault with him while she made use of his services. It was her habit toward those among her subjects whom she particularly valued. Sir Francis Knolles when he arrived at Dublin could report only that Sidney had gained the love and the admiration of every one; and that his plan for proceeding against O'Neil was the first which had ever promised real success. Campaigns in Ireland had hitherto been no more than summer forays — mere inroads of devastation during the few dry weeks of August and September. Sidney proposed to commence at the end of the harvest, when the corn was gathered in, and could either be seized or destroyed; and to keep the field through the winter and spring. It would be expensive; but money well laid out was the best economy in the end, and Sidney undertook, if he was allowed as many men as he thought requisite, and

¹ Sidney to the English Council, May 18: *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*

was not interfered with, "to subdue, kill, or expel Shan, and reduce Ulster to as good order as any part of Ireland."¹

At first Elizabeth would not hear of it; she would not ruin herself for any such hairbrained madness. The Deputy must defend the Pale through the summer, and the attack on O'Neil, if attempted at all, should be delayed till the spring ensuing. But Sir Francis, who was sent to prevent expense, was the foremost to insist on the necessity of it. He explained that in the cold Irish springs the Plan for the campaign. fields were bare, the cattle were lean, and the weather was so uncertain, that neither man nor horse could bear it; whereas in August food everywhere was abundant, and the soldiers would have time to become hardened to their work. They could winter somewhere on the Bann, harry Tyrone night and day without remission, and so break Shan to the ground and ruin him. Two brigantines would accompany the army with supplies, and control the passage between Antrim and the Western Isles; and beyond all, Knolles reëchoed what Sidney had said before him on the necessity of paying wages to the troops, instead of leaving them to pay themselves at the expense of the people. Nothing was really saved, for the debts would have eventually to be paid, and paid with interest — while meanwhile the "inhabitants of the Pale were growing hostile to the English rule."²

The danger to the State could hardly be exaggerated. M'Guyre had come into Dublin, with his last cottage in ashes, and his last cow driven over the hills into Shan's country; Argyle, with the whole disposa-

¹ Sidney to Cecil, April 17: *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*

² Sir F. Knolles to Cecil, May 19: *MS. Ibid.*

ble force of the Western Isles, was expected in person in Ulster in the summer.

Elizabeth's irritation had been unable to wait till she had received Knolles's letters. She made herself a judge of Sidney's projects; she listened to Sussex, who told her that they were wild and impossible. Whether Sussex was right or Sidney was right, she was called upon to spend money; and while Elizabeth will not consent to it. she knew that she would have to do it, she continued to delay and make difficulties, and to vex Sidney with her letters,

His temper boiled over again.

"I testify to God, to her Highness, and to you," he wrote on the 3d of June to Cecil, "that all the charge is lost that she is at with this manner of proceeding. O'Neil will be tyrant of all Ireland if he be not speedily withstood. He hath as I hear won the rest of O'Donnell's castles; he hath confederated with the Scots; he is now in M'Guyre's country. All this summer he will spend in Connaught; next winter in the English Pale. It may please the Queen to appoint some order for Munster—for it will be a mad Munster in haste else. I will give you all my land in Rutlandshire to get me leave to go into Hungary, and think myself bound to you while I live. I trust there to do my country some honour: here I do neither good to the Queen, to the country, nor myself. I take my leave in haste, as a thrall forced to live in loathsomeness of life."¹

The Council, finding Sidney's views accepted and endorsed by Knolles, united to recommend them; a

¹ Sidney to Cecil, June 3: *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*

schedule was drawn out of the men, money, and stores which would be required; a thousand of the best troops in Berwick, with eight hundred Irish, was the increase estimated as necessary for the army; and the wages of eighteen hundred men for six months would amount to ten thousand four hundred and eighty pounds. Sixteen thousand pounds was already due to the Irish garrison. The provisions, arms, clothes, and ammunition would cost four thousand five hundred pounds; and four thousand pounds in addition would be wanted for miscellaneous services.¹

The reluctance of Elizabeth to engage in an Irish campaign was not diminished by a demand for thirty four thousand nine hundred pounds. Sussex continued malignant and mischievous; and there was many a Catholic about the court who secretly wished O'Neil to succeed. "The Court," wrote Cecil to Sidney, "is not free from many troubles—amongst others none worse than emulations, disdains, backbitings, and such like, whereof I see small hope of diminution."

The Queen at the beginning refused to allow more than six hundred men to be sent from England, or more than four hundred to be raised in Ireland. To no purpose Cecil insisted; in vain Leicester challenged Sussex and implored his mistress to give way. "Her Majesty was absolutely determined." The Ormond business had created fresh exasperation. Sir Henry, though admiring and valuing the Earl of Ormond's high qualities, had persisted in declaring himself unable to decide the litigated questions between the house of Butler and the Desmonds. Archbishop Kirwan, the Irish Chancellor,

*The Ormond
and Des-
mond con-
troversy.*

¹ Notes for the army in Ireland, May 30. In Cecil's hand: *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*

was old and incapable; the Deputy had begged for the assistance of some English lawyers; "but such evil report had Ireland that no English lawyer would go there."¹ The Queen flew off from the campaign to the less expensive question. Lawyer or no lawyer, she insisted that judgment should be given in Ormond's favour. She complained that the Deputy was partial to Desmond, and — especially wounding Sidney, whose chief success had been in the equity of his administration, and whose first object had been to check the tyrannical exactions of the Irish noblemen — she required him to make an exception in Ormond's favour, and permit "coyn and livery," the most mischievous of all the Irish imposts, to be continued in Kilkenny.

"I am extremely sorry," Sidney replied to Cecil, when the order reached him, — "I am extremely sorry to receive her Majesty's command to permit the Earl of Ormond to exercise coyn and livery, which have been the curse of this country, and which I hoped to have ended wholly. I would write more, if I did not hope to have my recall by the next east wind. Only weigh what I have said. Whatever becomes of me you will have as woeful a business here as you had in Calais if you do not look to it in time."²

Elizabeth was not contented till she had written out her passion to Sidney with her own hand. She told him that she disapproved of all that he was doing. If he chose to persist, she would give him half the men that he required, and with those he might do what he could on his own responsibility.³ It seemed, however, that she had relieved her feelings as soon as she had

Sidney again remonstrates, and Elizabeth a second time gives way.

¹ Cecil to Sidney, June 16: *Irish MSS. Rolls House*.

² Sidney to Cecil, June 24: *MS. Ibid.*

³ Elizabeth to Sidney, June 15: *MS. Ibid.*

expressed them. A week later she yielded to all that was required of her. Cecil soothed Sidney's anger with a gracious message;¹ Sidney, since she was pleased to have it so, consented to remain and do his duty; and thus after two months had been consumed in quarrels, the preparations for the war began in earnest.

The troops from England were to go direct to Lough Foyle; to land at the head of the lake, and to move up to Lifford, where they were to entrench themselves and wait for the Deputy, who would advance from the Pale to join them. The command was given to Colonel Edward Randolph, an extremely

Edward
Randolph
commands
the troops
from Eng-
land.

able officer who had served at Havre; and the men were marched as fast as they could be raised to Bristol, the port from which the expedition was to sail, while Sidney was setting a rare example in Dublin, and spending the time till he could take the field "in hearing the people's causes."

Shan O'Neil, finding that no help was to be looked for from France, and that mischief was seriously intended against him, tried a stroke of treachery. He wrote to Sidney to say that he wished to meet him, and a spot near Dundalk being chosen for a conference, he filled the woods in the neighbourhood with his people, and intended to carry off the Deputy as a prize. Sir Henry was too wary to be caught. He came to the Border on the 25th of July; but he came in sufficient strength to defend himself; Shan did not appear, and waiting till Sidney had returned to Dublin, made a sudden attempt on the 29th to seize Dundalk. Young Fitzwilliam, who was

July.
O'Neil at-
tacks Dun-
dalk, and
falls.

in command of the English garrison there, was on the

¹ Cecil to Sidney, June 24: *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*

alert. The surprise failed. The Irish tried an assault but were beaten back, and eighteen heads were left behind to grin hideously over the gates. Shan himself drew back into Tyrone: to prevent a second occupation of Armagh Cathedral by an English garrison, he burnt it to the ground; and sent a swift messenger to Desmond to urge him to rise in Munster. "Now was the time or never to set upon the enemies of Ireland. If Desmond failed or turned against his country, God would avenge it on him."¹

Had Sidney allowed himself to be forced into the precipitate decision which Elizabeth had urged upon him, the Geraldines would have made common cause with O'Neil. But so long as the English Government

September.
Desmond
refuses to
join O'Neil.

was just, Desmond did not care to carve a throne for a Celtic chief; he replied with sending an offer to the Deputy "to go against the rebel with all his power." Still more opportunely the Earl of Murray at the last moment detached Argyle from the pernicious and monstrous alliance into which he had been led by his vindictiveness against Elizabeth. The Scots of the Isles, freed from the commands of their feudal sovereign, resumed their old attitude of fear and hatred. Shan offered them all Antrim to join him, all the cattle in the country and the release of Surlyboy from captivity; but Antrim and its cattle they believed that they could recover for themselves, and James M'Connell had left a brother, Allaster, who was watching with eager eyes for an opportunity, to revenge the death of his kinsman and the dishonour with which Shan had stained his race.

The Scots, though still few in number, hung as a

¹ Commendation from O'Neil to John of Desmond, September 9: *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*

cloud over the northeast. Dropping boat-loads of Highlanders from the Isles were guided to the coast by the beacon fires which blazed nightly over the giant columns of Fairhead. Allaster M'Connell offered his services to Sidney as soon as the game should begin; and Shan after all, instead of conquering Ireland, might have enough to do to hold his own. The weather was unfavourable, and the summer was wet and wild with westerly gales. Sir Edward Horsey, who was sent with money from London, was detained half August at Holyhead; Colonel Randolph and his thousand men were chafing for thirty days at Bristol, "fearing that their enemies the winds would let them that they should not help Shan to gather his harvest;"¹ and Sidney, as from time to time some fresh ungracious letter came from Elizabeth, would break into a rage again and press Cecil "for his recall from that accursed country."² Otherwise, however, the prospects grew brighter with the autumn. In the second week in September the Bristol transports were seen passing into the North Channel with a leading breeze. Horsey came over with the money; the troops of the Pale, with the long due arrears paid up, were ordered to Drogheda; and on the 17th, assured that by that time Randolph was in Lough Foyle, the Deputy, accompanied by Kildare, the old O'Donnell, Shan M'Guyre, and another dispossessed chief, O'Dogherty, took the field.

Passing Armagh, which they found a mere heap of blackened stones, they reached the Blackwater on the 23d. On an island in a lake

Randolph
lands at
Lough
Foyle.

Sidney
commences
his march.

¹ Edward Randolph to Cecil from Bristol, September 3: *Irish MSS Rolls House*.

² Sidney to Cecil, September 10: *MS. Ibid*,

near the river, there stood one of those many robber castles which lend in their ruin such romantic beauty to the inland waters of Ireland. Report said that within its walls Shan had stored much of his treasure, and the troops were eager to take it. Sidney selected from among the many volunteers such only as were able to swim, and a bridge was extemporized with brushwood floated upon barrels. The army was without artillery; it had been found impracticable to carry a single cannon over roadless bog and mountain, and the storming party started with hand-grenades to throw over the walls. The bridge proved too slight for its work; slipping and splashing through the water the men got over, but their "fireworks" were wetted in the passage, and they found themselves at the foot of thirty feet of solid masonry without ladders and with no weapons but their bows and battle-axes. "The place was better defended and more strongly fortified" than Sidney had supposed. Several of the English were killed and many more were wounded; and the Deputy had the prudence to waste no more valuable lives or equally valuable days upon an enterprise which when accomplished would be barren of result. On the 24th the army crossed the river into Shan's own country. The Irish hung on their skirts but did not venture to molest them, and they marched without obstruction to Benbrook, one of O'Neil's best and largest houses, which they found "utterly burnt and razed to the ground." From Benbrook they went on towards Clogher, through pleasant fields and villages "so well inhabited as no Irish county in the realm was like it:" it was the very park or preserve into which the plunder of Ulster had been gathered; where the people enjoyed the profits of unlimited pillage, from which

till then they had been themselves exempt. The Bishop of Clogher was a "rebel," and was out with Shan in the field; his well-fattened flock were devoured by Sidney's men as by a flight of Egyptian locusts. "There we stayed," said Sidney, "to destroy the corn; we burned the country for twenty-four miles' compass, and we found by experience that now was the time of the year to do the rebel most hurt." Here died M'Guyre at the monastery of Omagh, within sight of the home to which he was returning, by the pleasant shores of Lough Erne. Here, too, the Earl of Kildare narrowly escaped being taken prisoner; he was surprised with a small party in a wood, attacked with "harquebusses and Scottish arrows," and hardly cut his way through.

Detained longer than he intended by foul weather, Sidney broke up from Omagh on the 2d of October, crossed "the dangerous and swift river there," "and rested that night on a neck of land near a broken castle of Tirlogh Lenogh, called the Salmon Castle." On the 3d he was over the Derry, and by the evening he had reached Lifford, where he expected to find Randolph and the English army.

At Lifford, however, no English were to be discovered, but only news of them.

Randolph, to whose discretion the ultimate choice of his quarters had been committed, had been struck, as he came up Lough Foyle, with the situation of Derry. Nothing then stood on the site of the present city, save a decrepit and deserted monastery of Augustine monks, which was said to have been built in the time of St. Columba; but the eye of the English commander saw in the form of the ground, in the magnificent lake, and the splendid tide river, a site for the foundation of a

powerful colony, suited alike for a military station and
 a commercial and agricultural town. There,
 therefore, Colonel Randolph had landed his
 men, and there Sidney joined him, and, after
 a careful survey, entirely approved his judgment. The
 monastery, with a few sheds attached to it, provided
 shelter. The English troops had not been idle, and
 had already entrenched themselves "in a very warlike
 manner." O'Donnell, O'Dogherty, and the other
 friends of England "agreed all of them that it was
 the very best spot in the northern counties to build
 a city."

At all events, for present purposes, the northern
 force was to remain there during the winter. Sidney
 stayed a few days at Derry, and then leaving Ran-
 dolph with 650 men, 350 pioneers, and provisions for
 two months, continued his own march. His object
 was to replace O'Donnell in possession of his own
 country and castles, restore O'Dogherty and the other
 chiefs, and commit them to the protection of Randolph,
 while he himself would sweep through the whole
 northern province, encourage the loyal clans to return
 to their allegiance, and show the people generally that
 there was no part of Ireland to which the arm of the
 Deputy could not reach, to reward the faithful and pun-
 ish the rebellious.

Donegal was his next point after leaving Lough
 Foyle — once a thriving town inhabited by
 English colonists — at the time of Sidney's
 arrival a pile of ruins, in the midst of which, like a
 wild beast's den strewn round with mangled bones,
 rose "the largest and strongest castle which he had
 seen in Ireland." It was held by one of O'Donnell's
 kinsmen, to whom Shan — to attach him to his cause

October.
 First settle-
 ment at
 Derry.

Sidney at
 Donegal.

— had given his sister for a wife. At the appearance of the old chief with the English army, it was immediately surrendered. O'Donnell was at last rewarded for his fidelity and sufferings, and the whole tribe, with eager protestations of allegiance, gave sureties for their future loyalty.

Leaving O'Donnell in possession, and scarcely pausing to rest his troops, Sidney again went forward. On the 19th he was at Ballyshannon; on the 22d, at Sligo; on the 24th he passed over the bogs and mountains of Mayo into Roscommon; and then "leaving behind them as fruitful a country as was in England or Ireland all utterly waste," the army turned their faces homewards, swam the Shannon at Athlone for lack of a bridge on the 26th, and so back to the Pale. Twenty castles had been taken as they went along, and left in hands that could be trusted. "In all that long and painful journey," Sidney was able to say that "there had not died of sickness but three persons;" men and horses were brought back in full health and strength; while "her Majesty's honour was reëstablished among the Irishry and grown to no small veneration"¹ — an expedition "comparable only to Alexander's journey into Bactria," wrote an admirer of Sidney to Cecil — revealing what to Irish eyes appeared the magnitude of the difficulty, and forming a measure of the effect which it produced. The English Deputy had bearded Shan in his stronghold, burnt his houses, pillaged his people, and had fastened a body of police in the midst of them to keep them waking in the winter nights. He had penetrated the hitherto impregnable fortresses of mountain

Restoration
of O'Donnell.

Returns to
the Pale.

¹ Sir H. Sidney and the Earl of Kildare to Elizabeth, November 12:
Irish MSS. Rolls House.

and morass. The Irish who had been faithful to England were again in safe possession of their lands and homes. The weakest, maddest, and wildest Celts were made aware that when the English were once roused to effort, they could crush them as the lion crushes the jackal.

Meantime Lord Ormond had carried his complaints to London, and the letter which Sidney found waiting his return was not what a successful commander might have expected from his sovereign. Before he started, he had repeated his refusal to determine a cause which he did not understand, without the help of lawyers. There was no one in Ireland of whom he thought more highly than of Lord Ormond; there was none that he would more gladly help; but disputed and complicated titles to estates were questions which he was unable to enter into. He could do nothing till the cause had been properly heard; and in the existing humour of the country it would have been mere madness to have led Desmond to doubt the equity of the English Government. But Sidney's modest and firm defence found no favour with Elizabeth. While he was absent in the

Elizabeth
still out of
humour
with
Sidney.

North she wrote to Sir Edward Horsey desiring him to tell the Deputy that she was ill satisfied with his proceedings; he had allowed himself to be guided by Irish advisers; he had been partial to Desmond; "he that had least deserved favour had been most borne withal." While in fact he had done more for Ireland in the eight months of his government than any English ruler since Sir Edward Bellingham, the Queen insisted that he had attended to none of her wishes, and had occupied himself wholly with matters of no importance.

Most likely she did not believe what she said; but

Sidney was costing her money, and she relieved herself by finding fault.

“My good Lord,” Cecil was obliged to write to him to prevent an explosion, “next to my most hearty commendations, I do with all my heart ^{Cecil’s advice to Sidney.} condole and take part of sorrow to see your burden of government so great, and your comfort from hence so uncertain. I feel by myself — being also here wrapped in miseries, and tossed with my small vessel of wit and means in a sea swelling with storms of envy, malice, disdain and suspicion — what discomfort they commonly have that mean to deserve best of their country. And though I confess myself unable to give you advice, and being almost desperate myself of well-doing, yet for the present I think it best for you to run still an even course in government, with indifferency in case of justice to all persons, and in case of favour, to let them which do well find their comfort by you ; and in other causes, in your choice to prefer them whom you find the Prince most disposed to have favoured. My Lord of Ormond doth take this commodity by being here to declare his own griefs ; I see the Queen’s Majesty so much misliking of the Earl of Desmond as surely I think it needful for you to be very circumspect in ordering of the complaints exhibited against him.”¹

It must be admitted that Elizabeth’s letter to Horsey was written at the crisis of the succession quarrel in Parliament, and that her not unprovoked ill-humour was merely venting itself upon the first object which came across her : nor had she at that time heard of Sidney’s successes in Ulster, and probably she despaired of ever hearing of successes. Yet when she

¹ Cecil to Sidney, October 20: *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*

did hear, the tone of her letters was scarcely altered, she alluded to his services only to reiterate her complaints; and she would not have gone through the form of thanking him had not Cecil inserted a few words of acknowledgment in the draft of her despatch.¹ Sidney's patience was exhausted. Copies of the Queen's disparaging letters were circulated privately in Dublin, obtained he knew not how, but with fatal effect upon his influence. He had borne Elizabeth's caprices long enough. "For God's sake," he wrote angrily on the 15th of November, in answer to Cecil's letter, "for God's sake get my recall; the people here know what the Queen thinks of me, and I can do no good."²

November.
Sidney again
demands his
recall.

From these unprofitable bickerings the story must return to Colonel Randolph and the garrison of Derry. For some weeks after Sidney's departure all had gone on prosperously. The country people, though well paid for everything, were slow to bring in provisions; the bread ran short; and the men had been sent out poorly provided with shoes, or tools, or clothes. But foraging parties drove in sufficient beef to keep them in fresh meat. Randolph, who seems to have been a man of fine foresight, had sent to the English Pale for a supply of forage before the winter set in; he had written to England "for shirts, kerseys, canvas, and leather;" he kept Cecil constantly informed of the welfare and wants of the troops;³ and for some time they were healthy and in high spirits, and either worked steadily at the fortress, or were doing good service in the field.

While Sidney was in Comnaught, Shan, who had

¹ The words "for which we are bound to thank you" are inserted in Cecil's hand. — The Queen to Sidney, November, 1566.

² *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*

³ Edward Randolph to Cecil, October 27: *MS. Ibid.*

followed him to Lifford, turned back upon the Pale, expecting to find it undefended. He was encountered by Sir Warham St. Leger, lost two hundred men, and was at first hunted back over the Border. He again returned, however, with "a main army," burnt several villages, and in a second fight with St. Leger was more successful; the English were obliged to retire "for lack of more aid;" but they held together in good order, and Shan, with the Derry garrison in his rear, durst not follow far from home in pursuit. Before he could revenge himself on Sidney, before he could stir against the Scots, before he could strike a blow at O'Donnell, he must pluck out the barbed dart which was fastened in his unguarded side.

Knowing that he would find it no easy task, he was hovering cautiously in the neighbourhood of Lough Foyle, when Randolph fell upon him by surprise on the 12th of November. The O'Neils fled after a short, sharp action. O'Dogherty with his Irish horse chased the flying crowd, killing every man he caught, and Shan recovered himself to find he had lost four hundred men of the bravest of his followers. More fatal overthrow neither he nor any other Irish chief had yet received at English hands. But the success was dearly bought; Colonel Randolph himself, leading the pursuit, was struck by a random shot, and fell dead from his horse. The Irish had fortunately suffered too severely to profit by his loss. Shan's motley army, held together as it was by the hope of easily-bought plunder, scattered when the service became dangerous. Sidney, allowing him no rest, struck in again beyond Dundalk, burning his farms and capturing his castles.¹ The Scots came in

Defeat of
O'Neal and
death of
Randolph.

¹ Sidney to the Lords of the Council, December 12: *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*

of England, as she had already professed her willingness to be.¹ Some trustworthy person — if possible the Earl of Murray, “as there was none so meet in all Scotland” — would have to continue in the Regency. The forfeitures on all sides should

May.

be declared void, and the Queen of Scots must ratify, if not the whole treaty of Leith, yet so much of it as touched the rights of Elizabeth herself. The Scotch Parliament must undertake that the conditions should be observed, and if they were violated by Mary Stuart herself, she was to be understood to have *ipso facto* forfeited her crown.²

These offers were submitted to the Queen of Scots at various intervals, and accompanied by language which Elizabeth would have done better to have left unspoken. “She is careful of your Majesty’s welfare,” the Bishop of Ross told his mistress, “and nothing content of your subjects who are declined from your obedience: she says your rebels in Scotland are not worthy to live: I perceive your good sister and all the nobility here be more careful of your honour, weal, and advancement than I ever perceived them before.”³

The difficulty was the treaty of Leith. The ratification was the price which the Queen of Scots had all

¹ Mary Stuart had been careful to keep up the hopes of her possible conversion among those about her, although to Catholics, English and foreign, she always insisted on her orthodoxy. It is frightful to think what she must have suffered. “My Lord of Shrewsbury,” writes Sir Thomas Gargrave on the 3d of April, “hath provided that the said Queen hath heard weekly all this Lent three sermons — every Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday one — wherein she hath been very well persuaded to the reading of Scriptures, and she is, as I am advertised, very attentive at the sermons, and doth not lose one.” — *Cotton MSS., Calig. B. IX. fol. 383.*

² Consideration of the matters of the Queen of Scots, May 1, 1569. In Cecil’s hand: *MS. Ibid., Calig. C. 1.*

³ The Bishop of Ross to Mary Stuart, May 2: *MSS. Queen of Scots.*

along determined to pay for the recognition of her place in the succession. The Bishop told Elizabeth that she would submit the question to the King of Spain; if Philip decided against her she would yield. That a proposal so preposterous should have been brought forward at all showed the measure of her confidence. She believed Elizabeth was a fool, on whom she might play as upon an instrument.

As Elizabeth was obstinate, she thought that a sudden illness might produce an effect upon her; and writing to La Mothe Fénelon to present a sharp demand for her release, she professed to be seized with symptoms of the same disorder which had so nearly killed her at Jedburgh.¹ They were harmless, being the result merely of pills, but she had calculated justly on the alarm of the Queen of England, who dreaded nothing so much as any serious illness of her prisoner which the world would attribute to poison.² Cecil and Bacon did their utmost to modify their mistress's anxiety, but the stream was too strong for them. In one way or the other she was determined to wash her hands of the nuisance which was clinging to them. She told the Bishop of Ross that "she could not of her honour nor friendly and loving duty suffer the Queen her good sister to perish without help:" the resignation at Lochleven had been extorted by force, and should be treated as if it had no existence. If she would not ratify the treaty of Leith, it should not be insisted on; if Murray's Regency was unpalatable to her, it might be terminated: she must

¹ Mary Stuart to the Bishop of Ross and La Mothe, May 10: Labanoff, Vol. II.

² "La dolencia de la Reyna de Escocia fué fingida para mover al animo de esta Reyna, y habia hecho buen efecto con ella segun el obispo me dice." Don Guerau to Alva, June 1.

over the Bann, wasting the country all along the river side. Allaster M'Connell, like some chief of Sioux Indians, sent to the Captain of Knockfergus an account of the cattle that he had driven, and "the wives and bairns" that he had slain.¹ Like swarms of angry hornets, these avenging savages drove their stings into the now maddened and desperate Shan, on every point where they could fasten; while in December the old O'Donnell came out over the mountains from Donegal, and paid back O'Neil with interest for his stolen wife, his pillaged country, and his own long imprisonment and exile. The tide of fortune had turned too late for his own revenge: worn out with his long sufferings, he fell from his horse at the head of his people with the stroke of death upon him; but before he died he called his kinsmen about him and prayed them to be true to England and their Queen; and Hugh O'Donnell, who succeeded to his father's command, went straight to Derry and swore allegiance to the English crown.

Tyrone was now smitten in all its borders. Magennis was the last powerful chief who still adhered to Shan's fortunes; the last week in the year Sidney carried fire and sword through his country and left him not a hoof remaining. It was to no purpose that Shan, bewildered by the rapidity with which disasters were piling themselves upon him, cried out now for pardon and peace; the Deputy would not answer his letter, and "nothing was talked of but his extirpation by war only."²

A singular tragedy interrupted for a time the tide

¹ Allaster M'Connell to the Captain of Knockfergus; enclosed in a letter of R. Piers to Sir H. Sidney, December 15: *Irish MSS. Rolls House*.

² Sidney to the English Council, January 18: *MS. Ibid.*

December.
The Scots
attack
O'Neil.

of English success, although the first blows had been struck by so strong a hand that Shan could not rally from them. The death of Randolph had left the garrison at Derry as — in the words of one of them — a headless people.¹ Food and clothing fell short, and there was no longer foresight to anticipate or authority to remedy the common wants of troops on active service. Sickness set in. By the middle of November “the flux was reigning among them wonderfully.”² Strong men soon after were struck suddenly dead by a mysterious disorder which no medicine would cure and no precaution would prevent. It appeared at last that either in ignorance or carelessness they had built their sleeping quarters over the burial ground of the Abbey, and the clammy vapour had stolen into their lungs and poisoned them. As soon as their distress was known, supplies in abundance were sent from England; but the vices of modern administration had already infected the public service, and a cargo of meal destined for the garrison of Derry went astray to Florida. No subordinate officer ventured to take the vacant command. “Many of our best men,” Captain Vaughan wrote a few days before Christmas, “go away because there is none to stay them; many have died: God comfort us!”³

Colonel St. Loo came at last in the beginning of the new year. The pestilence for a time abated, and the spirits of the men revived. St. Loo, to quicken their blood, led them at once into the enemy’s country; they returned after a foray of a few days driving before them seven hundred horses and a thousand

¹ Geoffrey Vaughan to Admiral Winter, December 18: *Irish MSS. Rolls House*.

² Wilfred to Cecil, November 15: *MS. Ibid.*

³ Vaughan to Winter, December 18: *MS. Ibid.*

cattle; ¹ and the Colonel wrote to Sidney to say that with three hundred additional men "he could so hunt the rebel that ere May was past he should not show his face in Ulster." ²

Harder pressed than ever, Shan O'Neil, about the time when the Queen of Scots was bringing her matrimonial difficulties to their last settlement, made one more effort to gain allies in France. ^{February. O'Neil struggles to recover himself.} This time he wrote, not to the King, but to the Cardinals of Lorraine and Guise, imploring them in the name of their great brother the Duke, who had raised the cross out of the dust where the unbelieving Huguenots were trampling it, to bring the fleur-de-lys to the rescue of Ireland from the grasp of the ungodly English. "Help us!" he cried, blending — Irish like — flattery with entreaty. "When I was in England I saw your noble brother the Marquis d'Elbœuf transfix two stags with a single arrow. If the Most Christian King will not help us, move the Pope to help us. I alone in this land sustain his cause." ³

As the ship laboured in the gale the unprofitable cargo was thrown overboard. Terence Daniel, relieved of his crozier, went back to his place among the troopers; Creagh was accepted in his place, and taken into confidence and into Shan's household; all was done to deserve favour in earth and heaven, but all was useless. The Pope sat silent, or muttering his anathemas with bated breath; the Guises had too much work on hand at home to heed the Irish wolf, whom the English, having in vain attempted to trap or poison, were driving to bay with more lawful weapons.

¹ St. Loo in his despatch says 10,000. He must have added one cipher at least. — St. Loo to Sidney, February 8: *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*

² *Ibid.*

³ Shan O'Neil to the Cardinals of Lorraine and Guise, 1567: *MS Ibid.*

Success or failure, however, was alike to the doomed garrison of Derry. The black death came back among them after a brief respite, and to the reeking vapour of the charnel-house it was indifferent whether its victims returned in triumph from a stricken field, or were cooped within their walls by hordes of savage enemies. By the middle of March there were left out of eleven hundred men but three hundred available to fight. Reinforcements had been raised at Liverpool, but they were countermanded when on the point of sailing: it was thought idle to send them to inevitable death. The English Council was discussing the propriety of removing the colony to the Bann, when accident finished the work which the plague had begun, and spared them the trouble of deliberation. The huts and sheds round the monastery had been huddled together for the convenience of fortification. At the end of April, probably after a drying east wind, a fire broke out in a blacksmith's forge, which spread irresistibly through the entire range of buildings. The flames at last reached the powder magazine: thirty men were blown in pieces by the explosion; and the rest, paralyzed by this last addition to their misfortunes, made no more effort to extinguish the conflagration. St. Loo, with all that remained of that ill-fated party, watched from their provision boats in the river the utter destruction of the settlement which had begun so happily, and then sailed drearily away to find a refuge in Knockfergus.

March.
The settle-
ment at
Derry
finally
ruined.

Such was the fate of the first effort for the building of Londonderry; and below its later glories, as so often happens in this world, lay the bones of many a hundred gallant men who lost their lives in laying its foundations. Elizabeth, who in the immediate pressure of

calamity resumed at once her nobler nature, "perceiving the misfortune not to come of treason but of God's ordinance, bore it well;" "she was willing to do that which should be wanting to repair the loss;"¹ and Cecil was able to write cheerfully to Sidney, telling him to make the best of the accident and let it stimulate him to fresh exertions.²

Happily the essential work had been done already, and the ruin of Derry came too late to profit Shan. His own people, divided and dispirited, were mutinying against a leader who no longer commanded success. In May a joint movement was concerted between Sidney and the O'Donnells, and while the Deputy with the light horse of the Pale overran Tyrone and carried off three thousand cattle, Hugh O'Donnell came down on Shan on the river which runs into Lough Foyle. The spot where the supremacy of Ulster was snatched decisively from the ambition of the O'Neils, is called in the despatches Gaviston. The situation is now difficult to identify. It was somewhere perhaps between Lifford and Londonderry, on the west side of the river.

Conscious that he was playing his last card, Shan had gathered together the whole of his remaining force, and had still nearly three thousand men with him. The O'Donnells were fewer in number; but victory, as generally happens, followed the tide in which events were setting. After a brief fight the O'Neils broke and fled; the enemy was behind them, the river was in front; and when the Irish battle-cries had died away over moor and mountain, but two hundred survived of those fierce troopers who were to have

Final defeat
of the
O'Neils.

¹ Cecil to Leicester, May, 1567: *Irish MSS. Rolls House*.

² "Et contra audentior ito." — Cecil to Sidney, May 13: *MS. Ibid.*

cleared Ireland forever from the presence of the Saxons. For the rest, the wolves were snarling over their bodies, and the sea-gulls wheeling over them with scream and cry as they floated down to their last resting-place beneath the quiet waters of Lough Foyle. Shan's "foster brethren," faithful to the last, were all killed; he himself, with half a dozen comrades, rode for his life, pursued by the avenging furies; his first desperate intention was to throw himself at Sidney's feet, with a slave's collar upon his neck; but his secretary, Neil M'Kevin, persuaded him that his cause was not yet absolutely without hope.

Surlyboy was still a prisoner in the castle at Lough Neagh; "the Countess of Argyle" had remained with her ravisher through his shifting fortunes, had continued to bear him children, and notwithstanding his many infidelities was still attached to him. M'Kevin told him that for their sakes, or at their intercession, he might find shelter and perhaps help among the kindred of the M'Connells.¹

In the far extremity of Antrim, beside the falls of Isnaleara, where the black valley of Glenariff opens out into Red Bay, sheltered among the hills and close upon the sea, lay the camp of Allaster M'Connell and his nephew Gillespie. Here on Saturday, the last of May, appeared Shan O'Neil, with M'Kevin ^{Flight and death of Shan.} and some fifty men. He had brought the Countess and his prisoner as peace offerings: he alighted at Allaster's tent, and threw himself on his hospitality; and though the blood of the M'Connells was fresh on his hands he was received "with dissembled gratulatory words." The feud seemed to be buried in the restoration of Surlyboy; an alliance was

¹ Attainder of Shan O'Neil: *Irish Statute Book*, 11 Eliz.

again talked of, and for two days all went well. But the death of their leaders in the field was not the only wrong which Shan had offered to the Western Islanders: he had divorced James M'Connell's daughter; he had kept a high-born Scottish lady with him as his mistress; and last of all, after killing M'Connell he had asked Argyle to give him M'Connell's widow for a wife. The lady herself, to escape the dishonour, had remained in concealment in Edinburgh; but the mention of it had been taken as a mortal insult by her family.

The third evening, Monday the 2d of June, after supper, when the wine and the whiskey had gone freely round, and the blood in Shan's veins had warmed again, Gillespie M'Connell, who had watched him from the first with an ill-boding eye, turned round upon M'Kevin and asked scornfully "whether it was he who had bruited abroad that the lady his aunt did offer to come from Scotland to Ireland to marry with his master?"

M'Kevin, meeting scorn with scorn, said "that if his aunt was Queen of Scotland she might be proud to match the O'Neil."

"It is false!" the fierce Scot shouted; "my aunt is too honest a woman to match with her husband's murderer."

Shan, who was perhaps drunk, heard the words; and forgetting where he was, flung back the lie in Gillespie's throat. Gillespie sprung to his feet, ran out of the tent, and raised the slogan of the Isles. A hundred dirks flashed into the moonlight, and the Irish, wherever they could be found, were struck down and stabbed. Some two or three found their horses and escaped; all the rest were murdered; and Shan him-

self, gashed with fifty wounds, was "wrapped in a kern's old shirt" and flung into a pit dug hastily among the ruined arches of Glenarm.

Even there what was left of him was not allowed to rest; four days later Piers, the captain of Knockfergus, hacked the head from the body, and carried it on a spear's point through Drogheda to Dublin, where staked upon a spike it bleached on the battlements of the castle, a symbol to the Irish world of the fate of Celtic heroes.¹

So died Shan O'Neil, one of those champions of Irish nationality, who under varying features have repeated themselves in the history of that country with periodic regularity. At once a drunken ruffian and a keen and fiery patriot, the representative in his birth of the line of the ancient kings, the ideal in his character of all which Irishmen most admired, regardless in his actions of the laws of God and man, yet the devoted subject in his creed of the Holy Catholic Church; with an eye which could see far beyond the limits of his own island, and a tongue which could touch the most passionate chords of the Irish heart; the like of him has been seen many times in that island, and the like of him may be seen many times again, "till the Ethiopian has changed his skin and the leopard his spots."

Many of his letters remain, to the Queen, to Sussex, to Sidney, to Cecil, and to foreign princes; far-reaching, full of pleasant flattery and promises which cost him nothing; but showing true ability and insight. Sinner though he was, he too in his turn was sinned against; in the stained page of Irish misrule there is no second instance in which an English ruler stooped

¹ Sir William Fitzwilliam to Cecil, June 10: *Irish MSS. Rolls House*.

to treachery or to the infamy of attempted assassination ; and it is not to be forgotten that Lord Sussex, who has left under his own hand the evidence of his own baseness, continued a trusted and favoured councillor of Elizabeth, while Sidney, who fought Shan and conquered him in the open field, found only suspicion and hard words.

How just Sidney's calculations had been, how ably his plans were conceived, how bravely they were carried out, was proved by their entire success, notwithstanding the unforeseen and unlikely calamity at Londonderry. In one season Ireland was reduced for the first time to universal peace and submission. While the world was full of Sidney's praises Elizabeth persevered in writing letters to him which Cecil in his own name and the name of the Council was obliged to disclaim. But at last the Queen too became gradually gracious ; she condescended to acknowledge that he had recovered Ireland for her Crown, and thanked him for his services.

CHAPTER XII.

It is the purpose of this chapter to trace the first movements of the struggle which transferred from Spain to England the sovereignty of the seas; the first beginnings of that proud power which, rising out of the heart of the people, has planted the saplings of the English race in every quarter of the globe, has covered the ocean with its merchant fleets, and flaunts its flag in easy supremacy among the nations of the earth.

In the English nature there were and are two antagonistic tendencies — visible alike in our laws, in our institutions, in our religion, in our families, in the thoughts and actions of our greatest men: a disposition on the one hand to live by rule and precedent, to distrust novelties, to hold the experience of the past as a surer guide than the keenest conclusions of logic, and to maintain with loving reverence the customs, the convictions, and traditions which have come down to us from other generations: on the other hand, a restless, impetuous energy, inventing, expanding, pressing forward into the future, regarding what has been already achieved only as a step or landing-place leading upwards and onwards to higher conquests — a mode of thought which in the half-educated takes the form of a rash disdain of earlier ages, which in the best and wisest creates a sense that we shall be unworthy of our ancestors if we do not eclipse them

in all that they touched, if we do not draw larger circles round the compass of their knowledge, and extend our power over nature, over the world, and over ourselves.

In healthy ages as in healthy persons the two tendencies coexist, and produce that even progress, that strong vitality at once so vigorous and so composed, which is legible everywhere in the pages of English history. Under the accidental pressure of special causes one or other disposition has for a time become predominant, and intervals of torpor and inactivity have been followed by a burst of license, when in one direction or another law and order have become powerless; when the people, shaking themselves free from custom, have hurried forward in the energy of their individual impulses, and new thoughts and new inclinations, like a rush of pent-up waters, have swept all before them.

Through the century and a half which intervened between the death of Edward the Third and the fall of Wolsey, the English sea-going population, with but few exceptions, had moved in a groove, in which they lived and worked from day to day and year to year with unerring uniformity. The wine brigs made their annual voyages to Bordeaux and Cadiz; the hoys plied with such regularity as the winds allowed them between the Scheldt and the Thames; summer after summer the "Iceland fleet" went north for the cod and ling, which were the food of the winter fasting days; the boats of Yarmouth and Rye, Southampton, Poole, Brixham, Dartmouth, Plymouth, and Fowie fished the Channel. The people themselves, though hardy and industrious, and though as much at home upon

Stationary
character of
English
maritime
before the
sixteenth
century.

the ocean as their Scandinavian forefathers or their descendants in modern England, were yet contented to live in an unchanging round from which they neither attempted nor desired to extricate themselves. The number of fishermen who found employment remained stationary; the produce of their labour supported their families in such comforts as they considered necessary. The officials of the London companies ruled despotically in every English harbour; not a vessel cleared for a foreign port, not a smack went out for the herring season, without the official license; and the sale of every bale of goods or every hundredweight of fish was carried on under the eyes of the authorities, and at prices fixed by Act of Parliament.

To men contented to be so employed and so rewarded, it was in vain that Columbus held out as a temptation the discovery of a New World; it was in vain that foreigners guided English ships across the Atlantic and opened out the road before their eyes. In 1497 John Cabot, the Venetian, with his son Sebastian—then a little boy—sailed from Bristol for “the Islands of Cathay.” He struck the American continent at Nova Scotia, sailed up into the Greenland seas till he was blocked by the ice, then coasted back to Florida, and returned with the news of another continent waiting to be occupied. The English mariners turned away with indifference; their own soil and their own seas had been sufficient for the wants of their fathers; “their fathers had more wit and wisdom than they;” and it was left to Spain, in that grand burst of energy which followed on the expulsion of the Moors and the union of the Crowns, to add a hemisphere to the globe and found empires in lands beyond the sunset.

*Voyage of
John Cabot*

Strange indeed was the contrast between the two races, and stranger still the interchange of character, as we look back over three hundred years. Before the sixteenth century had measured half its course the shadow of Spain already stretched beyond the Andes; from the mines of Peru and the custom-houses of Antwerp the golden rivers streamed into her imperial treasury; the crowns of Arragon and Castile, of Burgundy, Milan, Naples, and Sicily, clustered on the brow of her sovereigns; and the Spaniards themselves, before their national liberties were broken, were beyond comparison the noblest, grandest, and most enlightened people in the known world.

The spiritual earthquake shook Europe: the choice of the ways was offered to the nations; on the one side liberty, with the untried possibilities of anarchy and social dissolution; on the other, the reinvigoration of the creeds and customs of ten centuries, in which Christendom had grown to its present stature.

Fools and dreamers might follow their *ignis fatuus* till it led them to perdition: the wise Spaniard took his stand on the old ways. He too would have his reformation, with an inspired Santa Teresa for a prophetess, an army of ascetics to combat with prayer the legions of the evil one, a most holy Inquisition to put away the enemies of God with sword and dungeon, stake and fire. That was the Spaniard's choice, and his intellect shrivelled in his brain, and the sinews shrank in his self-bandaged limbs; and only now at last, with such imperfect deliverance as they have found in French civilization and Voltairian philosophy, is the life-blood stealing again into the veins of the descendants of the conquerors of Granada.

Greatness
of Spain in
the six-
teenth
century.

The Ref-
ormation.

Meanwhile a vast intellectual revolution, of which the religious reformation was rather a sign than a cause, was making its way in the English mind. The discovery of the form of the earth and of its place in the planetary system, was producing an effect on the imagination which long familiarity with the truth renders it hard for us now to realize. The very heaven itself had been rolled up like a scroll, laying bare the illimitable abyss of space; the solid frame of the earth had become a transparent ball, and in a hemisphere below their feet men saw the sunny Palm Isles and the golden glories of the tropic seas. Long impassive, long unable from the very toughness of their natures to apprehend these novel wonders, indifferent to them, even hating them as at first they hated the doctrines of Luther, the English opened their eyes at last. In the convulsions which rent England from the Papacy a thousand superstitions were blown away; a thousand new thoughts rushed in, bringing with them their train of new desires and new emotions; and when the fire was once kindled, the dry wood burnt fiercely in the wind.

Having thrown down the gauntlet to the Pope, Henry the Eighth had to look to the defences of the kingdom; and knowing that his best security lay in the command of the "broad ditch," as he called it, which cut him off from Europe, he turned his mind with instant sagacity to the development of the navy. Long before indeed, when Anne Boleyn was a child, and Wolsey was in the zenith of his greatness, and Henry was the Pope's "Defender of the Faith," he had quickened his slumbering dockyards into life, studied naval architecture, built ships on new models, and cast unheard-of cannon.

First expansion of the English navy.

Giustiniani in 1518 found him practising at Southampton with his new brass artillery. The "Great Harry" was the wonder of Northern Europe; and the fleet afterwards collected at Spithead, when D'Annebault brought his sixty thousand Frenchmen to the Isle of Wight, and the "Mary Rose" went down under Henry's eyes, was the strongest, proudest, and best formed which had yet floated in English waters.

The mariners and merchants had caught the impulse of the time. In 1530, when the divorce question was in its early stages, Mr. William Hawkins of Plymouth, "a man for his wisdom, valour, experience, and skill of sea causes much esteemed and beloved of King Henry the Eighth," "armed out a tall and goodly ship," sailed for the coast of Guinea, where he first trafficked with the negroes for gold dust and ivory, and then crossed the Atlantic to Brazil, "where he behaved himself so wisely with the savage people" that "the King of Brazil" came back with him to see the wonders of England, and was introduced to Henry at Whitehall. The year after Hawkins went back again, and "the King" with him; the King on the passage home died of change of air, bad diet, and confinement; and there were fears for the Englishmen who had been left as hostages among the Indians. But they were satisfied that there had been no foul play; they welcomed Englishmen as cordially as they hated the Spaniards; and a trade was opened which was continued chiefly by the merchants of Southampton.

In 1549 Sebastian Cabot, who in his late manhood had returned to Bristol, was appointed by Edward the Sixth Grand Pilot of England; and as enterprise expanded with freedom and with the cracking up of su-

Voyage of
William
Hawkins to
Brazil.

perstition, the merchant adventurers who had started up in London on principles of free trade, The merchant adventurers. and who were to the established guilds as the Protestants to the Catholic bishops, sent their ships up the Straits to the Levant, explored the Baltic, and had their factors at Novgorod. In 1552 Captain Windham of Norfolk followed William Hawkins to African discovery. the coast of Guinea; and again in 1553, with Antonio Pinteado, he led a second expedition to the Bight of Benin, and up the river to the court of the King. The same year the noble Sir Hugh Willoughby, enchanted like John Cabot with visions of "the Islands of Cathay," sailed in search of them into the Arctic circle, turned eastward into the frozen seas, and perished in the ice.

But neither the "frost giants" of the north nor the deadly vapours of the African rivers could quell the spirit which had been at last aroused. Windham and Pinteado died of fever in the Benin waters; and of a hundred and forty mariners who sailed with them, forty only ever saw Ramhead and Plymouth Sound again; but the year following John Lok was tempted to the same shores by the ivory and gold dust; and he — first of Englishmen — discovering that the negroes "were a people of beastly living, without Beginnings of the English slave trade God, law, religion, or commonwealth," gave some of them the opportunity of a lift in creation, and carried off five as slaves.

It is noticeable that on their first appearance on the west coast of Africa, the English visitors were received by the natives with marked cordiality. The slave trade hitherto had been a monopoly of The Portuguese on the African coast. the Spaniards and Portuguese; it had been established in concert with the native chiefs, as a

means of relieving the tribes of bad subjects, who would otherwise have been hanged. Thieves, murderers, and such like, were taken down to the dépôts and sold to the West Indian traders.¹ But the theory, as was inevitable, soon ceased to correspond with the practice ; to be able-bodied and helpless became a sufficient crime to justify deportation ; the Portuguese stations became institutions for an organized kidnapping ; and when the English vessels appeared they were welcomed by the smaller negro tribes as more harmless specimens of the dangerous white race. But the theft of the five men made them fear that the new comers were no better than the rest ; the alarm was spread all along the coast, and Towrson, a London merchant, found his voyage the next year made unprofitable through their unwillingness to trade. The injury was so considerable, and the value of the slaves in England so trifling, that they were sent back ; and the captain who took them home was touched at the passionate joy with which the poor creatures were welcomed.

Thus it was that the accession of Elizabeth found commerce leaving its old channels and stretching in a thousand new directions. While the fishing trade was ruined by the change of creed, a taste came in for luxuries undreamt of in the simpler days which were passing away. Statesmen accustomed to rule the habits of private life with sumptuary laws, and to measure the imports of the realm by their own conceptions of the necessities of the people, took alarm at the inroads upon

¹ "When they (the negroes of the Rio Grande) sit in council in the consultation-house, the king or captain sitteth in the midst and the elders upon the floor by him (for they give reverence to their elders), and the common sort sit round about them. There they sit to examine matters of theft, which if a man be taken with, to steal but a Portugall cloth from another, he is sold to the Portugal for a slave." — Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 599.

established ways and usages, and could see only "a most lamentable spoil to the realm, in the over quantity of unnecessary wares brought into the port of London."¹

From India came perfumes, spices, rice, cotton, indigo, and precious stones; from Persia and Turkey carpets, velvets, satins, damasks, cloth of gold, and silk robes "wrought in divers colours."² Russia gave its ermines and sa-
The foreign
trade of
England at
the acces-
sion of
Elizabeth.
bles, its wolf and bear skins, its tallow, flax, and hemp, its steel and iron, its ropes, cables, pitch, tar, masts for ships, and even deal boards. The New World sent over sugar, rare woods, gold, silver, and pearls; and these, with the pomegranates, lemons, and oranges, the silks and satins, the scented soaps and oils, and the fanciful variety of ornaments which was imported from the south of Europe, shocked the austere sense of the race of Englishmen who had been bred up in an age when heaven was of more importance than earthly pleasure. Fathers were filled with panic for the morals of their children, and statesmen trembled before the imminent ruin of the realm.³

¹ List of articles entered from abroad in the Port of London in the second year of Queen Elizabeth. — *Domestic MSS. Rolls House*. Note of commodities brought into the realm in the year 1564. — *MS. Ibid.*

² The Eastern trade was carried on either through Russia and Poland or else through Turkey and the Levant.

³ It appears from the customs entries that the heaviest foreign trade was in canvas, linen, cloth, wood, oil, and wines. The total value of the wine entered at the Port of London alone, in the year 1559, was 64,000*l*.; the retail selling price being then on an average sevenpence a gallon. The iron trade with Sweden, Russia, and Spain was considerable; and strange to say, the English then depended on foreign manufacturers for their knives, their nails, their buttons, and even their pins and needles. Hops stand at a large figure, and so does sugar. Among miscellaneous articles are found dolls, tennis-balls, cabbages, turnips, tape and thread, glasses, bats, laces, marmalade, baskets, and rods for baskets. — *Domestic MSS. Rolls House*.

To pay for these new introductions England had little to spare except its wool, its woollen cloths, and fustians. It was true that the demand which was opened out abroad for these things quickened production at home, and the English woollen manufactures grew with the foreign trade; but Cecil found no comfort in a partial prosperity which withdrew labour from agriculture, and tended to bring back or to support the great grazing farms, which it was a passion with English statesmen to limit or break up; he was disturbed to observe that London was importing corn; and in a paper of notes on the phenomena which he saw around him, he added as a fact to be remarked and remembered, "that those who depend upon the making of cloths are of worse condition to be quietly governed than the husbandmen."¹ He dreaded, further, the supposed fatal effect of an export of gold, as the necessary consequence of an over-rapid growth of commerce; and he could see no remedy save to "abridge" by Act of Parliament "the use of such foreign commodities as were not necessary," "whereof the excess of silks was one," "excess of wine and spices another." The great consumption of wine especially "enriched France, whose power England ought not to increase;" "the multiplying of taverns was an evident cause of disorder amongst the vulgar, who wasted there the fruits of their daily labour, and committed all evils which accompany drunkenness." Anticipating the language of the modern Protectionist, Cecil thought it was an ill policy to encourage manufactures at the expense of tillage, when war might at any time throw the country back upon its own resources.

¹ Notes on the state of trade, October, 1564. In Cecil's hand: *Domestic MSS. Rolls House.*

Another strange fact, at first sight utterly inexplicable, perplexed Elizabeth's ministers. Along with the increase of the foreign trade the "port towns of the realm had been steadily decaying;" harbours, which at the beginning of the century "had been well furnished with ships and mariners," were left with "but a few boats and barges. "It needeth no proof," wrote Cecil in 1566,¹ "that more wine is drunk now than in former times; let men that keep households remember whether commonly they spend not more wines than their grandfathers, yea, percase, than themselves within twelve years; let all noblemen compare their household books with their ancestors', and it will be as manifest as can be that England spendeth more wines in one year than it did in antient times in four years."

Other imports from foreign countries had increased almost in the same proportion; and yet the ports were sinking, and the navy dwindling away.

There were several causes. Much of the common carrying trade was done by the French and Flemings; English enterprise was engaged in expeditions of a different kind, to which I shall presently refer. Another immediate and most important occasion was the cessation of the demand for fish.

"In old time," (I again quote from Sir William Cecil),² "no flesh at all was eaten on fish days; even the King could not have license; which was occasion of eating so much fish as now is eaten in flesh upon fish days." In the recoil from the involuntary asceticism, beef and mutton reigned exclusively on all tables; and "to detest fish" in all shapes and forms had become a

¹ Trade notes: *Domestic MSS. Eliz.*, Vol. XLI. *Rolls House*.

² Notes upon an Act for the increase of the navy, 1563: *Domestic MSS. Rolls House*.

"note" of Protestantism. The Act of Edward,¹ prescribing "due and godly abstinence as a means to virtue to subdue men's bodies to their soul and spirit," had been laughed at and trampled on; and thus it was that the men who used to live "by the trade and mystery of fishing" had to seek some other calling. Instead of the Iceland fleet of Englishmen which used to supply Normandy and Brittany as well as England, "five hundred French vessels,² with from thirty to forty men in each of them," went annually to Newfoundland; and even the home fisheries fell equally into the hands of strangers. The Yarmouth waters were "occupied by Flemings and Frenchmen," "the narrow seas by the French," "the western fishing for hake and pilchard by a great navy of French within kenning of the English shores." "The north parts of Ireland, and especially the Bann, within ten years, was in farm of the merchants of Chester; and now both the herring and salmon fishing was in the hands of the Scots;" "the south part of Ireland was yearly fished by the Spaniards;" "so that England was besieged round about with foreigners, and deprived of the substance of the sea fishing, being as it appeared by God's ordinance peculiarly given to the same; and more regard had how to entice merchants and mariners to a further trade, to employ themselves to carry treasure into France, and from that to overburden the realm with wines, rather than to recover their antient natural possession of their own seas and at their own doors, in which kind of trade men were made meet to abide storms and become common mariners than by sailing of ships to Rouen or Bourdeaux."³

Decay of
the fisheries.

Foreigners
fish the
English
waters.

¹ 2 & 3 Edward VI. cap. 19.

² Sic.

³ Trade notes: *Domestic MSS. Eliz.*, Vol. XLI. *Rolls House*.

So wrote the most farsighted of English statesmen ; and knowing that the safety of England depended upon its fleet, and that " to build ships without men to man them was to set armour upon stakes on the sea shore,"¹ of " means to encourage mariners " he could see but three.

First, " Merchandize ; "

Second, " Fishing ; "

And thirdly, " The exercise of piracy, which was detestable, and could not last." ²

It will be seen that " piracy " could last ; that buccaneering in some irregular combination with trade and religion, not only would be one among other means, but the very source and seed-vessel from which the naval power of England was about to rise.

But Cecil, who believed in God in a commonplace manner, and had been bred up in old-fashioned objections to " the water-thieves," could not persuade himself that good would come of them. Trade was already overgrown, and so far as he could judge was on the way to become entirely ruinous. The only remedies, therefore, which he could think of were, first, " a navigation law," laying foreign vessels under disabilities ; and secondly, to force once more " a politic ordinance on fish eating " through an unwilling and contemptuous House of Commons. In the Parliament of 1562-63 he brought in a Bill³ to make the eating of flesh on Fridays and Saturdays a misdemeanour, punishable by a fine of three pounds or three months' imprisonment ; and, as if this was not enough, adding Wednesday as a subsidiary half-fish day, on which " one dish of flesh might be

Cecil's fast.

¹ Trade notes: *Domestic MSS. Eliz.*, Vol. XLI. *Rolls House*.

² *Ibid.*

³ 5 *Eliz. cap. 4, 5.*

allowed, provided there were served at the same table and at the same meal three full, competent, usual dishes of sea fish of sundry kinds, fresh or salt."

"The House of Commons," Cecil admitted, "was very earnest against him;" he carried his measure only by arguing that if the Bill was passed, it would be almost inoperative: "labourers and poor householders could not observe it," he said, "and the rest by license or without license would do as they would;"¹ while to satisfy the Puritans he was obliged to add the ludicrous provision that, "because no person should misjudge the intent of the statute, which was politicly meant only for the increase of fishermen and mariners, and not for any superstition for choice of meats, whoever should preach or teach that eating of fish or forbearing of flesh was for the saving of the soul of man or for the service of God, should be punished as the spreader of false news."²

How powerless such an Act must have been to stem the stream of popular tendency it is needless to say. Cecil, however, had at all events shown an honourable detestation of the wild piratical doings which were fast spreading; and if events proved too strong for him, he had delivered his own soul.

According to some persons the notion of property is a conventional creation of human society. The beast of prey refuses to the fat, sweet, juicy animal which cannot defend itself a right of property in its own flesh; among savages there is no right but of strength; in more advanced stages of civilization the true believer, Israelite or Mahometan, spoils the hea-

¹ Arguments in the House of Commons, February, 1562-63. Cecil's hand: *Domestic MSS. Eliz.*, Vol. XXVII.

² Clause to be added to the Fisheries Act, 5 Eliz. cap. 4, 5. In Cecil's hand: *MS. Ibid.*

then without remorse, of lands, goods, liberty, and life. Ulysses, a high-bred gentleman, the friend of the gods, roves the seas with his mariners, sacks unguarded towns, and kills the unlucky owners who dare to defend themselves: Rob Roy lives on Lowland cattle-lifting without forfeiting romantic sympathy. The more advanced philosophers indeed maintain that property itself is the only true theft, and that the right of man "to call anything his own" will disappear again as the wheel comes full round, in the light of a more finished cultivation.

"The ancient Greeks," says Thucydides, "even those not lowest in rank among them, when they first crossed the seas betook themselves to piracy. Falling on unprotected towns or villages they plundered them at their pleasure, and from this resource they derived their chief means of maintenance. The employment carried no disgrace with it, but rather glory and honour; and in the tales of our poets, when mariners touch anywhere, the common question is whether they are pirates—neither those who are thus addressed being ashamed of their calling, nor those who inquire meaning it as a reproach."

In the dissolution of the ancient order of Europe, and the spiritual anarchy which had reduced religion to a quarrel of opinions, the primitive tendencies of human nature for a time asserted themselves, and the English gentlemen of the sixteenth century passed into a condition which, with many differences, yet had many analogies with that of the Grecian chiefs. With the restlessness of new thoughts, new hopes, and prospects; with a constitutional enjoyment of enterprise and adventure; with a legitimate hatred of oppression, and a determination

The English gentlemen of the sixteenth century.

to revenge their countrymen who from day to day were tortured and murdered by the Inquisition; most of all perhaps, with a sense that it was the mission of a Protestant Englishman to spoil the Amalekites, — in other words the gold ships from Panama, or the richly laden Flemish traders, — the merchants at the sea-ports, the gentlemen whose estates touched upon the creeks and rivers, and to whom the sea from childhood had been a natural home, fitted out their vessels under the name of traders, and sent them forth armed to the teeth with vague commissions, to take their chance of what the gods might send.

Already in this history I have had occasion to describe how, in the unsettled state of England, young Catholics or Protestants, flying alternately from the
The privateers of the Channel. despotism of Edward and Mary, had hung about the French harbours, or the creeks and bays which indent the Irish coast, where they had gathered about them rough wild crews who cared nothing for creeds, but formed a motley and mixed community living upon plunder. Emerging when England was at war into commissioned privateers, on the return of peace they were disavowed and censured; but they were secured from effective pursuit by the weakness of the Government, and by the certainty that at no distant time their services would again be required. The “vain-glorious” Sir Thomas Seymour, finding too little scope at home for his soaring ambition, had dreamed of a pirate sovereignty among the labyrinths of Scilly. During the Marian persecution, Carews, Killigrews, Tremaynes, Strangeways, Throgmortons, Horseys, Cobhams — men belonging to the best families in England, became roving chiefs. On Elizabeth’s accession most of them came

back to the service of the Crown: Strangways, the Red Rover of the Channel, was killed on a sandbank in the Seine, leading volunteers to the defence of Rouen; "Ned Horsey," the ruffling cavalier of Arundel's, who had sung the catch of evil omen to priests and prelates, became Sir Edward Horsey, Governor of the Isle of Wight; the younger Tremayne was killed doing service at Havre; and Henry Killigrew became a confidential servant of Elizabeth, and one of her most trusted agents. But the lawless spirit had spread like a contagion, especially through the western counties; and the vast numbers of fishermen whose calling had become profitless had to seek some new employment. Though their leaders had left them, the pirate crews remained at their old trade; and gradually it came about that, as the modern gentleman keeps his yacht, so Elizabeth's loyal burghers, squires, or knights, whose inclination lay that way, kept their ambiguous cruisers, and levied war on their own account when the Government lagged behind its duty.

A fast Flemish trader has sailed from Antwerp to Cadiz; something happens to her on the way, and she never reaches her destination. At midnight carts and horses run down to the sea and over the sands at Lowestoft; the black hull and spars of a vessel are seen outside the breakers, dimly riding in the gloom; and a boat shoots through the surf loaded to the gunwale. The bales and tubs are swiftly shot into the carts; the horses drag back their loads, which before daybreak are safe in the cellars of some quiet manor-house; the boat sweeps off; the sails drop from the mysterious vessel's yards, and she glides away into the darkness to look for a fresh victim.¹

¹ Piracy at Lowestoft, April, 1561: *Domestic MSS. Eliz.*, Vol. XVI.

Another rich trader has run the gauntlet of the Channel; she is off the Land's End, and believes her danger is past. A low black lugger slips out from among the rocks, runs alongside, and grapples her bulwarks; the buccaneers swarm upon her decks — English, French — “twenty wild kerns with long skeens and targets,” “very desperate and unruly persons without any kind of mercy;”¹ the ship is sent to Kinsale or Berehaven, or to the bottom of the sea, as she sails fast or ill; the crew, if they escape murder, are thrust on shore at the nearest point of the coast of France.²

The rovers were already venturing into lower latitudes in search of richer prizes. In May, 1563, a galleon was waylaid and plundered at Cape St. Vincent by two small evil-looking vessels, recognized as English by the flights of arrows which drove the Spaniards from the decks;³ while again the Spanish ships of war provoked a repetition of such outrages by their clumsy and awkward reprisals.

About the same time the Indian fleet coming into the Azores found five brigs from Bristol and Barnstable loading with wood. The Englishmen were getting under weigh as the Spanish Admiral, Pedro Melendez, entered the harbour. They neglected to salute, and in half insolence carried the St. George's cross at the main. Melendez instantly gave chase. “Down with

¹ Piracy at the Land's End: *Domestic MSS. Eliz.*, Vol. XL.

² Illustrating these scenes, we find a petition to the Crown in 1563 from the mayor and bailiff of Cork for artillery and powder, “their harbour being so beset with pirates, rovers, and other malefactors, whom they had no strength to beat off.” — *Irish MSS. Rolls House*.

³ The mariners say plainly that they were Englishmen, for that they shot so many arrows that they were not able to look out.” — Hugh Tipton to Sir T. Chaloner, June 1, 1563: *Spanish MSS. Rolls House*.

English
outrages
and Spanish
reprisals.

your flags, ye English dogs! ye thieves and pirates!" he shouted, as he ran into the midst of them, firing right and left. The crews were thrown into irons; the ships and cargoes were taken into Cadiz and confiscated. The English ambassador appealed to Philip; the case was inquired into, and the innocent character of the vessels was perfectly established. But when the owners applied to have their property restored to them, Melendez had made it over to the Inquisition; the Inquisition had sold it; and the crews were at last glad to depart with their empty vessels, having suffered nothing worse than six months' imprisonment on bread and water in the gaol at Seville.¹

The Inquisition had the management of the Spanish harbours, and the Englishman was to be considered fortunate who extricated himself alive from their hands. Though the English rovers were often common plunderers, yet there was a noble spirit at work at the bottom of their proceedings, which raised many of them into the wild ministers of a righteous revenge.

In August 1561 Thomas Nicholls, an English merchant resident in the Canaries, wrote thus to Elizabeth's ambassador at the court of Philip the Second:—

"Please your lordship to consider that I was taken prisoner by them of the Inquisition about twenty months past, and put into a little dark house about two paces long, laden with irons, without sight of sun or moon all the said time of twenty months.

"When I was arraigned they laid to my charge

¹ *Spanish MSS. Rolls House.*

*Complaint
of Thomas
Nicholls.*

that I should say our mass to be as good or better than theirs; also that I went not to mass; also that I should say I had rather give my money to the poor than to buy bulls of Rome with it: with other paltry inventions. I answered, proving the allegations untrue with many witnesses. Then they put me again in prison for a certain space, and alleged anew against me six or seven articles against our Queen's grace, saying her Majesty was enemy to the faith, and her Grace was preached to be the antichrist, and that her Grace did maintain "circumcision" and the Jewish law; and also a friar shook off the dust of his shoes against her and the city of London, with such abominable and untrue sayings. Then stood I to the defence of the Queen's Majesty's cause, proving the infamies to be most untrue. Then was I put in Little Ease again till the end of twenty months finished, protesting mine innocent blood against the judge to be demanded before Christ."¹

In the year 1563 the following petition was addressed to the Lords of Elizabeth's Council:—

"In most lamentable wise showeth unto your honours your humble orator Dorothy Seeley, of the city of Bristol, wife to Thomas Seeley, of the Queen's Majesty's guard, that where her said husband upon most vile, slanderous, spiteful, malicious, and most villanous words spoken against the Queen's Majesty's own person by a certain subject of the King of Spain—here not to be uttered—not being able to suffer the same did flee upon the same slanderous person and gave him a blow—so it is, most honourable

Petition of
Dorothy
Seeley.

¹ *Spanish MSS. Rolls House.*

Lords, that hereupon my said husband, no other offence in respect of their religion then committed, was secretly accused to the Inquisition of the Holy House, and so committed to most vile prison, and there hath remained now three whole years in miserable state with cruel torments. For redress whereof, and for the Queen's Majesty's letter to the King of Spain, your said suppliant was heretofore a humble suitor to the Queen's Majesty at Bristol in that progress; and her Majesty then promised to write and see redress. But whether her Majesty did by letter or by ambassadors after sent into Spain deal with the said King for redress I know not; but certain it is that my said husband, with divers others the Queen's subjects, remain yet in prison, without hope, without your honours' help to be delivered.¹ In tender consideration whereof and of the daily common tormenting of the Queen's Majesty's subjects, it may please your honours to grant your favourable earnest letters herein to the King of Spain — or rather to permit and suffer the friends of such her Majesty's subjects as be there imprisoned, afflicted, and tormented against all reason, to make out certain ships to the sea at their own proper charges, and to take such Inquisitors or other such Papistical subjects to the King of Spain as they can take by sea or land, and them to retain in prison in England with such torments and diet as her Majesty's subjects be kept with in Spain; and that it may please the Queen's Majesty withal, upon complaint to be made

¹ In the list of captains who accompanied Drake to the West Indies in his famous voyage of 1585-86, I find the name of Thomas Seeley in command of the "Minion." Perhaps it was the same man. It is more likely, however, that the husband of Dorothy Seeley was one of the many hundred English sailors who rotted away in the dungeons of the Inquisition, or were burnt to please the rabble of Valladolid, and that Drake's companion was a son bred up by his mother in deadly hatred of the Spanish race.

thereupon by the King of Spain or his subjects, to make such like answer as the King of Spain now maketh to her Majesty or her ambassador suing for her subjects imprisoned by force of the Inquisition.

“Or that it may please her Majesty to grant unto the Archbishop of Canterbury and other bishops, the like commission in all points for foreign Papists as the Inquisitors have in Spain for the Protestants, that thereby they may be forced not to trouble her subjects repairing to Spain, or that there may be hereupon an interchange of delivery of prisoners — of Protestants for the Papists; that the Queen’s Majesty’s subjects may be assured hereby that they have a Prince with such honourable Council that cannot nor will not longer endure such spoils and torments of her natural subjects, and such daily pitiful complaints hereabout; and that the Spaniard have not cause by the Queen’s Majesty’s long sufferance to triumph, or to think that this noble realm dare not seek the revenge of such importable wrongs daily done to this realm by daily spoiling her Majesty of the lives and goods of her good subjects; and consequently spoiling the realm of great force and strength. And your poor supplicant, with many others the Queen’s Majesty’s subjects, shall daily pray for your honours in health and felicity long to continue.”¹

Either as the afterthought of the writer, or as the comment of some person in authority, the following singular note was appended to Dorothy Seeley’s petition: —

“Long peace such as it is, by force of the Spanish Inquisition becometh to England more hurtful than open war. It is the secret and determined policy of

¹ Petition of Dorothy Seeley, 1563: *Spanish MSS. Rolls House*.

Spain to destroy the English fleet and pilots, masters and sailors, by means of the Inquisition. The Spanish King pretends that he dare not offend the Holy House, while it is said in England, we may not proclaim war against Spain for the revenge of a few, forgetting that a good war might end all these mischiefs. Not long since the Spanish Inquisition executed sixty persons of St. Malo in France, notwithstanding entreaty to the King of Spain to stay them. Whereupon the Frenchmen armed and manned forth their pinnaces, and lay for the Spaniards, and took a hundred and beheaded them, sending the Spanish ships to the shore with the heads, leaving in each ship but one only man to render the cause of the revenge; since which time the Spanish Inquisition has never meddled with those of St. Malo."¹

The theology of English sailors was not usually of a very rigid character. Out of seventy-one of Sir John Hawkins's men who were taken by the Spaniards in 1567, three only held out against rack and scourge with sufficient firmness to earn martyrdom; yet on the 10th of January, 1563, Sir William Cecil stated that in the one year then last past, twenty-six English subjects had been burnt to death in different parts of Spain.²

Twenty-six
Englishmen
burnt in
Spain.

But the stake was but one of many forms of judicial murder. The following story indicates with some detail both the careless audacity of the English and the treatment to which they were exposed: During the

¹ Petition of Dorothy Seeley, 1563: *Spanish MSS. Rolls House.*

² At the beginning of 1563, foreigners residing in London were forbidden to hear mass in their private houses. The Bishop of Aquila remonstrated, and Cecil answered "Que en España han quemado este año viente y seis Ingleses." — De Quadra to Philip, January, 1563: *MS. Simancas.*

war between England and France, on the 15th of November, 1563, a fleet of eight English merchantmen, homeward bound from the Levant, were lying in the harbour of Gibraltar, when a French privateer full of men and heavily armed, came in and anchored within speaking distance of them. The sailors on both sides were amusing themselves with exchanging the usual discourtesies in word and gesture, when the vicar of the Holy Office, with a boatload of priests came off to the Frenchman; and whether it was that the presence of their natural foe excited the English, or that they did not know what those black figures were, and intended merely to make a prize of an enemy's vessel, three or four of the ships slipped their cables, opened fire, and attempted to run the Frenchman down.

The Spaniards, indignant at the breach of the peace of the harbour, and the insult to the Inquisition, began to fire from the castle; the holy men fled terrified; a party of English who were on shore were arrested; and the alcalde sent a body of harbour police to arrest others who were hanging in their boats about the French vessel. The police on coming up were received with a shower of arrows; the officer in command was wounded; and they were carried off as prisoners to the English ships, where they were detained till their comrades on shore were restored.

The next morning a second effort to seize or sink the Frenchman was prevented by the guns of the fortress. The English had given up the game and were sailing out of the bay, when Alvarez de Vasar happened to come round with a strong force from Cadiz. The ships, after a fruitless attempt at flight, were seized and confiscated; the ensigns were torn down, and

trailed reversed over the Spanish admiral's stern, and the captains and men, two hundred and forty in all, were condemned as galley slaves.¹ They forwarded a memorial to Chaloner at Madrid, telling their own story, and praying him to intercede for them.¹

"Ye served some angry saint," Chaloner wrote in answer, "so unadvisedly to take such an enterprise in hand in these parts where our nation findeth so short courtesy; and ye played the part of wavering inconstant heads, having once begun a matter to suffer yourselves so vilely to be taken, which if ye had held together I think ye needed not. Most of all I accuse the wouted fault of all merchants of our nation who go about every man to shift for himself, and care not for their fellows so they make sure work for themselves."²

"Although the treatment of our people," the ambassador wrote in relating the matter to Elizabeth, "has been most cruel and rigorous, yet I must say that a great part thereof has proceeded of the counter-dealing of our adventurers, or rather pirates, during these wars, having spoiled and misused the King's subjects very much. These men would not have remained by the heels had not other English adventurers by force broken the jurisdiction of this King's ports, and taken Frenchmen out of their havens; so at last when they chanced to catch any such in their gripe, they determined to make them an example for the rest."³

¹ Hugh Tipton to Sir Thomas Chaloner, December 8, 1563: *Spanish MSS.*

² Sir T. Chaloner to the merchants and mariners taken at Gibraltar, March 3, 1564: *Spanish MSS. Rolls House.*

³ Chaloner to the Queen, June 18, 1564: *MS. Ibid.*

An example they did make of them, or rather of their own wilful cruelty. England and Spain were nominally at peace; and the fault of the eight ships in those lawless times had a thousand precedents to bespeak lenient punishment. The ambassador interceded, entreated, explained; Philip and Alva listened with grave courtesy; and a commission was appointed to examine into the circumstances at Gibraltar. But the investigation was studiously deliberate, while the treatment of the prisoners was as studiously cruel. Nine months after the capture there were but eighty survivors out of the two hundred and forty; the rest had died of cold, hunger, and hard labour. Then at last, after humiliating apologies from Chaloner, with excuses founded "on the barbarous nature of sailors, occasioned by their lives on so barbarous an element as the sea," the famished wretches that were left alive were allowed to return to England.¹

The King of Spain had been already warned of the danger of provoking the spirit of English sailors. "Our mariners," said Sir Thomas Chamberlain to him on his first return from the Netherlands, "have no want of stomach to remember a wrong offered them, which if they shall hereafter seek to revenge with recompensing one wrong with another when the matter should least be thought of, the Queen of England must be held excused."² As the scene at Gibraltar was

¹ "Se debe considerar la poca discrecion que ordinariamente suelen tener hombres marineros, los quales por la mas parte platicando con un elemento tan barbaro como es la Mar, suelen á ser tan bien de costumbres barbaros y inquietos, no guardando aquellos respetos que suelen tener otros hombres nas politicos." — Chaloner to Philip, October, 1564: *Spanish MSS. Rolls House*.

² Chamberlain to Elizabeth, November 15, 1561: *MS. Ibid.*

Ill-usage
of English
prisoners in
Spain.

but one of many like it; as the cruel treatment of the crews was but a specimen of the manner in which the Holy Office thought proper to deal with Englishmen in every port in Spain, so is the following illustration of Chamberlain's warning to Philip but a specimen also of the deadly hate which was growing between the rivals for the sovereignty of the ocean.

The sons of Lord Cobham, of Cowling Castle, who had first distinguished themselves in Wyatt's rebellion, had grown up after the type of their boyhood, irregular, lawless Protestants; and one of them, Thomas Cobham, was at this time roving the seas, half pirate, half knight-errant of the Reformation, doing battle on his own account with the enemies of the truth, wherever the service to God was likely to be repaid with plunder. He was one of a thousand whom Elizabeth was forced for decency's sake to condemn and disclaim in proclamations, and whom she was as powerless as she was probably unwilling to interfere with in practice. What Cobham was, and what his kind were, may be seen in the story about to be told.

A Spanish ship was freighted in Flanders for Bilbao; the cargo was valued at 80,000 ducats, and there were on board also forty prisoners, condemned, as the Spanish accounts say, "for heavy offences worthy of chastisement,"¹ who were going to Spain to serve in the galleys. Young Cobham, cruising in the Channel, caught sight of the vessel, chased her down into the Bay of Biscay, fired into her, killed her captain's brother and a number of men, and then boarding when all resistance had ceased, sewed up the captain himself and the survivors of the crew in their own sails and flung them overboard. The fate of the

Exploit of
Thomas
Cobham.

¹ "Por graves delitos dignos de punición y castigo."

prisoners is not related ; it seems they perished with the rest. The ship was scuttled ; and Cobham made off with booty, which the English themselves admitted to be worth 50,000 ducats, to his pirate's nest in the south of Ireland. Eighteen drowned bodies, with the mainsail for their winding-sheet, were washed up upon the Spanish shores — "cruelty without example, of which but to hear was enough to break the heart."¹

English hearts in like manner had been broken with the news of brothers, sons, or husbands wasting to skeletons in the Cadiz dungeons, or burning to ashes in the Plaza of Valladolid. But this fierce deed of young Cobham was no dream of Spanish slander : the English factor at Bilbao was obliged to reply to Chaloner's eager inquiries that the story in its essential features was true, and he added another instance of English audacity. A Spanish vessel had been cut out of the harbour at Santander by an Anglo-Irish pirate, and carried off to sea. The captain, more merciful than Cobham, saved the crew alive, kept them prisoners, and was driven into another Spanish port for shelter, having them at the time confined under his hatches. They were discovered ; the pirates were seized and died — it is needless to inquire how ; but so it came about that "what with losing their goods, and divers slain having no war, and again for religion, the Spaniards thought that for the hurt they could do to an Englishman they got heaven by it."²

Cobham was tried for piracy the next year at the

¹ "Tomáron á todos los que dentro iban, y los cosiéron en las velas, y los echáron á la mar, y en una de las velas se habían hallado 18 hombres ahogados en la costa de España. Crueldad nunca vista, y que en solo oyrlo quiebra el corazon." — Louis Romano to Cardinal Granvelle, February 20, 1564: *MS. Simancas*.

² Cureton to Chaloner, March 14, 1564: *Spanish MSS. Rolls House*.

indignant requisition of Spain. He refused to plead to his indictment, and the dreadful sentence was passed upon him of the *peine forte et dure*.¹ His relations, De Silva said, strained their influence to prevent it from being carried into effect ; and it seems that either they succeeded or that Cobham himself yielded to the terror, and consented to answer. At all events he escaped the death which he deserved, and was soon again abroad upon the seas.

When the Governments of Spain and England were tried alternately by outrages such as these, the chief matter of surprise is that peace should have been preserved so long. The instincts of the two nations outran the action of their sovereigns ; and while Elizabeth was trusting to the traditions of the house of Burgundy, and Philip was expecting vainly that danger would compel Elizabeth to change her policy, their subjects encountered each other in every sea where the rival flags were floating, with the passions of instinctive hate. The impulse given to the English privateers on the occupation of Havre and the breaking out of the war with France, almost brought matters to a crisis.

While Philip was openly assisting the Duke of Guise, and Condé was still the ally of England, letters of marque were issued in the joint names of the Huguenot Prince and the Earl of Warwick. Vessels

¹ "The English judgment of penance for standing mute was as follows : that the prisoner be remanded to the prison from whence he came and put into a low dark chamber, and there be laid on his back on the bare floor naked ; that there be placed upon his body as great a weight of iron as he could bear, and more ; that he have no sustenance save only on the first day three morsels of the worst bread, and on the second day three draughts of standing water that should be nearest to the prison door ; and in this situation this should be alternately his daily diet till he died, or, as antiently the judgment ran, till he answered." — Blackstone's *Commentaries*, book iv. chap. 25.

manned by mixed crews of French and English, were sent out to prey on Spaniards, Portuguese, and all other "Papists" with whom they might encounter; and although their commissions were not formally recognized by Elizabeth, yet the officers of the English ports were ordered to supply them privately with food, arms, stores, and anything which the service might require. In December, 1562, one of these irregular rovers, commanded by Jacques le Clerc, called by the Spaniards Pié de Pálo,¹ sailed out of Havre, captured a Portuguese vessel worth 40,000 ducats, then a Biscayan laden with wool and iron, and afterwards chased another Spanish ship into Falmouth, where they fired into her and drove her ashore. The captain of the Spaniard appealed for protection to the Governor of Pendennis; the Governor replied that the privateer was properly commissioned, and that without special orders from the Queen he could not interfere: ² Pié de Pálo took possession of him as a prize, and then lying close under the shelter of Pendennis waited for further good fortune. Being midwinter, and the weather being as usual unsettled, five Portuguese ships a few days later were driven in for shelter. Finding the neighbourhood into which

Letters of
marque to
prey on
Papists.

¹ Timber leg.

² "Le respondió que si la Reyna no se le mandaba, que el no le podia hacer, por quanto el Pié de Pálo le habia monstrado un patente firmado del Principe de Condé y del Conde de Warwick General de los Ingleses en Havre de Grace, la cual contenia una comision de poder prender todos los navios y gente de Españoles, Portugueses, Bretones, y otros cuales quiera Papistas que encontrase, encargando á los ministros y oficiales de la Reyna de Inglatierra le favoreciesen ayndasen y vituallasen para su armada de todo lo necesario," &c. — *Relucion de Nicolas de Landa Verde*, January 20, 1563: *M.S. Simancas*. Landa Verde was the English captain.

A letter of De Quadra to Philip at the beginning of the month states that similar commissions were generally issued. — *De Quadra to Philip*, January 10: *M.S. Ibid.*

they had fallen, they attempted to escape to sea again; but Pié de Pálo dashed after them, and two out of the five he clutched and brought back as prizes.¹

Elizabeth herself at the same time, catching at the readiest and cheapest means to "annoy the French," had let loose the English privateers ^{The privateers.} under the usual licence from the Crown. Their commissions of course empowered them only to make war upon the acknowledged enemy; but they were not particular. Captain Sorrey, Pié de Pálo's consort, was blockading a fleet of rich Biscayans in Plymouth, and the Crown privateers were unwilling to be restricted to less lucrative game. If Sir Thomas Chaloner was rightly informed four hundred of these lawless adventurers were sweeping the Channel in the summer of 1563.² In a few months they had taken six or seven hundred French prizes; but the time-honoured dispute on the nature of munitions of war, and the liability of neutral ships engaged in an enemy's carrying trade, made an excuse for seizing Flemings and Spaniards; and the scenes which followed in the Channel and out of it were such as it would be hard to credit, were they not in large measure confessed and regretted in the English State Papers.

A list, with notes in Cecil's hand, of "depredations committed at sea during the war on the sub- ^{Plunder of Spanish subjects.} jects of Philip," contains sixty-one cases of

¹ "Dice que saliendo del puerto de Falmouth cinco navios Portugueses juntas vió que salió Pié de Pálo tras ellos, y tornó dos naos de las dichas cinco, y las otras se salváron á la vela; loquel todo dice en cargo de su consciencia ser verdad. — *Relacion de Nicolas de Landa Verde: MS. Simancas.*

² Of all historical statements those involving numbers must be received with greatest caution. Chaloner wrote from the official statement sent in at Madrid

Chaloner to the Queen, June 11, 1564: *Spanish MSS. Rolls House.*

piracy,¹ of which the following are illustrative examples: —

The “Maria,” from St. Sebastian, with a cargo of saffron, valued at 4000 ducats, was taken by Captain Sorrey and brought in as a prize to the Isle of Wight.

The “Crow,” from Zealand, was robbed of twenty-three last of herring by boats from Foy and Plymouth.

The “Flying Spirit,” from Andalusia, with a rich cargo of cochineal, was plundered by Martin Frobisher.

The “Tiger,” from Andalusia to Antwerp, with cochineal, silk, wool, gold, silver, pearls, and precious stones, was taken by Captain Corbet and Captain Hewet.

Such a stormy petrel as Stukely of course was busy at such a time. Stukely, in June, 1563, took a Zealand ship called the “Holy Trinity,” with 3000*l.* worth of linen and tapestry; and then joining a small fleet of west countrymen, fourteen sail in all, he lay off Ushant, watching professedly for the wine fleet from Bourdeaux, but picking up gratefully whatever the gods might send. No less a person than the Mayor of Dover himself was the owner of one of these seahawks.² Wretched Spaniards flying from their talons were dashed upon the rocks and perished. If a Fleming was caught by mistake, it was an easy thing with an end of loose rope and a tourniquet to squeeze out a confession that made him a lawful prize.

The baser order of marauders were not slow to imitate their betters, and the Thames was no safer than the Channel. Much of the richest merchandize which reached London was imported

Condition of
the Channel
and the
Thames.

¹ *Flanders MSS. Rolls House.* The Paper is dated May 27, 1565.

² *Ibid.*

in coasters from Antwerp, and the water thieves which hung about the mouth of the river made a handsome harvest.

"Bartholomew Panselfen, mariner of Antwerp, age twenty-four years or thereabouts,¹ deposed and declared on oath that about Christmas last past he was plying to London in company with other vessels, and that coming to Margate Roads he found there eight or nine English merchant ships lying at anchor. The said Bartholomew passing them by upon his course, the sailors in the said ships did cry out to him — "Heave to, heave to, filz du putain Flámeng!" — of the which when he took no heed but pursued his way they did shoot their cannon at him, cutting the rigging and striking the hull of deponent's vessel; and moreover did fire upon him flights of innumerable arrows. He nevertheless keeping all sail, they could not overtake him, and for that time he escaped from pillage."

"Being asked whether at any other time he had been so attacked, the said Bartholomew declared that about a twelvemonth passed, certain Englishmen boarded his ship, and took from him two pieces of artillery, with powder, shot, the money which his passengers had on their persons, with their bread, cheese, and meat."

"Adrian Peterson, mariner of Antwerp, deposed that being on his way to London in the January of that year, an hour after sunset, he was boarded off Margate by eight or ten armed men in masks whom by their voices he knew to be Englishmen. He himself fled from them into the hold, where he lay con-

¹ This and the following depositions are taken from a report of a commission appointed in 1565 by the Regent of the Low Countries, to inquire into these outrages. — *Flanders MSS. Rolls House.*

ceased; but they beat his servant, and took from the ship more than two hundred pounds' worth of goods."

"Bartholomew Cornelius deposed that for the whole year past he has never made the voyage to England without suffering some outrage, being robbed of victuals, shirt, coat, and all the goods he has had on board. Even in the river at Greenwich, under the very windows of the palace, and the very eyes of the Queen, he had been fired into four or five times, and his sails shot through."

Among the worst sufferers from these meaner piracies were the poor Dutch fishermen. The English who had ceased to fish for themselves, resented the intrusion of foreigners into their home waters. They robbed their boats of the fish which they had taken; they took away their sails, masts and cordage, nets, lines, food, beds, cushions, money; they even stripped the men themselves of their clothes, and left them naked and destitute on the water. As one specimen of a class of outrages which were frightfully numerous —

"Francis Bertram, of Dunkirk, said and deposed that he had been herring fishing in the north of the Channel. He had had great success and was going home, when an English vessel came down upon him, with forty armed men — took from him ten last of herrings, stripped his boat bare — to the very ropes and anchor — and sailed away, leaving him to perish of hunger. The hull of the vessel when he was attacked by her was painted white and yellow; three days later she was seen elsewhere painted black, and the crew with blacked faces after the manner of Ethiopians."

¹ Petition of the Burgomasters of Newport and Dunkirk, September 24, 1665: *Flanders MSS. Rolls House.*

Nor were these depredations confined to privateers or pirates. On the 19th of December, 1563, Margaret of Parma complained to Elizabeth of the daily thefts and robberies of the subjects of the King of Spain committed on the coast of England — not only by persons unknown, but by ships belonging to the Queen's own navy.

“One of your subjects named Thomas Cotton,” said the Regent, “commanding your ship the ^{The English} ‘Phoenix,’ lately seized a vessel off Boulogne, ^{men-of-war} belonging to a merchant of Antwerp, and sent her with a foreign crew into England. The ‘Phoenix’ came afterwards into Flushing, and the owner of the vessel sent a water-bailiff to arrest Captain Cotton, and make him restore his capture or else pay for the injury. Captain Cotton, however, refused to submit to our laws. He spoke insolently of the King’s Majesty our Sovereign, resisted the arrest, and sailed away in contempt. Madam, these insolences, these spoils and larcenies of the King’s subjects cannot continue thus without redress. It is provided in the treaties of intercourse between us, that the perpetrators of violent acts shall be arrested and kept in ward till they have made satisfaction, and shall be punished according to their demerits. I beseech you, Madam, to take order in these matters, and inflict some signal chastisement as an example to all other evil doers. I require that the losses of our merchants be made good — being as they are molested and troubled on so many sides by the subjects of your Majesty. These, Madam, are things that can no longer be endured.”¹

¹ Margaret of Parma to Elizabeth, December 19, 1563: *Flanders MSS. Rolls House.*

Had Philip been satisfied with the state of affairs in France he would probably have now made common cause with Catherine de Medici, declared war against Elizabeth, and proclaimed Mary Stuart Queen of England. But the break up of the Catholic league on the death of the Duke of Guise, the return of Montmorency to power, and his reconciliation with Condé, had reinstated in Catherine's cabinet the old French party which was most jealous of Spain, and was most disposed to temporize with the Protestants. Philip felt his early fears revive that Mary Stuart's allegiance to France might prove stronger than her gratitude to himself, and he hesitated to take a step which might cripple his predominance in Europe. He was uneasy at the increasing disaffection of the United Provinces, which a war with England would inevitably aggravate; and though again and again on the verge of a rupture with his sister-in-law, he drew back at the last moment, feeling "that the apple was not ripe."¹ Determined, however, to check the audacity of the privateers, and those darker cruelties of Cobham and his friends, he issued a sudden order in January, 1564, for

Arrest of
English
ships in
Spain.

the arrest of every English ship in the Spanish harbours, with their crews and owners.

Thirty large vessels were seized; a thousand sailors and merchants were locked up in Spanish prisons, and English traders were excluded by a general order from the ports of the Low Countries. An estimate was made of the collective damage inflicted by the English cruisers, and a bill was presented to Sir Thomas Chaloner for a million and a half of ducats, for which the imprisoned crews would be held as securities.²

¹ Chaloner to Elizabeth, January 22, 1564: *Spanish MSS. Rolls House.*

² Same to same, January 20: *MS. Ibid.*

"Long ago I foretold this," wrote Chaloner, "but I was regarded as a Cassandra. For the present I travail chiefly that our men may be in courteous prison, a great number of whom shall else die of cold and hunger."

With the French war still upon her hands, Elizabeth was obliged to endure the affront and durst not retaliate. With the Catholic party so powerful, a war with Spain, and the contingencies which might arise from it, was too formidable to be encountered. She wrote humbly to Philip, entreating that the innocent should not be made to suffer for the guilty; the wrong, which she admitted might have been done, she attributed to the confusion of the times; she protested that she had herself given neither sanction nor encouragement to her subjects' lawless doings; she would do her utmost to suppress the pirates; and if her merchants and sailors were set at liberty, she would listen to any proposal which Philip might be pleased to make.¹

*Elizabeth
affects
regret.*

As an earnest of the good intentions of the Government, the English Prize Courts made large awards of restitution; and it was proposed that a joint commission should sit at Bruges to examine the items of the Spanish claim.

But Elizabeth saw that she must lose no time in

¹ Elizabeth to Philip, March 17: *Spanish MSS. Rolls House.*

Her subjects themselves were not so submissive. "One insolence," wrote Chaloner, "sundry of the council here have much complained of to me: that in Galicia, upon occasion of certain of our merchants detained by the coregidor of a port town there, the same town was shot at with artillery out of the English ships, and four or five of the townsmen slain and hurt. This they term 'combatir una tierra del Rey; y, Que es estos? y, Como se puede sufrir?' Sure our men have been very outrageous. It was full time the peace took up, or else I ween they would yet have spoken louder." Chaloner to Elizabeth, June 18: *MS. Ibid.*

settling her differences with France. Peace was hastily concluded; she amused Catherine and frightened Philip with the possibility of her accepting the hand of Charles the Ninth; and by the beginning of the summer which followed the close of the war, she was able to take a bolder tone. The trade with England was of vital moment to the Low Countries. The inhibition which the Regent had issued against English vessels had given the carrying trade to the Flemings, and the ships in Spain continuing unreleased, Elizabeth on her part, at the beginning of May, retaliated upon the

The
Flemings
excluded
from Eng-
lish ports.

Duchess of Parma by excluding Flemings from the English ports. The intercourse between the two countries was thus at an end.

The Queen bade Chaloner say to Philip, that "whatever injury might have been done to subjects of Spain, she had more to complain of than he; Spanish ships might have been robbed, but the offenders were but private persons; the banner of England had been trailed in the dirt by public officers of Castile, as if it had been taken in battle from the Turks; English subjects had been seized, imprisoned, flogged, tortured, famished, murdered, and buried like dogs in dung-heaps; she, too, as well as he, would bear these wrongs no longer."¹

To the letter of Margaret of Parma she replied with equal haughtiness.

"In the month of January last," she wrote, "we received intelligence from our ambassador resident in Spain that all manner of our subjects there, with their ships and goods, were laid under arrest, and that our

¹ Memorial presented by Sir T. Chaloner to Philip II., June 4, 1564: *Spanish MSS. Rolls House.*

subjects themselves had been used in such cruel sort by vile imprisonment, torture, and famine, as more extremity could not be showed to the greatest criminal. Nor were there any pretences alleged for this violence, save only that a ship on the way to that country from Flanders was robbed by certain English vessels of war — which, indeed, might be true, as hitherto we know not any certainty thereof; and yet no cause to make such a general arrest and imprisonment of so great a multitude of people; whereof none were nor could be charged with any evil fact, but were proved to have come thither only for merchandize. Wherefore being troubled with the miserable complaints of the wives, children, and friends of our subjects oppressed in Spain, and seeing on the one part you will neither by means of your edict permit our subjects to come thither with their cloths, nor to bring any commodity from thence, and on the other none of our subjects may come into any port of Spain but they are taken, imprisoned, and put in danger of death; we appeal to the judgment of any indifferent person, what we can less do but, until some redress made for these intolerable griefs, to prohibit that there be no such free resort of merchandize from thence, to the enriching only of a few merchants of those countries.”¹

The English prisoners in Spain had suffered frightfully. Out of the two hundred and forty taken at Gibraltar, only eighty, as has been already said, were alive at the end of nine months. The crew of the “*Mary Holway*,” of Plymouth, numbered fifty-two when they went in Janu-

Sufferings
of the
English
prisoners.

¹ Elizabeth to Margaret of Parma, May 7, 1564: *Flanders MSS. Rolls House*.

ary into the castle of St. Sebastian. By the middle of May twenty-four were dead of ill-usage, and the remaining twenty-eight "were like to die."¹ Some notion may be formed from these two instances of the loss of life which had followed on the general arrest. Quite evidently the Spanish and English people wanted but a word from their sovereigns to fly like bull-dogs at each others' throats. But the peace with France and the eclipse of the ultra-Catholic faction at the French court had decided Philip that the time was not yet come; he listened to Chaloner's expostulations with returning moderation;² and Chaloner — though against his own interest, for his residence in Spain was a martyrdom to him, and a war would have restored him to England — advised Elizabeth to postpone her own resentment. The injuries after all had been as great on one side as the other; she would find every just complaint satisfied at last, "but not so much by the lion as by the fox;" and "for the avoiding of trouble in England" he recommended her to allow "the traffic with the Low Countries to be redintegrate."³ He thought that there were symptoms of a

¹ The Lords of the English Council to Chaloner, June 1: *Spanish MSS. Rolls House*.

² Chaloner's description of Philip is interesting, and agrees well with Titian's portraits.

"The King," he said, "heard us very quietly, making few and short but calm answers; which his nature to them that know it is not to be marvelled at, seeing to all ambassadors he useth the like; for as he hath great patience to hear at length and note what is said, receiving quietly what memorials or papers are presented to him, so hardly, for as much as I have hitherto perceived, shall a stranger to his countenance or words gather any great alteration of mind either to anger or rejoicement, but after the fashion of a certain still flood. Nevertheless both his looks and words unto me gave show of a certain manner of extraordinary contentation." — Chaloner to Elizabeth, June 11: *MSS. Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* Chaloner's lamentations over his residence at Madrid were piteous. "Spain! rather pain," he wrote to Sir John Mason in 1562.

revival of the old quarrels between France and Spain, when she might look for Philip's help to recover Calais; and by the autumn concessions were made on both sides. De Silva was sent to England to heal all wounds; the English ships and the

Roads, food, lodging, about Madrid itself were scarcely tolerable, and elsewhere "were past bearing." The cost of living was four times greater than in England; and the Duke of Alva was the only person in whom he found "wisdom and courteous usage."

"Think with yourself," he wrote in June, 1564, in the midst of his trouble, "whether this alone is not to a free mind an importable burden; two years and three quarters to bear my cross in Spain; a place and nation misliked of all others save themselves; driven here not only to forbear, but patiently like an ass to lay down nine ears at things of too, too much indignity."

His health failed at last, between the climate, the garlic diet, and his public worries.

"Surely I have had great wrong," he said in a letter to Sir Ambrose Cave; "but it is the old wont of our court never to think upon the training of a new servant till the old be worn to the stump. It is each man's part to serve their prince; but there is a just distributing, if subjects durst plead with kings. I have not much more to hope, having twenty years served four kings, now further from wealth or that staff of age which youth doth travail for, than I was eighteen years ago. Methinks I became a retrograde crab, and yet would gladly be at home with that that yet resteth, to pay my debts and live the rest of my life perhaps contentedly enough."

Of the danger of trusting to Spanish physicians he had frightful evidence. In August this same year, 1564, Philip's Queen (Elizabeth of France) miscarried of twins. Fever followed. They bled her in both arms; they bled her in both feet; and when spasms and paroxysms came on they cupped her, and then gave her up and left her to die. "She was houselled, and the King to comfort her was houselled also for company; and at the moment when Chaloner was writing to England "she was lying abandoned of her physicians at the mercy of God. The palace gates were shut; the lamentations in the court both of men and women very tender and piteous; the chapel was filled with noblemen all praying on their knees for her; and great and unfeigned moans on all parts."

Nature eventually proved too strong even for Spanish doctors. She rallied; and they flew at her once more. "At last by means of a strong purgative of agaricum that made her have twenty-two stools, given at a venture in so desperate a case to purge those gross humours, she was ever since amended."—Letter of Sir Thomas Chaloner: *Spanish MSS. Rolls House*.

Chaloner himself was less fortunate. He was recalled after long entreaty, in 1565; but he died a few weeks after he landed in England.

surviving sailors were released from the clutch of the Inquisition. After a correspondence between Cecil and Egmont the Flanders trade was reopened, and commissioners were appointed to sit at Bruges to hear all complaints and to settle terms of restitution. The letters of marque expired with the war, and "the adventurers" had to look elsewhere to find a theatre for their exploits: some few continued to lurk in the western rivers; the more desperate, inoculated with a taste for lawless life, hung about their old haunts in the Irish creeks — whither Stukely, as was seen in the last chapter, after fitting out an expedition to Florida, found it more attractive to betake himself. Elizabeth consented to open her eyes to proceedings which were bringing a scandal upon her Government, and took measures at last, though of a feeble kind, to root out these pirates' nests.

On the 29th of September, 1564, she wrote to Sir Peter Carew at Dartmouth, that "whereas the coasts of Devonshire and Cornwall, the Land's End, and the Irish seas, were by report much haunted with pirates and rovers," she desired him to fit out an expedition with speed and secrecy to clear the seas of them.¹ She gave him discretionary powers to act in any way that he might think good; "she would allow anything which he might put in execution," and she "would victual his ships out of the public stores." Characteristically, however, she would give him no money; Sir Peter and his men might pay themselves out of whatever booty they could take; and the temptation of plunder would perhaps rouse them into an energy which might not otherwise be excessively vigorous.

¹ Elizabeth to Sir Peter Carew, September 29, 1564: *Domestic MSS. Eliz.*, Vol. XXXIV.

Carew, on these terms, undertook the service ; he armed three vessels, collected something under three hundred men from among the disbanded privateers, and in the spring of 1565 sent them out upon their cruise.

The result may be told in the words of his own report to the Council.

“ Running along the west coast of England and finding nothing there meet for their purpose, they sailed over into Ireland, where they found a hulk of Stukely’s in Cork Haven, which they brought away, himself being, before they arrived, on shore with the Lord Barrymore, having left certain of his men in the hulk to guard her, who being shot unto rowed unto the shore in their long-boat. From thence they went to Berehaven, where before their coming Haydon, Lysingham, and Corbet, with other pirates their accomplices, had withdrawn themselves into a castle belonging to O’Sullivan Bere, and also their vessels near the same, planting their ordnance on the shore and also in the castle, so as our men were not able to annoy them. They mustered in sight of our men five hundred galloglasse and kernes besides their own soldiers, which were, as they could judge, a hundred and sixty at the least. Although our men had killed one of their captains with shot, which as I am informed was Lysingham, yet their own ships being shot through, nor seeing otherwise how to prevail further, considering what force Haydon was, having married with O’Sullivan’s sister, who had committed the charge of the castle unto his custody, by which means he was like daily to be succoured by those kernes, I thought best, for fear of sinking, after sundry

Unsuccessful
attempts
against the
pirates in
Ireland.

shots between them both — which continued from ten o'clock in the morning to four o'clock in the afternoon — to depart, which service I for my part am sorry had no better success.”¹

The Queen's attempt to get the work done cheap was not successful, especially as Carew's men, having failed to obtain plunder, clamoured to be paid. The pirates gathered fresh courage from the feebleness with which they had been assailed; and in the face of the escape of Cobham, and the evident unwillingness of the Government to use severity on the rare occasions when a pirate was taken prisoner, it is plain that Elizabeth's Government was not as yet awake to the necessity of resolute dealing in the matter. In the beginning of August, 1565, De Silva laid before Cecil a fresh list of outrages upon Spanish commerce. He demanded “that the more noted pirates should be diligently inquired after,” and that when taken and convicted “they should not be pardoned;” while cautiously but firmly he insisted “that the Queen's officers in the western harbours should no longer allow them to take in stores and run in and out at their pleasure;” that “their receivers and comforters should be punished to the example of others;” and that rewards should be offered for the discovery and conviction of the persons most engaged in these enterprises.²

These requests were certainly not excessive. It is remarkable that the last was distinctly refused on the plea that to assist justice with the offer of rewards was

¹ Sir Peter Carew to the Council, April 17, 1565: *Domestic MSS. Eliz.* Vol. XXXVI.

² De Silva to Cecil, August 5: *Spanish MSS. Rolls House.*

contrary to English usage.¹ Additional salaries, however, were given to the Admiralty judges to quicken their movements; Queen's ships were sent to sea to prosecute the search more vigorously; and on the 12th of August "the Council, taking into consideration a complaint of the Spanish ambassador, of spoils done upon Spanish subjects upon the seas," directed inquiry to be made all along the English coast, with the immediate trial of all persons charged with piracy, and their punishment on conviction; "her Majesty being resolved to show to the world that she intended to deal honestly in that matter."²

Nevertheless the energy of the Council was still unequal to their professions, and there was still large deficiency either of power or of will. In October a vessel going from Flanders to Spain "with tapestry, household stuff, clocks," and other curiosities, for Philip himself, was intercepted and plun- ^{Fresh} _{outrages.} dered;³ and this final audacity seems really to have created an alarm. Harbour commissioners at last were actually appointed; codes of harbour rules were drawn out for the detection and detention of ambiguous vessels; and as an evidence that the Government were in earnest they struck faintly at the root of the disease. The gentlemen on the coast "were the chief maintainers of pirates;" and Sir William Godolphin of Scilly and the Killigrews of Pendennis were threatened with prosecution.⁴

Yet still no one was hanged. Pirates were taken, and somehow or other were soon abroad again at their

¹ "Haud hoc nostræ reipublicæ convenit, sed salaria a Regiâ nova dantur judicibus in hunc usum."—Cecil to De Silva, *Spanish MSS. Rolls House*.

² *Council Register, August, 12, 1565.*

³ Phayres to Cecil, October 12: *Spanish MSS.*

⁴ *Council Register, November, 1565.*

old trade. Godolphin and Killigrew suffered nothing worse than a short-lived alarm.

The commission met at Bruges after long delay in the beginning of the following year. Eng-
The Con-
ference at
Bruges. land was represented by Haddon, Sir A. Montague, and Doctor Wotton. The Spanish Government had given a proof of their desire to settle all differences quietly by appointing to meet them Count Montigny and Count Egmont — Montigny, murdered afterwards by Philip with such ingenious refinement at Simancas, and Egmont the best friend that Elizabeth had in the King of Spain's dominions.

Nevertheless, even with these two the problem was almost beyond solution. The proceedings had scarcely opened when another and most audacious act of piracy was committed at the mouth of the Thames. The Flemish commissioners said they did not question the good will of the Queen of England, but her conduct was very strange. They challenged Wotton to name a single pirate who had yet been executed; and Wotton, with all his eagerness to defend Elizabeth, confessed himself unable to mention one. They said frankly that if the Queen's Government did not see to the safety of their own seas, "another way must be taken" which would lead to war.

"For our part," wrote Wotton in his report to Cecil, "we must needs think our fortune very hard; our men in their offences are so far out of all order, and the cases so lamentable if the account be true, that we can scant tell how to open our mouths for any reasonable satisfaction therein."¹

Elizabeth could but answer that she had done her best, and either the story was exaggerated or "else it

¹ Wotton to Cecil, May 13, 1566: *Flanders MSS.*

was a matter impossible to be reformed." She said, however, that she had sent special persons to every port in England with extraordinary powers, from whose exertions an effect might be looked for.¹ Philip fortunately was in a most unwarlike humour, and her excuses were accepted for more than they were worth. But the conference was suspended till her good intentions had been carried into acts; and the commissioners separated on the 17th of June, still leaving all outstanding claims unsettled.

English Protestants, it was too evident, regarded the property of Papists as lawful prize wherever they could lay hands on it; and Protestantism, stimulated by these inducements to conversion, was especially strong in the sea-port towns. Exasperated by the murder of their comrades in the prisons of the Inquisition, the sailors and merchants looked on the robbery of Spaniards as at once the most lucrative and devout of occupations; and Elizabeth's Government was unable to cope with a tendency so deeply rooted. The destinies, beneficent or evil, however, which watched over the fortunes of the nation, provided a more distant field of lawless enterprise, which gradually attracted the more daring spirits to itself; and while it removed the struggle with Spain into a larger sphere, postponed for a few years longer the inevitable collision, and left the Channel in peace.

It has been seen how in the early days of the Guinea trade the English had half in play coquetted with the capture of negroes; how they stretched out their hands towards the forbidden fruit, touched it, clutched at it and let it go; the

The negro trade.

¹ Elizabeth to the Commissioners at Bruges, June 1, 1566. Cecil's hand: *Flanders MSS.*

feeble scruples were giving way before familiarity with the temptation.

The European voyagers, when they first visited the coasts of Western Africa, found there for the most part a quiet, peaceable and contented people, basking in the sunshine in harmless idleness, unprovoked to make war upon one another because they had nothing to desire, and receiving strangers with the unsuspecting trustfulness which is observed in the birds and animals of new countries when for the first time they come in contact with man. Remorse for the desolation created by the first conquerors of the New World among the Indians of Mexico and the isles, had tempted the nobler Spaniards into a belief that in this innocent and docile people might be found servants, who, if kindly treated, would labour without repugnance; and thus the remnants of those races whose civilization had astonished their destroyers might be saved from the cruelty of the colouists. The proud and melancholy Indian pined like an eagle in captivity, refused to accept his servitude and died; the more tractable negro would domesticate like the horse or the ass, acquiesce in a life of useful bondage, and receive in return the reward of baptism and the promise of eternity.

Charles the Fifth had watched over the interests of the Indians, as soon as he became awake to their sufferings, with a father's anxiety. Indian slavery in the Spanish dominions was prohibited forever; but that the colonists might not be left without labourers, and those splendid countries relapse into a wilderness, they were allowed to import negroes from Africa, whom as expensive servants it would be their interest to preserve. The Indians had cost them nothing; the Indians had been seized by force, chained in the mines

or lashed into the fields; if millions perished, there were millions more to recruit the gangs. The owner of a negro, whom he had bought and bought dear, would have the same interest in him as in his horse or his cow; he would exact no more work from his slave than the slave could perform without injury to himself, and he would be the means of saving a soul from everlasting perdition.

Nor was the bondage of the negro intended to be perpetual, nor would the great Emperor trust him without reserve to men who had already abused their powers. The law secured to the slave a certain portion of every week when the time was his own; if he was industrious and frugal he could insist upon his freedom as soon as he could produce the price of it; he could become an owner of property on his own account; and evidence remains that in the sixteenth century, under the protecting laws of the mother country, many a negro in the Spanish colonies was a free and prosperous settler who paid his taxes to the Crown.¹

Negro slavery in theory was an invention of philanthropy — like the modern Coolie trade, an unobjectionable and useful substitute for the oppression of races to whom loss of freedom was death; yet with the fatal blot in the design that the consent of the negroes themselves, who were so largely interested in the transaction, was neither sought nor obtained. The original and innocent pretext which confined the purchase to those who had offended against the negro laws, melted swiftly before the increase of the demand; the beads, the scarlet cloaks and ribands, which

¹ I need scarcely more than allude for my authority on this subject to the admirable book of Mr. Helps on the Spanish Conquest of America.

were fluttered in the eyes of the chiefs, were temptations which savage vanity was unable to resist; they sold their own people; they made war on one another to capture prisoners, which had become a valuable booty; and the river mouths and harbours where the Portuguese traders established their factories were envenomed centres from which a moral pestilence crept out among the African races. The European first converted the negro into a savage, and then made use of his brutality as an excuse for plunging him into slavery.

The English at first escaped the dread and detestation which were inspired by the slave dealers; they came as traders to barter for gold dust; they were fired upon whenever they approached the factories, and the natives welcomed as friends the enemies of the Portuguese and Spaniards. But the unfortunate people were themselves the richest part of their merchandize. The Spanish Government, aware perhaps after a time of the effect produced in Africa, and wishing to ensure the good treatment of the slaves by enhancing their value, had begun to set their faces against the slave trade. The Governors of the Spanish-American colonies were instructed to prevent the importation of negroes unless under a license from the home administration, which was dearly bought and charily given. A duty of thirty ducats was laid on the sale of every slave; and thus while the demand for labour increased with the prosperity of the settlements, the price was enhanced, the supply was artificially kept down, and the English traders at the Azores and at Madeira came to understand that license or no license the market of the West Indies would be open to them. If slaves could be brought to their doors the colonists would

eagerly buy them, and with discretion and courage the negro trade might be made a thriving business.

The first venture was made by John Hawkins of Plymouth, so famous afterwards in English naval annals, son of old William Hawkins who had brought over the Brazilian King.

*First slaving
voyage of
John
Hawkins.*

John Hawkins and Thomas Hampton, in October, 1562, fitted out three vessels, the largest a hundred and twenty tons, and sailed with a hundred men for Sierra Leone.¹ After hanging some time about the coast, "partly by the sword and partly by other means," they collected three hundred negroes, and crossed the Atlantic to St. Domingo. Uncertain at first how he might be received, or not caring to avow the purpose of his voyage, Hawkins pretended on his arrival that he had been driven out of his course by stress of weather, that he was in want of food, and was without money to pay his men; he therefore requested permission to sell "certain slaves which he had with him." The opportunity was eagerly welcomed; the Governor, supposing apparently that his orders from home need not be construed too stringently, allowed two thirds of the negroes to be sold; the remaining hundred, as it was uncertain what duty should be demanded on an unlicensed sale, were left as a deposit with the oidores or council of the island. Neither Hawkins nor the Governor anticipated any serious displeasure on the part of Philip. Hawkins invested his profits in a return cargo of hides, half of which he sent in Spanish vessels to Cadiz under the care of his partner, and he returned with the rest to England, as he supposed, "with prosperous success and much gain to himself."

¹ First voyage of Mr. John Hawkins: Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 594.

Prosperous in point of money the voyage undoubtedly was, although the profits proved less than he anticipated. He had brought away with him a testimonial of good behaviour from the authorities at St. Domingo, who would gladly have seen him return on the same errand. The Spanish Government viewed the affair differently. Philip the Second, to whatever crimes he might be driven by religious bigotry, was not inclined to tolerate free trade in negroes, however large the duty which he could exact upon them; and the intrusion of the English into his transatlantic dominions, his experience of them nearer home made him particularly anxious to prohibit. On Hampton's arrival at Cadiz his cargo was confiscated and sold, he himself narrowly escaping the clutches of the Displeasure of Philip. Inquisition; ¹ the negroes left at St. Domingo were forfeited, and Hawkins saw snatched from him a full moiety of his hard-earned prize. He estimated his loss at forty thousand ducats; he cursed, threatened, and implored, with equal unsuccess; fearless of man or devil, he thought at first of going in person to Madrid and of taking Philip by the beard in his own den; but Chaloner, to whom he wrote, told him with some sarcasm "that he would do well not to come thither;" "it was an ill time for obtaining any suit further than the right or justice of the cause would bear;" he advised him "to attempt to obtain a part of the thing to be demanded, by procuring some favourite about the King to ask for the whole as a forfeit confiscate;" he might then perhaps recover some part of his loss by a private arrangement.²

¹ Hugh Tipton to Chaloner, December, 1563: *Spanish MSS. Rolls House.*

² Chaloner to Hawkins, July 6, 1564: *Spanish MSS.*

Neither by this, however, nor by any other means could Hawkins obtain one penny for his lost hides and negroes; and the result of his demands was only the despatch of a peremptory order to the West Indies that no English vessel should be allowed under any pretence to trade there. Foreseeing that when the road had been once opened hundreds would rush into it, Philip said distinctly to the ambassador that if the English persisted in going thither evil would come of it; and so impressed was Chaloner with the feelings of the Spanish Government on the subject, that he entreated Elizabeth earnestly to make her subjects respect their objections.¹

The warning, if Elizabeth had possessed either power or inclination to act upon it, was not unneeded. Traces appear of more than one attempt to follow in Hawkins's track before he himself moved again; and the African tribes being now on their guard, the slave hunters had been received with poisoned arrows, and had found a difficulty in escaping with their lives.²

But Hawkins knew better what he was about; he understood how to catch negroes; he understood how to sell them to Spaniards, whatever Philip might please to say; he would not repeat the single mistake into which he had fallen; and the profits seemed so certain and promised to be so large, that Lord Pembroke and others of the Council were ready to take shares in a second adven-

Second
voyage with
the sanction
of Queen
and Council.

¹ "Our folks must be narrowly looked to, and specially that they enterprize no trade or voyage to the Indies or islands of this king's navigation; which if they do, as already they have intelligence of some that do propose it, surely it will breed occasion of much matter of pick." — Chaloner to Elizabeth, June 18, 1564: *Spanish MSS. Rolls House*.

² See Robert Baker's *Metrical History of Two Voyages to Guinea in 1562 and 1563*, printed by Hakluyt.

ture. Even the Queen herself had no objection to turn a little honest money; and contenting herself with requiring a promise from him that he would do no injury to the Spaniards, she left the rest to his discretion, and placed at his disposal one of the best ships in her service. Cecil alone, ever honourable, ever loathing cruelty and unrighteousness, though pressed to join with the rest, refused, "having no liking for such proceedings."¹

Thus encouraged and supported, Hawkins sailed once more from Plymouth on the 18th of October, 1564, in the "Jesus of Lubeck," a ship of 700 tons, armed to the teeth, his old vessel the "Solomon," enlarged somewhat, perhaps with a more roomy hold, and two small sloops to run up the shallow creeks.

A rival expedition sailed at the same time and for the same purpose from the Thames, under David Carlet, to whom the Queen had also given a ship. Carlet had three vessels, the "Minion," Elizabeth's present, the "John the Baptist," and the "Merlin." The "Merlin" had bad luck; she had the powder on board for the nigger hunt; fire got into the magazine, and she was blown in pieces. Carlet, therefore, for a time attached himself with his two remaining ships to Hawkins, and the six vessels ran south together. Passing Teneriffe on the 29th of November, they touched first at the Cape de Verde Isles, where the natives "being very gentle and loving and more civil than any others," it was proposed to take in a store of them. Either, however, the two commanders could

¹ "El secretario Cecil me ha dicho que á el le ofrecieron quando partió Achines que le admitirian como á los demas; pero que el lo habia rehusado porque no le contentaron semejantes negocios." — De Silva to Philip, November 5, 1565: *MS. Simancas*.

not agree, or Hawkins claimed the lion's share of the spoil; they quarrelled, and the "Minion's" men being jealous gave the islanders to understand what was intended, "so that they did avoid the snares laid for them."

After so unworthy a proceeding the west countryman shook off his companion, and leaving Carlet to go his own way, went down the coast past the Rio Grande, storing his hold as he went along among the islands and rivers. On one occasion he was played a trick by some Portuguese which might have had bad consequences: they offered to guide him to a village where he would find a hundred unprotected women and children, and they betrayed him into ambuscade, when his men, who were scattered in search of plunder, were set upon by two hundred negroes. Seven were killed and seven-and-twenty wounded, and in return for their loss they carried off but ten slaves. "Thus," reported one of the party, "we returned back somewhat discomfited, although the captain in a singular wise carried himself with countenance very cheerful outwardly, although his heart was inwardly broken at the loss of his men."

But this was the single interruption of otherwise unbroken success. Between purchases from the Portuguese and the spoils of his own right arm, Hawkins in a few weeks had swept up about four hundred slaves; his ships were inconveniently crowded, symptoms of fever began to show among the crew, and the shore was no longer safe, "the natives having laid a planto entrap and kill them." "God, however, who worketh all things for the best, would not have it so, and by Him they escaped danger, His name be praised." The captain decided that he had done enough, and

headed away for the West Indies. He was troubled at first with calms; he feared that the water might run short, and that part of his cargo might die, or have to be thrown overboard. "Almighty God, however, who never suffers His elect to perish,"¹ sent a breeze in time, and the Indian islands were reached without the loss of a man. A second venture at St. Domingo was thought dangerous; Hawkins had arranged with the Council before he sailed "not to send any ship or ships to any of those ports of the Indies that were privileged to any person or persons by the King of Spain;"² and precautions had probably been taken to make any further trade at the scene of his first visit impossible. He contented himself with touching there for water, and made as fast as he could for the mainland. His best chance to dispose of his wares was to choose some harbour where the inhibition was unlikely to be known, or where he would be able to force an entry if it was refused; and running on into Barbarotta,³ he anchored close off the town and went on shore.

He at once learnt that the interdict had arrived: in reply to his proposal to trade he was informed that the King of Spain had forbidden the colonists under pain of death⁴ to admit any foreign vessels there or have any dealings with them; and he was entreated to go his way. But the town was weak and Hawkins was strong; he repeated his old story that he was driven in by foul weather, that he had a large crew, and was

¹ *Narrative of the Second Voyage of Mr. John Hawkins*, by one of the party. Printed by Hakluyt.

² *Council Register*, MSS.

³ Called Barbotoata in the English accounts.

⁴ "Su pena de muerte," according to the Spanish account at Simanca. The English story says "upon penalty to forfeit their goods."

in distress for food and money. He showed his commission from Elizabeth — “a confederate and friend of the King of Spain;” and he said that unless he was allowed to trade peaceably, his men would go on land, and might perhaps do some injury.

The inhabitants desired negroes; the menace was an excuse for the Governor to yield: but to save himself from some portion of the blame he insisted that Hawkins should at least pay the thirty ducats customs duty. The English commander, however, had no intention of contributing more than he could help to Philip's treasury. When some valuable time had been wasted in discussion, he cut the knot by landing a hundred men and two pieces of cannon; he put out a proclamation that How
Hawkins
sold his
negroes. seven and a half per cent. was a sufficient tax to be levied on any wares in any harbour, that his necessities were too great to be trifled with, and that unless the people were permitted to deal with him on these terms, he would not answer for the consequences. The Governor allowed himself to be convinced by so effective an argument; the planters in the neighbourhood swallowed their scruples; in a few days half the cargo was happily disposed of, and Hawkins sailed away with the rest, after first exacting from the authorities, as before, a certificate of good behaviour.¹

¹ De Silva said that the exhibition of force had been secretly concerted between Hawkins and the Governor.

“El Capitan respondió que la gente que el traía era mucho, y que no podía el contenerlos, para que no saltasen en tierra y hiciesen daño, si no tuviesen licencia para contratar; y assi vino á platicar en secreto con el Gobernador, y entre ellos se habia concertado que otro dia se echase gente en tierra y començase á querer ir al lugar y hacer daño, y que el saldria, porque no lo hiciese, le dexarian hacer su contratacion; lo qual se hizo assi: y pasó en tierra docientos hombres y ciertas pieças de artilleria, las quales començaron á pelear, pero luego cesó, y por bien de paz le dexaron negociar, habiendo

From Barbarotta he went to Rio de la Hacha, where the same scene was reënacted with simple monotony. The Governor, as before, protested that he was forbidden by his master to let the English trade there; the English commander, as before, declared that he was in "an armada of the Queen of England sent about her other affairs," that he had been forced by contrary winds out of his course, and that he expected hospitality. The authorities again refused, again Hawkins threatened violence, and again there was a dispute over the customs duties. Finally, with or without an understanding with the Governor, a few boats' crews with cannon once more opened the market; the remaining negroes were sold off, and with the hard money in his hand, a second testimonial, and the black pens below decks washed clear of pollution, the fortunate Hawkins put to sea in full triumph and high spirits. Instead of hastening home, he spent the summer of 1565 cruising in the Caribbean Sea, surveying the islands, mapping down the shoals and currents, and perhaps on the look out for some lame duck or straggler out of the Spanish treasure fleet.¹

Sailing round Cuba and running up the Bahama Channel, the English commander then turned north, felt his way along the coast of Florida, landing from time to time to examine the capabilities of the country, and visiting and relieving the French settlements there. Finally passing up to the Banks of Newfoundland, he fed his tired and famished crews with his fishing lines;

pasado entre ellos algunas cosas por escrito de requerimiento como se habia entre ellos concertado."—De Silva to Philip, November 5, 1565: *MS. Simancas*.

¹ "Esperando la flota de la nueva España ó tierra firma, para ver si de raso podrian tomar algun navio della."—De Silva to Philip: *MS. Simancas*.

and so in September came safely back with his golden spoils into Padstow Harbour, having lost in the whole voyage, including those who had been killed by the negroes, not more than twenty men.¹

Lord Pembroke and the other contributors made sixty per cent. on their adventure; nor need it be supposed that Elizabeth went without her share for the ship. Hawkins on his arrival in London was the hero of the hour, affecting the most unconscious frankness, and unable to conceive that he had done anything at which the King of Spain could take offence.

"I met him," De Silva wrote, "in the palace, and invited him to dine with me; he gave me a full account of his voyage, keeping back only the way in which he had contrived to trade at our ports. He assured me, on the contrary, that he had given the greatest satisfaction to all the Spaniards with whom he had had dealings, and had received full permission from the governors of the towns where he had been. The vast profit made by the voyage has excited other merchants to undertake similar expeditions. Hawkins himself is going out again next May; and the thing requires immediate attention. I might tell the Queen that by his

¹ From Padstow, Hawkins wrote the following letter to Elizabeth:—

"Please your Majesty to be informed that this 20th day of September I arrived in a port of Cornwall called Padstow, with your Majesty's ship the 'Jesus' in good safety—thanks be to God—our voyage being reasonably well accomplished according to our pretence. Your Majesty's commandment at my departing from your Grace at Enfield I have accomplished, so as I doubt not but it shall be found honourable to your Highness; for I have always been a help to all Spaniards and Portugals that have come in my way without any form or prejudice by me offered to any of them, although many times in this tract they have been under my power; I have also discovered the coast of Florida in those parts where there is thought to be great wealth. Your Majesty's," &c.—*Pepys's MSS. Magdalens College, Cambridge.*

own confession he has traded in ports prohibited by your Majesty, and require her to punish him; but I must request your Majesty to give me full and clear instructions what to do.”¹

From this time, and until his mantle descended to his friend and pupil Francis Drake, Hawkins, or Achines as the Spaniards called him, troubled the dreams and perplexed the waking thoughts of Philip the Second. In every despatch in which the name is mentioned the sprawling asterisks in the margin remain to evidence the emotion which it produced. The report of that audacious voyage enhanced the warmth with which the cause of Mary Stuart was adopted at Madrid; and the King of Spain was haunted with a vague foreboding that the visits of these roving English would carry ruin to his colonies, and menace the safety of his gold fleets.

Alarm in
Spain.

It would be to misread history and to forget the change of times, to see in Hawkins and his successors mere commonplace buccaneers; to themselves they appeared as the elect to whom God had given the heathen for an inheritance; they were men of stern intellect and fanatical faith, who, believing themselves the favourites of Providence, imitated the example and assumed the privileges of the chosen people; and for their wildest and worst acts they could claim the sanction of religious conviction. In seizing negroes or in pillaging galleons they were but entering into possession of the heritage of the saints; and England had to outgrow the theology of the Elizabethan Calvinists before it could understand that the Father of Heaven respected neither person nor colour, and that His arbi-

¹ De Silva to Philip, November: *MS. Simancae*.

trary favour, if more than a dream of divines, was confined to spiritual privileges.

Again in the following year the slave fleet was fitted for the sea. It was at the crisis in Elizabeth's fortunes when the birth of James had given fatal strength to the party of the Queen of Scots, and to affront Philip was dangerous. When on the eve of sailing, Hawkins was called before the Council, in deference to the imperious remonstrances of De Silva, and was bound in securities not to approach the West Indies, or break the laws, or injure in any way the subjects, of the King of Spain. Shackled by these commands he sent out his vessels without himself accom-

Third
voyage.

panying them: no English record remains to say whither the expedition went; only it was known that the ships returned loaded with gold, and silver, and rich skins, and whispered stories reached De Silva's ears that the Council's orders had not been too closely followed. Whether the crews again effected some negro smuggling, which they and those who dealt with them were alike interested in concealing, or whether the spoils which they brought back with them formed the freightage of some Spanish vessel which never reached its port, the silent ocean kept its secrets; and when the bold adventurers came back to Plymouth, the Netherlands were plunging into mutiny, the Catholics in England were shattered by the explosion at Kirk-a-Field, and Elizabeth could afford to be more careless of Philip's pleasure.

Her subjects might now exact restitution at their pleasure for their murdered comrades in Spain,¹ and in the very midst of De Silva's outcries, in the autumn

¹ Hakluyt seems to have known nothing of any voyage of Hawkins's men in 1566; but the entries in the Council books prove that some voyage

might have succeeded after all. "There is a great change," Don Guerau wrote. "The complaints are loud against Cecil, who has manœuvred with astonishing skill. I know not what will happen. I can only say that with the party which the Duke commands in the country he can only fail through cowardice."¹ The Duke thought so too, and at Keninghall, where his anterooms were thronged with knights and gentlemen, all hanging upon his word, his courage came back to him. He refused at first to see the messenger. He said he was too ill to leave his house. If the Queen would send a member of the Council to him, he would answer her questions where he was.

But again after a day or two his heart failed him.

October.

A message came to him from Leicester, that he had nothing to fear from submission. If he persisted in disobedience he would be proclaimed a traitor. He would then have to commit his fate to the chances of civil war, and he persuaded himself that he would compromise the Queen of Scots.² His illness had no existence except in his alarms. The messenger had lingered waiting for his final resolution; he withdrew his answer and made up his mind to return. His friends and servants, clearer-sighted than himself, entreated him not to leave them. They held him by the knees, they clung to his stirrup-leathers as he mounted his horse, crying that he was going to the scaffold. But his spirits were gone. With a handful of attendants³ he rode back to London, and from

¹ "No se o que sucedera. Entiendo que segun los amigos que el Duque tiene en el Reyno no puede perderse sino por pusillanidad." — Don Guerau to Philip, September 30.

² "O como dice por escusar el evidente peligro de la de Escocia que esta en poder de sus enemigos." — Same to the same, October 8.

³ "Dexando los pensamientos de rompimiento por ahora se vino con pocos caballos." — Ibid.

thence he was proceeding to Windsor, when he was met a few miles distant by an intimation that he was a prisoner, and must remain in charge of Sir Henry Neville, at Mr. Wentworth's house at Burnham.

Elizabeth, who had heard of the attitude which he had assumed in Norfolk, talked of placing him on his trial for treason. But such a challenge to the Peers was as yet too perilous an experiment, and Cecil's prudence interposed. He wrote rather than spoke to Elizabeth, because he had things to say which he intended for herself alone, and his letter remains to show the calm wisdom with which he controlled her passion. "No true councillor of her Majesty," he said, "could be without grief to see the affairs of the Queen of Scots become so troublesome to her;" nevertheless he thought she was more alarmed than the occasion required. "The case was not so terrible as her Majesty would have it." "The Queen of Scots would always be a dangerous person to her, but there were degrees by which the danger might be made more or less. If she would herself marry, it would diminish; if she remained single, it would increase. If the Queen of Scots was kept a prisoner, it would diminish; if she was at liberty, it would be greater." "If the Queen of Scots was manifested to be unable by law to have any other husband than Bothwell while Bothwell lived," it would diminish; if she was declared free, it would be greater. If "she was declared an offender in the murdering of her husband, she would be less able to be a person perilous; if her offence was passed over in silence, the scar of the wound would wear out." So much for the Queen of Scots. For the Duke of Norfolk, and for her Majesty's intentions towards him, she must remember that there were as yet no proofs against him,

"and if he was tried and not convicted, it would not only save but increase his credit." The Duke's offence, so far as could be seen at present, did not "come within the compass of treason," "and better it were in the beginning to foresee the matter than to attempt it with discredit, not without opinion of evil will or malice." He sent Elizabeth a copy of the statute of Edward III. He recommended that in the enquiry into Norfolk's behaviour the word treason should not be mentioned. "Better," he said, half in irony — "better marry the Duke to somebody. Provide him with a wife and his hopes of the Scotch Queen will pass away."¹

Elizabeth was but half convinced. On the 8th of October an order was made out to Sir Francis Knollys to take charge of the person of the Duke of Norfolk and conduct him to the Tower.² He was taken by surprise. He had communicated since his arrest with Don Guerau, under the impression that he was too large a person to be rudely handled, and still talking of changing the government and overthrowing Cecil. He believed himself to be popular in London. He had persuaded himself that the Queen could not risk the danger of sending him under a guard through the streets.

Don Guerau thought that he was mistaken. Though he regarded the heretics as children of hell, he respected their courage, nor did he expect, since the success at Hamburg, that the city would be disturbed. The Government, to incur no unnecessary risk, sent the prisoner by water from Windsor. The banks be-

¹ Cecil to Elizabeth, October 6, 1569. Endorsed, "My advice to Her Majesty in the Duke of Norfolk's case": *Cotton MSS., Calig. C. 1.*

² Commission to Sir F. Knollys, October 8: *MSS. Domestic.*

tween Westminster and London bridge were lined with crowds, who, according to La Mothe, were vociferous in their expressions of displeasure, but there was no attempt at rescue; and when the Tower gates closed behind the head of the English nobility, no party in the country felt less pity for him than those whose fine-laid schemes he had played with and ruined by his cowardice.

On the 8th of October Don Guerau wrote to Philip:—

“The Earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Derby—the whole Catholic body—are furious at the timidity which the Duke has shown. The Earl of Northumberland’s servant who was here a while ago about this business, has returned to me, and I have letters also in cipher from the Bishop of Ross. The sum of their message to me is this, that they will take forcible possession of the Queen of Scots. They will then make themselves masters of the Northern Counties, reëstablish the Catholic religion, and restore to your Majesty whatever prizes taken from your Majesty’s subjects now in the harbours on these coasts. They hope that when the Queen of Scots is free they may be supplied with a few harquebussmen from the Low Countries. I have referred their request to the Duke of Alva.”¹

¹ *MS. Simancas.*

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE Duke of Norfolk was in the Tower; Pembroke, Arundel, Throgmorton, and Lumley were under arrest at Windsor; Leicester alone, of the party about the Court who had been implicated in the marriage intrigue, had run for harbour, when he saw the storm coming, and had escaped imprisonment. But the revelation of so dangerous a temper so close at her own door, however veiled it might be under professions of fidelity, and the sudden breach with half her first advisers, who for ten years had stood loyally at her side, had shocked Elizabeth inexpressibly. The composing language of Cecil failed to quiet her. So furious was she with Norfolk, that in the intervals of hysterics, she said that, "law or no law," "she would have his head."¹ She was distracted with the sense of dim but fearful perils overshadowing her, which she felt to be near but could not grasp; and forever the figure of the prisoner at Tutbury floated ominously in the air, haunting her dreams and perplexing her waking thoughts. The ingenuity with which she had tempted Murray to produce the casket had failed of its purpose. The Peers, as well as the Council, had seen the damning proofs of Mary Stuart's guilt; not one among them had pretended to believe her innocent; yet so terrible to the mind of England was the

¹ "Allez, diet elle; ce que les loix ne pourront sur sa teste, mon autorité le pourra." — La Mothe au Roy, October 28: *Dépêches*, Vol. II.

memory of York and Lancaster, that, to escape a second war of succession, they were ready to condone the crimes of the second person in the realm; and one of them, the highest subject in the land, was willing to take the murderess to his bed. It was too late now for Elizabeth to throw herself upon the world's conscience, publish the letters, and declare her rival infamous. The Peers who, for very shame in the past winter, would have been compelled to consent, would now refuse to set their hands to her condemnation, and a proclamation unsupported by names which would be open to no suspicion, would no longer carry conviction to the people.

In August, chafed by the demands of the Court of France, irritated at the ferment at the Court, and at the consciousness that half her present vexations were her own work, through her refusal to marry the Archduke; half regretting, now when it was too late, that she had thrown away an opportunity which "would have pacified legitimate discontent,"¹ she was on the point of making a victim of the Earl of Murray, breaking her solemn promise, and forcing back upon him the sovereign whom only she had induced him to accuse.

She was now frightened into a recollection of her obligations. She discovered that the matter which had been proposed by her "was very weighty," that Murray's answer "had been with great deliberation

¹ "If the Queen's Majesty had in time married with the Archduke Charles, wherein you write she now uttereth her disposition, it had been the better way for her surety. But that matter hath been so handled as on the one side it is desperate that her Majesty will *bonâ fide* intend to marry, and on the other side it is doubtful whether upon the hard dealings past she may be induced to any further talk thereby. God work in her heart to do that may be most for her honour and surety."—*Sussex*. to Cecil, October 11: *Cotton MSS., B. M.*

conceived, and carried with it much reason.”¹ But the difficulty of the Queen of Scots’ presence was none the less embarrassing. She could trust no one since the rupture in the Council but Cecil and two or three more. Lord Shrewsbury was now suspected for those Catholic tendencies on account of which he had been selected as the Queen of Scots’ guardian; but the substitution of Huntingdon, though necessary for her immediate safety, had been received with strong expressions of displeasure by the ambassadors of the Catholic Powers. She had offended a powerful English nobleman, and it was to no purpose that she pretended that her motive in making the change had been Lord Shrewsbury’s ill health. The Earl demanded as a point of honour that the prisoner should be restored to his custody;² and, although the danger of escape was notoriously increased, the Queen could not afford to alienate a tottering loyalty, and with the advice of Huntingdon himself, she consented.³

Again, therefore, there was an anxious consideration of the steps to be taken; and again, the private papers of Cecil reveal the most secret thoughts of the Court. One short road there was. The past reigns afforded many precedents for the treatment of pretenders to the crown. The Queen “might do that which in other times kings and princes had done by justice — take the Queen of Scots’ life from her;”⁴ or, if this was too severe a measure, she might keep her in strait

¹ Elizabeth to Murray, October 23: *MSS. Scotland*.

² Correspondence between Shrewsbury, Huntingdon, and Cecil, October 1569: *MSS. Queen of Scots*.

³ “Han quitado al Conde de Huntingdon de la guarda de la de Escocia que sera ya gran comodidad. La guarda del Conde de Shrewsbury no siendo tan estrecha hay grande comodidad de darle libertad” — Don Guerau to Philip, November 20: *MS. Simancas*.

⁴ Notes in Cecil’s hand, October, 1569: *Cotton MSS., B. M.*

prison till her health failed and she died, as poor Catherine Grey had died. But "her Majesty," who had shown no pity to the innocent wife of Lord Hertford, affected to "dread the slander to herself and the realm;" she found "her disposition was to show clemency, and she would not by imprisonment or otherwise use that avenge."

There remained therefore three possibilities: either to keep her in England as the unwilling guest of Lord Shrewsbury, prevented from escaping, but with no further restrictions upon her enjoyments and her exercise; or to let her go to France; or, finally, to send her back to Scotland as a prisoner.

The second could not be thought of. "It was in France that she did first pretend and publish her title to the Crown of England: she continued in the same mind, and no place could serve her better to prosecute still the same intentions."

In England, unless she was restricted from all communication, she would be the focus of perpetual conspiracy. "The number of Papists," in Cecil's judgment, "was constantly increasing." A large party in the State, "Papists, Protestants, and Neutrals," were "inclined from worldly respects," in consequence of the Queen's refusal to marry, to favour the Scottish title. The conspiracy in the Council had arisen from a craving "for the certainty of some succession," and for a union of the island under one sovereign. Every person in the country, who was discontented "either from matters of religion, court neglect, or poverty, or other causes," would take the side of the Queen of Scots for the mere hope of some change. Her presence in the realm would be a perpetual temptation. Her person, except as a close prisoner, could not be

effectively secured. She might escape, she might be carried off, or her keepers might be corrupted. The foreign Courts would never cease to worry the Queen with requests for her release. She might contract herself to some Prince who would demand her as his wife, and a refusal to part with her might be construed into an occasion of war. "Being in captivity," she would be increasingly commiserated; "her sufferings more lamented than her fault condemned." "The casualty of her death by course of nature would be interpreted to the worst." The Queen's own health "might be worn away with perpetual anxiety," and should she die suddenly, with the succession unprovided for, the consequences could not fail to be most dreadful.¹

The arguments, so far, pointed to the replacing Mary Stuart in the condition from which she had escaped in her flight from Lochleven, with this difference only, that Murray and Murray's party would be required to give hostages for the security of her life, and for her safe keeping during Elizabeth's pleasure.

Yet this measure, too, was not without its objections. If Murray died or was murdered, it was uncertain whether his party would be strong enough to hold her. She might escape as she escaped before. The Catholic Powers would have as many motives as ever for interference, and she herself "would be the bolder to practise being then in prison, because she would think her life in no danger through the hostages in England." There would be the same peril of her contracting a marriage abroad; while, should her own friends in Scotland gain the upper hand, she would be restored to the government; the Protestant religion would be

¹ Notes in Cecil's hand, October, 1569: *Cotton MSS., B. M.*

suppressed, and the two countries relapse into their old hostility. The great point was to hold her fast, and this could be done more easily in England than in Scotland. The government of the young King could then be firmly established, and should France or Spain "attempt anything for her," while she was in the Queen of England's hands, "her Majesty might justly, if she was thereto provoked, make an end of the matter by using extremity on her part."¹

The reasoning on both sides was so evenly balanced that either Cecil's mind wavered, or else his own judgment pointed one way and Elizabeth's wishes the other.² At last, however, a further suggestion presented itself. The root of Elizabeth's difficulties had been, first, her unnecessary interference to prevent the Scots from trying their Queen for the murder, and,

¹ Notes in Cecil's hand, October, 1569: *Cotton MSS., Calig. B. M.*

In a letter said to have been written by Leicester in 1585 there is a statement that in the autumn of 1569, in consequence of the discovery of Mary Stuart's intrigues, "the Great Seal of England was sent down and thought just and meet upon the sudden for her execution." The letter is printed by Mr. Tytler, *History of Scotland*, Vol. VII. p. 463, and the fact is by him assumed to be true. The records of this year are so complete, the changing feelings, the perplexities, the hesitation of the government are so copiously revealed in the loose notes of Cecil, that it is hard to understand how a resolution of so much magnitude could have been arrived at without some definite trace of it being discoverable. The contingency of the Queen of Scots' execution was obviously contemplated as not impossible; but in the absence of other evidence it is more likely either that Leicester, writing sixteen years after, made a mistake in the date, or that an error has crept in through transcribers. The original of the letter, I believe, is no longer extant.

² In following Cecil's papers there is always great difficulty in distinguishing his own opinions from the Queen's. Letters in his hand were often written by him merely as Elizabeth's secretary and against his own judgment. They were frequently accompanied by private communications from himself, in which he deplored resolutions which he was unable to prevent. In the present instance there are many papers all in the same hand, all written within a few days of each other, pointing to different conclusions.

secondly, her want of courage in publishing the results of the investigation at Hampton Court. She could no longer do this herself, but the public disgrace would be equally insured, if the Scots were now allowed to do what before they desired to do, if Mary Stuart was replaced in their hands, and was brought publicly to the bar in her own country.¹ It has been already mentioned that Sir H. Carey had been sent down to consult the Regent. This plan it is at least likely he was secretly instructed to propose.

Meanwhile Cecil set himself to discover whether Norfolk's conduct had further bearings than as yet he knew of. His position was critical in the extreme. Half the Council — the Reactionaries, Conservatives, Moderates, Semi-Catholics, or by whatever name they may be called — were in disgrace. Leicester, then as ever useless for any honourable purpose, was a dead weight upon his hands; and he was left alone with those who along with himself were dreaded as the advocates of revolution — the Lord Keeper, the Earl of Bedford, Sir Walter Mildmay, Sir Francis Knollys, and Sir Ralph Sadler. These half-dozen men, among whom Bedford alone possessed pretensions to high birth, had to undertake the examination of the noble-men who had so lately sat at the same table with them. The first interviews were said to have been sufficiently stormy.² Pembroke avowed his desire for the Norfolk marriage, and did not shrink in any way from the re-

This was certainly thought of, although it does not appear among Cecil's notes. Sir Henry Neville writing to him on the 4th of October says: "The trial of the murder must needs be a safety unto the Queen, and such a defacing unto the other as I think will pluck away that love that all your other devices will not." — *Domestic MSS., Rolls House.*

² "Pasaron entre ellos muchas palabras de passion." — Don Guerau to Philip, October 8: *MS. Simancas.*

sponsibility of having advised it. So far as the Lords had acted together, they had done nothing which could be termed disloyalty. Cross-questioning failed to draw anything from them which incriminated the Queen of Scots,¹ and Pembroke both with success and dignity defended the integrity of his own intentions.² But he said that he was contented to submit to the Queen's pleasure, and it was not Cecil's policy to press upon him. None better understood than he how to build a bridge for men to retreat over out of a false position. The Bishop of Ross declared that "he had never dealt with any other except such as had credit with the Queen."³ Cecil, who had not yet learned the Bishop's power of lying, let the answer pass. To extract truth from Leslie required sharper handling than words.

Conciliation, except with the two chief offenders, was the order of the day. Traces, though indistinct, had been found of the hand of Ridolfi. He was confined, rather as a guest than as a prisoner, in the house of Walsingham, and was desired to place in writing as much as he knew of a Catholic conspiracy. But the questions put to him were insignificant and easily evaded. His house was searched without his knowledge, but he had concealed or destroyed all his

¹ "La mayor fuerza de la probança tiraba á culpar la de Escocia, á la qual descargaron todos como era justo." — Don Guerau to Philip, October 8: *MS. Simancas*.

² "In those conferences that I have been at of the Queen of Scots' marriage it is not unknown to you, my Lord of Leicester and Mr. Secretary, to whose knowledge in this behalf I appeal, with what earnestness I have always protested with my life, lands, body, and goods, the maintenance of God's true religion now established by her Majesty, and the conservation of her Majesty's person, quiet, estate, and dignity against all the attempts — yea, or motioners, of the contrary." — Pembroke to the Council, October, 1569.

³ Examination of the Bishop of Ross, October 10: *Burghley Papers*, Vol. I.

important papers; and so little suspicion had the Queen of the nature of the person that she had in her hand, that when he was released from arrest, she consulted him about the Spanish quarrel, and "desired his secret opinion" as to the best means of accommodating her differences with Philip.¹

Against Norfolk the Queen was still violently angry. Although she had no proof that he had meditated treason, she felt instinctively that she could not trust him. He wrote repeatedly to her, insisting upon his loyalty, and "taking God to witness he never thought to do anything that might be disagreeable to her good pleasure:" but fine phrases of this kind had lost their power; Cecil's plan of rendering him harmless by providing him with another Duchess was seriously contemplated; and it was intimated to him, that at all events he would not leave the Tower till he had given a promise in writing to think no more of the Queen of Scots.

The Duke's friends in the Council had abandoned their project sincerely. The Duke himself had no intention whatever of abandoning it. The great Catholic party was still entire. The mine which they had dug was still loaded, and the hope of foreign assistance as strong as ever. The Duke still expected that he would reap the fruit of all this, and least of all would he part with his hope of Mary Stuart. But he desired to recover his liberty. Lies cost Norfolk nothing. He was ready to say whatever would answer his purpose. He feared only that if he gave the Queen the promise which she demanded from him, Mary Stuart herself might take him at his word, or the Bishop of

¹ Leicester and Cecil to Walsingham, October 7, October 19 October 23: *Domestic MSS.*

Ross perhaps, in irritation at his apostasy, might tell secrets which would be dangerous to him if revealed. He drew up therefore, in the most complete form, the required renunciation; he gave emphasis to his professions by the most elaborate asseverations of good faith; and while he sent the original of this document to Elizabeth, he forwarded a copy of it to the Bishop of Ross, desiring him to tell his mistress, that he had yielded only in order to escape from the Tower, and that he had no intention of observing an engagement which had been extorted from him by violence.¹

Could Norfolk have known the supreme willingness with which Mary Stuart had been ready to throw him over, should it suit her convenience to do so, he would have been less ready to lie for her. His late imbecility had not raised him in her good opinion; but as he might still be useful, she flattered him into the continuance of his folly; and both he and she, while they besieged Elizabeth with protestations of their honesty, fed in secret upon visions of coming triumph when Alva's legions would land at Harwich or in Scotland, and every Catholic in the island would spring into the field to join them.

But if either these hopes were to be realized or their professions successfully maintained, it was necessary to prevent the Northern Counties from exploding into

¹ "One great fault I committed. When I should send in my submission to her Majesty, thinking that it would not long be kept close but go abroad, fearing that if it should come to the Bishop's ears he would in a rage accuse me of my writings, — to prevent the same I sent the copy of it to him, to see, before I sent it to her Majesty, saying that necessity drove me to signify this or else I was like to lie here while I lived; and therefore I desired him that he would not mislike thereof, and that he would also write to the Queen of Scots in that behalf that I did it of necessity and not willingly. I, trusting in worldly policy, have sped like a mired horse — the further he plungeth the further he is mired." — Confession of the Duke of Norfolk: *MSS. Mary Queen of Scots.*

premature rebellion; and this might prove less easy than Norfolk wished. For years past — from the day of her return from France to Holyrood — Mary Stuart had been in correspondence with the gentlemen of Yorkshire and Northumberland. The death of Darnley had cooled their passion for her, but when she came to England she soon “enchanted” them again “by her flexible wit and sugared eloquence.”¹ Before Sir Francis Knollys cut short her levées at Carlisle, they had listened in hundreds to her own tale of her wrongs, and besides their religion and political predilections for her, they had been set on fire with a chivalrous enthusiasm for the lovely lady who was in the hands of the magicians.

When she was removed from Carlisle to Bolton, the gates of Scrope’s castle were usually thrown open to the neighbourhood, and the eager knights-errant had free access to her presence. When at times she was thought likely to attempt an escape and the guards were set upon the alert, loyalty, like love, still found means to penetrate the charmed circle. Every high-spirited young gentleman, whose generosity was stronger than his intelligence, had contrived in some way to catch a glance from her eyes and to hear some soft words from her lips, and from that moment became her slave, body and soul.

Conspicuous among these youths were the Nortons, of whom the reader has heard as the intending assassins of the Earl of Murray.

The father, Richard Norton, was past middle life at the time of the Pilgrimage of Grace. It may be assumed with confidence that he was one of the thirty thousand troopers who followed Robert Aske from

¹ Notes in Cecil’s hand, October 6: *Cotton MSS., Calig. C. 1.*

Pomfret to Doncaster behind the banner of the Five Wounds of Christ. Now in his old age, he was still true to the cause. He had been left like a great many others unmolested in the profession and practice of his faith; and he had bred up eleven stout sons and eight daughters, all like himself devoted children of Holy Church. One of these, Christofer, had been among the first to enroll himself a knight of Mary Stuart. His religion had taught him to combine subtlety with courage; and through carelessness, or treachery, or his own address, he had been admitted into Lord Scrope's guard at Bolton Castle. There he was at hand to assist his lady's escape, should escape prove possible; there he was able to receive messages or carry them; there, to throw the castellan off his guard, he pretended to flirt with her attendants, and twice at least by his own confession, closely as the prisoner was watched, he contrived to hold private communications with her.

The scenes which he describes throw sudden and vivid light upon the details of Mary Stuart's confinement. The rooms occupied by her opened out of the great hall. An antechamber and an apartment beyond it were given up to her servants. Her own bedroom, the third of the series, was at the farther extremity. A plan had been formed to carry her off. Lady Livingstone was to affect to be in love with young Norton, and had pretended to promise him a secret interview in the twilight outside the moat. The Queen was to personate the lady, and she and the cavalier were to fly together. It was necessary that Norton should see Mary Stuart to direct her what she was to do. He was on duty in the hall. By a preconcerted arrangement, a page in the anteroom took liberties

with one of the maids. There was much screaming, tittering, and confusion. Norton rushed in to keep the peace, and, sheltered by the hubbub, contrived to pass through and to say what he desired. The scheme, like a hundred others, came to nothing; but as one web was unravelled out, a second was instantly spun. Another time Mary Stuart had something to say to Norton; and this scene — so distinct is the picture — may be told in his own words: —

“One day when the Queen of Scots, in winter,¹ had been sitting at the window-side knitting of a work, and after the board was covered, she rose and went to the fire-side, and, making haste to have the work finished, would not lay it away, but worked of it the time she was warming of herself. She looked for one of her servants, which indeed were all gone to fetch up her meat, and, seeing none of her own folk there, called me to hold her work, who was looking at my Lord Scrope and Sir Francis Knollys playing of chess. I went, thinking I had deserved no blame, and that it should not have become me to have refused to do it, my Lady Scrope standing there, and many gentlemen in the chamber, that saw she spake not to me. I think Sir Francis saw not nor heard when she called of me. But when he had played his mate, he, seeing me standing by the Queen holding of her work, called my captain to him and asked him if I watched. He answered sometimes. Then he gave him commandment that I should watch no more, and said the Queen would make me a fool.”²

How full of life is the description! The castle hall,

¹ 1568-69.

² Confession of Christofer Norton, April, 1570: *MSS Domestic, Rolls House.*

the winter day, the servants bringing up the dinner, the game at chess, and Maimouna, with her soft eyes and skeins of worsted, binding the hands and heart of her captive knight. Two years later the poor youth was under the knife of the executioner at Tyburn.

And such as Norton was, were a thousand more who hung about Bolton, Wingfield, Tutbury, wherever Mary Stuart was confined, lying in wait for a glimpse of her as she passed hunting, surrounded by her guards, or watching at night among the rocks and bushes for the late light of the taper which flickered in her chamber windows.¹

And now all these youths, through the summer of 1569, had been fed with the hope that their day was coming, when either the noblemen of England united in Council would force the Queen to set her captive free, or they themselves, her glorious band of deliverers, were to burst the walls of this prison and bear her away in triumph. The adhesion of the Duke of Norfolk to their party, coupled with some uncertainty among themselves, had modified their original programme. The Duke having a large party among the Protestants,² they intended to say nothing about religion till they had used their help and could afford to show their colours. The pretext for the rising was to be the liberation of Mary Stuart, the establishment of the succession in her favour, and the removal of evil councillors about the Queen.³ The signal for rebellion was to be the withdrawal of the Duke of Norfolk from the Court. The Earls of Westmoreland and North-

¹ One of Mary Stuart's peculiarities—a remarkable one in those times—was that she seldom went to bed till one or two in the morning.

² "Car infinis Protestants sont pour le Duc."—*La Mothe* to the King October 8.

³ Confession of the Earl of Northumberland: *Border MSS.*

umberland and Leonard Dacres were then to take the field, while Norfolk, Arundel, Montague, Lumley, and the rest of the confederates were to raise the East and the South.¹ Confident in their own strength, confident in the seeming union of three quarters of the nobility, confident in the provisions which the Spanish Ambassador had made in Alva's name and which Alva intended to observe so far as he might find expedient, they believed that they had but to show themselves in arms, for all opposition to go down before them.

The whole scheme had been thrown into confusion by the irresolution of Norfolk. Leonard Dacres, Westmoreland, old Norton, and a number of gentlemen, were collected at Lord Northumberland's house, at Topcliff, waiting for news from London. The Duke, in the short fit of courage which returned to him at Keninghall, had sent to Northumberland to say "that he would stand and abide the venture and not go up to the Queen."² They were expecting every moment to hear that the Eastern Counties had risen, when one midnight, at the end of September, they were roused out of their sleep to be told that a messenger had come. It was a servant of Norfolk's. He would not come to the house, but was waiting "a flight shot from the park wall." Westmoreland went out to him and came back presently to say "that the Duke, for the brotherly love they bore him, begged them not to stir or he would be in danger of losing his head."

The preparations for the rising were so complete that there was scarcely a hope that their intentions could be concealed. Dacres and Northumberland,

¹ Confession of Thomas Bishop, May 10, 1570: *MSS. Hatfield*.

² Confession of the Earl of Northumberland: *MSS. Border*.

"seeing small hopes of success, were desirous to put off the matter," but many of the gentlemen being "hot and earnest," cursed the Duke and their unlucky connexion with him, and, careless whether he lived or died, "resolved to stir notwithstanding." The Lords were obliged to seem to yield. As Norfolk had turned coward, they were no longer tied by other considerations: they could now change their cry; and when Westmoreland enquired what "the quarrel was to be?" there was a general shout, "For religion."

Lord Westmoreland made an objection curiously characteristic of the times.

"Those," he said, "that seem to take that quarrel in other countries are counted as rebels, and I will never blot my name, which has been preserved thus long without staining."¹ "A scruple" rose, "whether by God's law they might wage battle against an anointed Prince, until he or she was lawfully excommunicated by the Head of the Church."

Three priests were present, to whom the question was referred. One, a Doctor Morton, by whom Northumberland had been reconciled two years before, said that, as the Queen had refused to receive the Pope's Nuntio, she was excommunicated then and there by her own act. The other two thought direct rebellion unlawful "until the sentence had been orderly published within the realm."²

The Earls might have been pardoned for not anticipating the weakness of Norfolk; they were inexcusable in not having discovered beforehand the condition of Catholic opinion on a point so vital. The party broke up with this new element of disunion among

¹ Confession of the Earl of Northumberland: *MSS. Border.*

² *Ibid.*

them. They agreed that at least for the present they must remain quiet; and Northumberland sent Sir Oswald Wilkinson to the Spanish Ambassador to ascertain more certainly what they were to look for from Flanders.¹ So October passed away, bringing with it, unfortunately, a fresh defeat of the Huguenots at Moncoutour to excite the Catholics, while at the same time an unexpected commission of an alarming kind came over from Brussels. The Spanish Ambassador had been released from restraint, and Elizabeth had given him to understand that if some person was sent to her with powers direct from the King of Spain, she would treat for the restoration of the money. Such a person was now announced to be coming, bearing, as she desired, a commission from Philip; but the minister selected for the mission was the ablest officer in the Duke of Alva's army, Chapin Vitelli, Marquis of Chetona. Why a soldier had been chosen for a diplomatic embassy was a mystery which misled alike the Court and the Catholics. In reality the Duke of Alva, finding a large responsibility thrown upon him by Philip, and ignorant how far he could depend upon the representations of Don Guerau and his friends, desired to have some professional opinion on the relative strength of the Queen and the Catholics. Chapin was sent over to negotiate—should negotiation prove possible—with all sincerity. If any disturbance broke out, he was to avail himself of it to obtain better terms for his master; but he was not intended to take part actively under any circumstances, and was merely to use his eyes in case ulterior measures should be eventually necessary.² The heated imagination of the

¹ Confession of Oswald Wilkinson: Murdin.

² That the hopes held out by Don Guerau to the Catholics were not

Catholics, however, saw in him the herald of the coming army of liberation. The news spread over the kingdom, and the fire which was beginning to smoulder shot again into a blaze. The impression was confirmed by the great anxiety of the Court. Sixty gentlemen who attended Chapin from Flanders were detained at Dover, and he was allowed to take on with him no more than five attendants;¹ while owing to the suspension of the more moderate element in the Council, a step was taken which, though often threatened, had been hitherto delayed by the influence of Pembroke and Arundel. The Act of Uniformity was at last to be enforced, and every magistrate in the kingdom was to be required to subscribe to an obligation to maintain the law, and himself to set an example of obedience by attendance at church.²

yet to be fulfilled is perfectly clear from a letter written by Philip during the autumn. Speaking of the proposed insurrection and the overtures of the Catholics to Don Guerau, Philip says:—

“No se puede ni debe tratar dello hasta ver al fin que tiene la negociation que se trae sobre restitucion de lo arestado, que si sucede como se pretende, por mi parte no se dejará de levantar adelante la antigua amistad que mis pasados y yo habemos tenido con esa corona: pero no se haciendo asi, ya entonces seria menester tomar otro camino, y para tal caso es muy conveniente que vos me vais siempre avisando como lo haceis.”

Philip was just then troubled with an insurrection of the Moors, and having Flanders on his hands also, was most unwilling to add to his embarrassments. The English Catholics might rebel if they pleased. If they could overthrow Elizabeth without assistance from himself, he would be very well satisfied, and if vague promises held out in his name encouraged them to rebel, the insurrection would at least incline Elizabeth to come to terms with Spain.

¹ La Mothe to the King, October 8.

² Form to be subscribed by all magistrates. Addressed to the Lord Keeper.

“Our humble duties remembered to your Lordship. This is to signify that we whose names are by ourselves underwritten do acknowledge that it is our bounden duty to observe the contents of the Act of Parliament entitled An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and Service in the

The ecclesiastical arrangements everywhere were in extreme confusion; and the principles of Anglicanism had been worked with extreme looseness.¹

Church and the Administration of the Sacraments. And for observation of the same law we do hereby formally promise that every one of us and our families will and shall repair and resort at all times convenient to our parish church, or upon reasonable impediment, to other chapels or places for the same common prayer, and there shall devoutly and duly hear and take part of the same common prayer and all other divine service, and shall also receive the Holy Sacrament from time to time according to the terms of the said Act of Parliament. Neither shall any of us that have subscribed do or say or assert, or suffer anything to be done or said by our procurement or allowance, in contempt, laek, or reproof of any part of religion established by the foresaid Act." — *MSS. Domestic*, November, 1569.

¹ In connexion with the bond of the magistrates, reports were sent in of the condition of different dioceses. The following account of the diocese of Chichester may perhaps be an illustration of the state of the rest of the country. Sussex being a southern county was one of those where the Reformation was supposed to have made most progress.

Disorders in the Diocese of Chichester, December, 1569.

"In many churches they have no sermons, not one in seven years, and some not one in twelve years, as the parishes have declared to the preachers that lately came thither to preach. Few churches have their quarter sermons according to the Queen Majesty's injunctions.

"In Boxgrave is a very fair church, and therein is neither parson, vicar, nor curate, but a sorry reader.

"In the Deanery of Medhurst there are some beneficed men which did preach in Queen Mary's days, and now do not nor will not, and yet keep their livings.

"Others be fostered in gentlemen's houses, and some betwixt Sussex and Hampshire, and are hinderers of true religion and do not minister. Others come not at their parish church nor receive the Holy Communion at Easter; but at that time get them out of the country until that feast be passed and return not again until then.

"They have many books that were made beyond the seas and they have them there with the first; for exhibitioners goeth out of that shire and diocese unto them beyond the seas. As to Mr. Stapleton, who, being excommunicated by the Bishop, did fly and avoid the realm, these men have his goods and send him money for them.

"In the church of Arundel certain altars do stand yet still to the offence of the godly which murmur and speak much against the same.

"They have yet in the diocese in many places thereof images hidden and other Popish ornaments, ready to set up the mass again within 24 hours'

The bishops, who were sure of Elizabeth's countenance in persecuting Puritans, could not trust to be supported if they meddled with the other side; and it was not till her present alarm that the Queen was roused to a conviction that she could no longer halt safely between two opinions.

In the neighbourhood of London the Commission was not ill received. A few magistrates here and there hesitated at the bond from "scrupulosity of conscience," but all were ready to give securities for their allegiance, and to renew their oaths to the Queen "as their lawful sovereign."

The experiment was far more critical in the Northern Counties, where the mere rumour of the intention was so much fresh fuel on the fire. There, in their unanimity of opposition, the people were unconscious of the strength of Protestantism elsewhere, and they despised as well as hated it.

Doctor Morton, after the breaking up of the assembly at Topcliff, travelled rapidly about the country to ascertain the general feeling on the difficulty which

warning, as in the town of Battle and in the parish of Lindefield, where they be yet very blind and superstitious.

"In the town of Battle, where a preacher doth come and speak anything against the Pope's doctrine, they will not abide, but get them out of the church.

"In many places they keep yet their chalices, looking to have mass again, whereas they were commanded to turn them into communion cups after our fashion, keeping yet weight for weight. Some parishes feign that their chalices were stolen away, and therefore they ministered in glasses and profane goblets.

"In many places the people cannot yet say their commandments, and in some not the articles of their belief.

"In the cathedral church of Chichester there be very few preachers resident— of thirty-one prebendaries scarcely four or five.

"Few of the aldermen of Chichester be of a good religion, but are vehemently suspected to favour the Pope's doctrine; and yet they be justices of the peace." — *MSS. Domestic, Rolls House.*

had risen. He had been, or professed to have been, in other parts of the island as well, and to have learnt the universal sentiments of the English nation. On his return old Norton and many others again repaired to the Earl of Northumberland. They had gone so far, they said, that they could not go back, and they must either rise or "fly the realm." "It would be a great discredit to leave off so godly an enterprise; all England was looking to see what they would do, and would assist when the first blow was struck."¹ Morton followed to the same purpose. As to the excommunication, he said they ought rather to prevent it than wait for it: unless the government was changed the Pope would proceed with the censures, and then not only their souls would be in danger, but the independence of England might be lost also.² He implored

¹ Northumberland's confession: *Border MSS.*

² "Doctor Morton said that the Christian princes, through the Pope's persuasion, would seek to subvert us if we did not seek to reform it within ourselves; affirming that he had travelled through the most part of England, and did find the most part of the common people much inclined thereto if so be that any one would begin to take the enterprise in hand." Francis Norton to Leicester and Cecil: *Flanders MSS., Rolls House.*

With the laudable desire of simplifying the study of the MSS. in the Record Office, the keepers have divided them into groups according to the country to which they are supposed to refer. In illustration of the utility of this arrangement, the student of the history of the Northern Rebellion must look first in the collection called the Border Papers, because the action lay chiefly in Yorkshire and Northumberland. When the movement surges across the Tweed the traces in the Border Papers are lost, and he must turn to the series for Scotland. To fill out his picture he must refer to a separate collection, supposed to be devoted to the Queen of Scots. For the opinions so supremely important of the English ministers he must look to their correspondence under the head of Ireland, Germany, France, or Italy. The confessions of the important prisoners are in the Domestic Papers, because they were tried in London; and the account of the same scenes given for instance by Francis Norton is to be found in the *Flanders Papers*, because he escaped to the Duke of Alva. The general result has been hitherto hopeless confusion; the classification however is now to some extent rectified in the calendars of the Master of the Rolls.

them to delay no longer, but to take arms at once for their country, their Saviour, and their church. The Duke of Norfolk had failed them, but they were happy in the loss of his support. With Norfolk for an ally they could have risen only for the settlement of the succession; they could now touch the heart of every Christian Englishman by declaring themselves the defenders of the ancient faith.¹

The priest's eloquence was not entirely successful. The temper of the south of England was known only "upon conjectures." Northumberland wrote to various friends, but "was answered with such coldness as misliked him."² In the autumn fairs in Yorkshire, men formed and gathered in knots and groups, and the air was full of uneasy "expectations of change." Still nothing was done. Lord Derby, among others, was ominously silent, which, as Northumberland said, "greatly discouraged him." The Queen of Scots and Don Guerau equally recommended quiet.

Meanwhile Lord Sussex, who was established at York as President of the Council, was anxiously watching the condition of the Northern districts. As a friend of Norfolk, Sussex had been counted upon by the Confederates as likely to be favourable to them. In their altered position they were less able to tell what to expect from him. At the beginning of October he invited the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland to York, to give him the benefit of their advice. Wishing to feel his temper they immediately com-

¹ "Our first purpose was the establishment of the succession. Since the apprehension of the Duke of Norfolk the setting up of religion, meaning Papistry, is our purpose."—Declaration of George Tongue, November 8: *Border MSS.*

² Northumberland's confession: *MS. Ibid.*

plied;¹ and they found at once that he had not the slightest disposition towards disloyalty. The Norfolk marriage was talked over. They both assured him "that they would never stand to any matters that should be to her Majesty's displeasure or against her surety;"² and Sussex believed them and allowed them to return to their houses. Reports reached him afterwards that they had taken arms, and that the country was up; but he ascertained that their stables were more than usually empty, that there were no signs of preparation in their establishments, and that at least for the present no danger was to be apprehended. He had a narrow escape of falling a victim to his confidence. Assured of the popular feeling on their side, the Earls believed that if they could seize York and make themselves masters of the local government, Lord Derby and the other waverers would no longer hesitate to join them. It was proposed that Northumberland with a few hundred horse should make a sudden dart upon the city some Sunday morning, lie concealed in the woods till the bell "left knolling for sermon," and then ride in, stop the doors of the cathedral, and take President and Council prisoners. "Treason," however, had a terrible sound to an English nobleman. They reflected "that the thing might cause bloodshed," and so "passed it over;"³ waiting till circumstances came to their assistance and decided their course for them.

Their names were often mentioned in the examinations which followed on Norfolk's arrest; and it came out that they had been in correspondence with Don

¹ Sussex to Sir George Bowes, October 9: *Memorials of the Rebellion of 1569*.

² Sussex to the Queen, October 30: *Borlase MSS.*

³ Northumberland's confession: *MS. Ibid.*

Guerau. The Queen required their presence in London, and though Sussex doubted the prudence of sending for them till the winter was further advanced, Elizabeth was peremptory, and insisted that they should come to her without delay.

The two noblemen whose names were to acquire a brief distinction were by position and family the hereditary leaders of the North — it may be said the hereditary chiefs of English revolution. Northumberland was the descendant of the great Earl who had given the throne to the House of Lancaster. His father, Sir Thomas Percy, had been attainted and executed after the Pilgrimage of Grace, but the confiscated estates were restored to the old house by Queen Mary, and the young Earl had come back to his inheritance amidst the passionate enthusiasm of a people to whom the Percies had been more than their sovereign.

The Earl of Westmoreland was the head of the great House of Neville, from a younger branch of which had sprung Warwick the King-maker. He was the great-grandson of Stafford Duke of Buckingham. He had married a sister of the Duke of Norfolk. No shield in England showed prouder quarterings, and no family had played a grander part in the feudal era of England.

Had the personal character of either earl been equal to their lineage, they too might have changed a dynasty, and it was with no unreasonable misgivings that Sussex prepared to obey his mistress's commands. There was not a single nobleman in the North on whom he felt that he could rely. The Earl of Cumberland was "a crazed man," and his tenants were under the leadership of Leonard Dacres, who had married his sister. The Earl of Derby, though said

to be "soft," was a Catholic at heart, and "the five lords" were generally spoken of as likely, if not certain, to support each other.

The Queen's orders found the Earls at Raby.

Westmoreland at once refused to obey.

November.

"Evil rumours," he said, "had been spread abroad about him and carried to the Court. He did not care to trust himself away from his friends;"¹ and as an intimation that he did not intend to be taken without resistance, he reviewed his retainers under arms.² Northumberland varied his answer by saying that he was busy and for the present could not comply, but he returned to Topcliff "determined not to rise," and meaning, or believing that he meant, to go up to London in the winter.³

Sir George Bowes, however, sent word to Sussex that mischief was gathering; and Sussex, terrified at his own weakness, wrote to Elizabeth to say that, although he would "do his part" if she required him to take the Earls prisoners, he recommended her to overlook their disobedience, and "call them home to her favour."⁴ He was disinclined to Cecil and Cecil's policy. He preferred the old order of things to the new. Like the rest of the old Peers, he was in favour of the Queen of Scots' succession; and without a disloyal thought, he sympathised, to some extent at least, with the Earls' dissatisfaction.

To compose matters if possible before receiving further positive directions, he sent his secretary to Topcliff to persuade Northumberland to go to the Queen

¹ Sussex to the Queen, November 8

² November 6.

³ Confession of Thomas Bishop: *MSS. Hatfield.*

⁴ Sussex to the Queen, November 8; Sussex to Cecil, same date: *MSS. Border.*

at once. Northumberland answered that he had "not been well used," made many objections, but "in the end" seemed to yield, and promised to prepare for his journey. It appeared, however, that Catholic hopes and Catholic fanaticism had been stirred too deeply. There was a natural fear that the Queen had discovered the whole plot, and the Countess Anne¹ was made of harder stuff than her husband. The secretary was detained at Topcliff for some hours while his horses were resting; at midnight² a message came to bid him haste away or it would be the worse for him; while a servant, who had come probably no farther than from the Countess's apartment, woke Northumberland from his first sleep with the news that, "within an hour Sir Oswald Wolstrop would be upon him to carry him muffled to Elizabeth." The Earl sprang from his bed, ordered his horses to be saddled, the bridge over the Swale to be broken, and the church bells to be rung backwards. The jangled sound broke on the ears of Sussex's emissary as he rode out of the town. His guide, when he asked what it meant, "sighed, and answered, he was afraid it was to raise the country."³

The cry was out that "the Pope had summoned England once; he was about to summon it again, and then it would be lawful to rise against the Queen, for the Pope was head of the Church."⁴ By the morning bodies of armed men were seen streaming from all points upon the road to Raby. Northumberland himself, old Norton and his sons, Captain Reed, who had

¹ Daughter of Somerset Earl of Worcester and niece of Lord Montague

² November 9.

³ Sussex to the Queen, November 10: *MSS. Border.*

⁴ Evans to the Council, November 8: *MS. Ibid.*

commanded the Bolton guard, with twenty of his harquebussmen, Markinfield, Swinburn, and a hundred other gentlemen, made their way to the Earl of Westmoreland. The country was covered with flying peasants, driving their cattle before them for fear of plunder, and with scattered bands of insurgents who were seeking for arms. Irresolute still, Northumberland had meant to go first to Alnwick whatever else might follow. Before he left Topcliff he addressed a few weak words to Elizabeth, "protesting that he never intended any disloyal act towards her;" begging her of her mercy to take compassion of his miserable state and condition," to listen to no false reports of him, and "to send him some comfort, that he might repair to her presence."¹ But he was drawn with the rest to Raby, where he and they were to decide whether they would fight, or fly, or submit. There, two days after, at a general council, the question was once more discussed. They were all uncertain; the Nortons were divided among themselves, Northumberland and Swinburn were inclining to make for Flanders, and there was no resolution anywhere. They had all but broken up, and "departed, every man to provide for himself," when Lady Westmoreland, Lord Surrey's daughter, threw herself among them, "weeping bitterly," and crying "that they and their country were shamed for ever, and that they would seek holes to creep into." The lady's courage put spirit into the men. There was still one more chance: while they were debating, a pursuivant came from Sussex requiring the Earls, for the last time, to return to their allegiance. If they were falsely accused to the Queen, Sussex said that

¹ Northumberland to the Queen, November 13 (*sic*): *Border MSS*. The date is obviously wrong. The Earl left Topcliff on the 10th.

their friends would stand by them. If they had slipped, their friends would intercede for them."¹ But it was now too late. Northumberland proposed to go on to Alnwick, raise his people there, and join the others on the Tyne; but the Nortons and the other gentlemen would not allow him to leave them. The pursuivant was detained till he could carry back a fuller answer than could be expressed in words; and at four o'clock the following afternoon, Sunday, the 14th of November, as the twilight was darkening, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Sir Christofer and Sir Cuthbert Neville, and old Richard Norton entered the city of Durham. With sixty followers armed to the teeth behind them, they strode into the cathedral; Norton, with a massive gold crucifix hanging from his neck, and carrying the old banner of the Pilgrimage, the cross and streamers and the five wounds. They "overthrew the communion board;" they tore the English bible and prayerbook to pieces, the ancient altar was taken from a rubbish heap where it had been thrown, and solemnly replaced, and the holy water vessel was restored at the west door; and then, amidst tears, embraces, prayers, and thanksgivings, the organ pealed out, the candles and torches were lighted, and mass was said once more in the long-desecrated aisles.

"Tell your master what you have seen," Northumberland said to the messenger, when it was over. "Bid him use no further persuasions; our lives are in danger, and if we are to lose them, we will lose them in the field."²

The first step once ventured there was no more hesitation. On Monday morning they moved south, to

¹ Sussex to the Earls, November 13: *Memorials of the Rebellion.*

² Sussex to Elizabeth, November 15: *MSS. Border.*

Darlington, gathering force like a snowball, and with herald's voice and written proclamation, at cross road and village green, in town hall and pulpit, they made known their intentions to the world, and appealed to the religious conscience of the people. "They intended no hurt to the Queen's Majesty nor her good subjects," they said; "but inasmuch as the order of things in the Church and matters of religion were set forth and used contrary to the ancient and Catholic faith, their purpose was to reduce all the said causes of religion to the ancient custom and usage, and therein they desired all good people to take their part."¹ Sussex could do nothing to arrest the movement. He sent out a Commission to assemble the "force of the shire;" but if it came together he feared that it would be more likely to go over to the rebels than fight for the Queen; could he trust the levies otherwise, he had no money to pay them with; and Yorkshiremen, as Sir George Bowes had to warn him, would never serve without wages."² Slow, per-

¹ Proclamation of the Earls, November 15: *Memorials of the Rebellion*. The form was afterwards slightly varied, running thus:—"We, the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, the Queen's true and faithful subjects, to all the same of the old Roman Catholic faith. Know ye that we with many others well disposed, as well of the nobility as others, have promised our faith to the furtherance of this sure good meaning. Forasmuch as divers disordered and ill-disposed persons about the Queen's Majesty have by their crafty and subtle dealing, to advance themselves, overthrown in the realm the true and Catholic religion, and by the same abuseth the Queen, dishonoureth the realm, and now lastly seeketh to procure the destruction of the nobility: We, therefore, have gathered ourselves together to resist force by force, and rather by the help of God and of you good people, to reduce these things amiss, with the restoring of all ancient customs and liberties to God and this noble Realm. And lastly, if we shall not do it ourselves, we might be reformed by strangers, to the great hazard of the state of this our country, whereunto we are all bound. God save the Queen."—Proclamation of the Earls, November 19: *MSS Border*.

² Bowes to Sussex, November 17.

plexed, irresolute, the same at York as he had been six years before in his unlucky command in Ireland, Sussex could see nothing but the uselessness of resistance, and recommended Elizabeth to come to terms, if possible, with the insurgent leaders. "If the rebels prepare to fight," he wrote, "they will make religion their ground; and what force they may have in that cause, and how faintly the most part of the country that go with me will fight against that cause, and what treason may be wrought amongst mine own force for that cause, I know not. But truly, and upon my duty to your Majesty, I have great cause to doubt much of every of them, and so I do indeed. Your Majesty must consider whether it shall be greater surety for you to pardon these Earls their part taken and their offences past, to call them to attend at your Court, where you may be sure from any practice, and this winter to purge this country and the other parts of the realm of the ill affected; and so to avoid the danger of foreign aid and make all sure at home; or else to hazard battle against desperate men, with soldiers that fight against their conscience.

"If it come to the fight, either God shall give you the victory, or if any man will stand with me, you shall find my carcase on the ground, whatever the rest of my company do; for besides my duty to your Majesty, I will for my conscience' sake spend all my lives, if I had a thousand, against all the world that shall draw sword against our religion; but I find all the wisest Protestants affected that you should offer mercy before you try the sword." ¹

The Earls understood thoroughly that for the time the game was in their hands. They advanced straight

¹ Sussex to the Queen, November 15: *MSS. Border*

and steadily southwards, their numbers varying or variously reported as from eight to fifteen thousand, among whom were two thousand horse well armed and appointed. The only regular troops in the Presidency were on the Border, in garrison at Berwick or Carlisle, or in the Middle Marches with Sir John Foster. Both Sussex and Cecil wrote pressingly that some of these soldiers should be sent to York; but they could not be spared from their posts. The Earl of Murray had proposed in August to set the Scotch Border in order. It will be remembered that Elizabeth, just then in pique at Murray for refusing to receive back his sister, had ordered the Wardens, if the Regent molested any gentlemen inclined to Mary Stuart, to receive and protect them. The Kers and the Scotts were thus left undisturbed, and "the Earls had so practised with them that the Wardens had more need of men themselves than were able to spare any to send elsewhere;"¹ Northumberland had been in communication through the autumn "with all the dangerous lords and gentlemen" between Forth and Tweed; the powder-train of the general conspiracy had been laid throughout the island wherever Mary Stuart had a friend.

Sir George Bowes flung himself into Barncastle, with a few score servants and followers. Lord Darcy held Pomfret, and trusted faintly that if the Queen would send him money he might be able to stop the passage over the Don. But there was no force anywhere which could meet the rebels in the field. On the 19th they were at Ripon, on the 20th at Knaresborough and Borrowbridge, on the 23d they had passed York. Their main body was at Wetherby and

¹ Foster to Bowes, November 25: *Memorials of the Rebellion.*

Tadcaster, their advanced horse were far down across the Ouse.¹ The barns were full, the farm-yards well stocked; the cattle which had fattened in the summer were not yet fallen off in flesh, and food was abundant. They moved on at leisure, intending to make first for Tutbury and release the Queen of Scots, and then either advance to London or wait for a corresponding movement in the South. To make the ground sure and to open a port through which the expected succours could reach them from Alva, by a side movement they secured Hartlepool. They sent letters to every person of rank whom they expected to find on their side. Misinterpreting the inaction of Sussex, they supposed that he was waiting only for the plea of constraint to join their party. They had avoided York on their advance to prevent a collision, and they wrote to beg him to make common cause with them.² To Lord Derby they wrote saying that, "because he was wise they needed not persuade with him" of the necessity of their rising; they knew "his zeal for God's true religion" — they knew "his care for conserving the ancient nobility;" they trusted that he would lose no time in joining his forces to theirs:³ while to commit before the world the other noblemen who they believed to be with them in heart, they set out a manifesto, relating as much as suited their purpose of the proceedings of the Council during the past year. "The succession to the crown was dangerously and uncertainly depending through the many pretended titles." "For the avoiding of bloodshed and other subversions of the Commonwealth," the Duke

¹ Sussex to the Queen, November 24: *Border MSS.*

² Same to the same, November 26: *MS. Ibid.*

³ The Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland to the Earl of Derby, November 27: *Burghley Papers*, Vol. I.

of Norfolk, the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke, with divers others of the old nobility, had determined to make known and understood of all persons to whom the right did indeed appertain. "This their good and honourable purpose had been prevented by certain common enemies to the realm, near about the Queen's person." They were themselves in danger from "sinister devices" which could only be avoided by the sword. They had therefore taken arms and committed themselves and their cause to Almighty God.¹

The next step was to secure Mary Stuart. Their advanced camp was little more than fifty miles from Tutbury. Lord Northumberland proposed to go forward suddenly and rapidly with a small party. Lord Wharton and two of the Lowthers agreed to join him either on the road or at Burton or Tutbury, and so they hoped to carry the castle by surprise.²

Happily before the enterprise could be executed the Queen of Scots was beyond their reach. When the

¹ Manifesto of the Earls: *Burghley Papers*, Vol. I. Northumberland had great hopes from this manifesto, as well as from the previous proclamation. "Our assembly," he said, "was for reformation of religion and preservation of the second person, the Queen of Scots, the right heir, if want should be of the issue of her Majesty's body. Which two causes I made full account were greatly pursued by the most part of the noblemen within the realm, and especially for God's true religion. Yea, I was in hope both the Earl of Leicester and my Lord of Burghley had been blessed with some godly inspiration by this time of day to have discerned chiese from chalk, the matter being so evidently discovered by the learned Divines of our time." — Confession of the Earl of Northumberland: *Border MSS.*

² "For that you write that the enterprise of the chief purpose is resolutely upon the Earl of Northumberland to be attempted and that the enterprisers are desirous of my company, — this I offer, that appoint me a day and I will meet with four good horses at Burton or Tutbury, there to perform with the foremost man or else to die. And to the furtherance thereof the Lord Wharton and my brother will join. For coming to you upon an hour's warning with their whole power it is not possible, but they will not fail to win with you in passing. Let nothing persuade you but that the Lord Wharton and Richard Lowther are and will be always with you." — Lowther to the Earl of Westmoreland: *MSS. Ibid.*

news that the Earls had risen came first to London, Elizabeth failed to comprehend the meaning of the danger. She could not believe that an insurrection on such a scale could have started suddenly out of the ground. She distrusted Sussex's judgment and half distrusted his loyalty. She insisted that he could have put down the disturbance at the first moment had he cared to do so, and she resented and seemed chiefly concerned about the expense to which she would be exposed. "The Earls," she said, "were old in blood but poor in force;" and, evidently unconscious that a lost battle might be the loss of the realm, she declared that she would send down no pardons, and Sussex must restore order with the means already at his disposal.¹

She wished to deceive herself, and she had those at her ear who were too ready to assist her. Leonard Dacres, when he separated from the Earls, after their disappointment about Norfolk, had returned to London. Either the Queen had sent for him as she sent for others, and he had thought it prudent to comply, or, not expecting a rising, he had gone up on business of his own. To anticipate the arrest which he had reason to look for, he sought and obtained an audience. With the address of which he was an accomplished master, he satisfied Elizabeth of his fidelity, which he

¹ Elizabeth did not realize that the Yorkshire levies could not be depended on. "Good Mr. Secretary," Sussex wrote in answer to Cecil, "give advice that the sparing of a little money in the beginning be not repented hereafter. and therefore send some good force that ye may surely trust to in these parts. To be short with you, he is a rare bird that by one means or other hath not some of his with the two Earls, or in his heart wisheth not well to the cause they pretend. Seeing what groweth in all the realm by this matter, I wish heartily the Queen's Majesty should quench the fire at the beginning, either by pardon or force; and if by force, then not to trust these parts, lest by one foil taken much may be hazarded." — Sussex to Cecil, November 20: *MSS. Border*.

assured her that he was only anxious to display in the field. The name of Dacres in the North was worth an army.

The Queen listened graciously. Norfolk being now in disgrace, she promised Dacres favour in his suit for the estates, and he went down to Naworth with a formal commission to raise whatever force he could collect, and with instructions to join Lord Scrope at Carlisle. Dacres, who was a far abler man than either of the Earls, believed them to have made a foolish mistake. He sent them word that if Scrope took the field, he would go with him "till he came in sight of their powers," and "then set upon him and overthrow him;" and this undoubtedly he meant to do, if the rebellion wore a complexion of success. But he had his own interests to look to also. He was not the man to commit himself to a falling cause; and he might well think he could do better service to religion and Mary Stuart if he could secure his peerage and his inheritance by remaining loyal. At all events, he had misled the Queen as to the force which she had to depend on. He had secured his friends time, and so far had given them their best chance of success.¹

Elizabeth's other measures were not more effective. To save the cost of sending troops from London, Lord Rutland, a boy of thirteen, was directed to call out the musters in Nottinghamshire and put himself at their head. Sir Ralph Sadler and Thomas Cecil were ordered down to take charge of him, and to see especially that the young Earl while on duty went diligently to church.² Spies offered their services, which

¹ Notes of the proceedings of Leonard Dacres, March 4, 1570: *MSS Border*. Witherington's confession, January 19: *MS. Ibid.*

² Cecil to Sadler, November 20: *Sadler Papers*, Vol. II.

were eagerly accepted. A Captain Stully volunteered to go among the insurgents, learn their secrets, divide and betray them.¹ A more dangerous person, who will be heard of again, Sir Robert Constable, undertook for a high bribe the same work.² With such precautions as these the Queen imagined that the rebellion could be safely encountered. The one substantial precaution which she thought necessary was to join Lord Hunsdon in command with Sussex.

Meanwhile Don Guerau believed that the long-wished-for time was come. The Earl of Southampton and Lord Montague sent to consult him whether they should call out the Catholics in their own counties, or cross the Channel and endeavour to bring back Alva with them.³ The Ambassador declined to advise, and they did nothing; but other gentlemen hurried over with the news of the rising; though Philip had been cold, he had left the Duke free to act if there was an opportunity; and so confident was Don Guerau that he would not allow the occasion to pass, that he sent word to the Earls that if they could but keep a single seaport open, they would have assistance in a fortnight. "Never," he told Philip, "was there a fairer chance of punishing the men who had so long insulted Spain, or of restoring the Catholic religion."⁴

All turned at that moment on the success of the

¹ Bedford to Sadler, November 21: *Sadler Papers*, Vol. II.

² Constable was Westmoreland's cousin; a man whose sympathy with the rebellion would be accepted without suspicion, and therefore the fitter for the purpose. He was grandson of Constable of Flamborough, the friend of Aske, who was executed after the Pilgrimage of Grace.

³ "Milord Montagu y el Conde de Southampton me enviaron á decir si les aconsejaba que tomasen las armas ó pasasen á V^a Excelencia, y les dixé que no podia darles consejo hasta tener la orden conveniente para ello." Don Guerau to the Duke of Alva, December 1: *MS. Sinancas*.

⁴ Don Guerau to Philip, November 20: *MS. Ibid.*

adventure at Tutbury. Had the Queen of Scots reached the camp of the rebels, Southampton, Montague, Morley, Worcester, in all likelihood the Earl of Derby, would have immediately risen. Alva had a fleet already collected in Zealand with guns and powder on board; and he was understood to be waiting only to hear that she was at liberty to launch them upon England. If reports which reached Cecil spoke true, it was even arranged that the members of the infamous Blood Council would accompany the expedition to assist the Catholics in their expected revenge;¹ and La Mothe Fénelon congratulated himself that England was about to taste the same calamities which France had been suffering for years through English intrigues.²

Fortunately for Elizabeth, Lord Hunsdon reached the North in time to remove her delusions. He was at Doncaster on the 20th of November, where he found that the rebels were in force between him and Sussex. Accompanied by Sadler he made his way to Hull, and thence he passed round at the rear of them to York, while he sent back word that not a day was to be lost in sending troops from London, and that the Queen of Scots must be removed from Tutbury, or she would without doubt be carried off.³

¹ "Le Duc d'Alva a eu entendement avecques quelqu'uns Seigneurs d'Angleterre, et il les a promis assistance à l'encontre de la Reyne et la religion, pour quelle fin ledict Duc avoit faict apprestier en Holland et Zealand certain nombre de navires, les quelles sont deja equippez et grande preparation de beaucoup de grande artillerie y sont amenez. L'ung de ses filz estoit appointé pour y venir avecques ung nombre de gens jusques à quelque havre au pais de Norfolk, entre lesquelles estoient quelques Espagnolz conseillers appointez à sçavoir la conseil de Sang, comme ils sont au Pais Bas Inquisiteurs qui auroient faict detestables et horribles punitions et dechirations du peuple." — to Cecil, December 8. From Brussels: *MSS. Hatfield*.

² La Mothe au Roy, November 25: *Dépêches*, Vol. II.

³ "The Earls intend to go through withal. Their meaning is to take

Shrewsbury had received a similar warning and made such preparations for his defence as circumstances allowed. Huntingdon, who was at no great distance, rejoined him at his own request. If the castle was attacked in force, they felt both of them that it could not be held, but it would stand a siege for a day or two, and they took precautions not to be surprised. A mounted guard patrolled the woods at night, and the Queen of Scots herself was carefully kept in sight. She had affected illness and had desired to be alone; but Shrewsbury by this time understood her and felt more suspicion than alarm.

So matters stood with them when Westmoreland was arranging his plans for her rescue. Another day or night would have seen the attempt made, for the Earls knew how much depended on it; but, on the 23d of November, a courier dashed in from London with an order for the Queen of Scots' instant removal to Coventry. It was a delicate matter to take her anywhere. "The more she was seen and acquainted with, the greater the danger." The commission, too, had been sent to Huntingdon alone, and Shrewsbury's pride was again wounded at the seeming distrust. He refused to leave his charge, irritating Huntingdon by implying a doubt that the Queen of Scots' life would not be safe with him. In this humour they got to horse together, took their prisoner between them, with a mounted escort of four hundred men, and so made their best speed to Warwickshire. They rode into Coventry "at night, to avoid the fond gaze and confluence of the people." They had been ordered to

the Scottish Queen, and therefore, for God's sake, let her not remain where she is, for their greatest force are horsemen." — Hunsdon to Cecil, November 20: *MSS. Border.*

prevent Mary Stuart from being seen or spoken to, but their precautions were useless. No preparations had been made to receive them, and they were obliged to take her to an inn too small to admit more than her personal attendants, and too public to enable them to seclude her from sight. At Coventry, as
 December. everywhere else, she found a mysterious body of friends devoted heart and soul to her, and "going up and down the town with full powers to practise." Shrewsbury continued cold, distant, and resentful;¹ and Huntingdon, who found the contents of his most secret despatches were in some way carried to her ears, could not but feel a wish that she was safe in Nottingham Castle rather than in an open town, especially as he knew that dangerous influences were at work upon Elizabeth and doubted how far she would resist them.²

He had good reason for uneasiness. Norfolk, more than ever uneasy at his imprisonment, when the revolution seemed likely to be accomplished and the fruits of it snatched from himself, plied Elizabeth with passionate entreaties for forgiveness. He professed a horror at "the enterprise of the rebel Earls." For himself, he swore that he "had never dealt with them, either for religion, title, or succession," and that he had never entertained an undutiful thought towards herself.³ At the same time he was endeavouring with

¹ Huntingdon to Cecil.

² "I am sorry to understand such objections as you write be many times made against good counsels given by true-affected councillors. God amend that fault wheresoever it be, or else our country and sovereign shall taste, I fear, of sharper storms from the North, or perhaps from some other coast, than doth yet blow. God give all councillors such hearts as in their counsels they may unfeignedly in simplicity and truth seek his glory, our country's weal, and Sovereign's surety. December 9": *MSS. Hatfield*

³ Norfolk to Elizabeth, December 5: *Burghley Papers*, Vol. I.

vows and promises to reëstablish himself in the affections of Mary Stuart, and she in turn was bewitching him with assurances of eternal fidelity, declaring herself¹ to be waiting only for his directions, careless of dangers, and ready, if he could extricate himself, to slip through the hands of her own keepers.

While the two principals were thus engaged, the Bishop of Ross was besieging Leicester, and through Leicester the ears of Elizabeth. The Bishop of Ross, with every fibre of the conspiracy in his hands, could carry to the Council the smoothest aspect of innocence. He could affect to grieve over the disturbances which he had himself assisted to kindle, and wind up with a lamentation over the dangers of his mistress, and entreat that she might be allowed to fly from the storms which were threatening to overwhelm her. His mistress, he said, had preferred the friendship of the Queen of England to that of the "most puissant of Princes." She had chosen her out and clung to her as the sole support of her misfortunes; her Majesty should return love for love and let her go.²

Elizabeth's suspicions of the Queen of Scots had

¹ "When you say to me you will be to me as I will, then you shall remain mine own good Lord, as you subscribed once with God's grace, and I will remain yours faithfully. Neither weal nor woe shall remove me from you if you cast me not away." — Mary Stuart to Norfolk, December: *Labanoff*, Vol. III.

² "Let her Majesty remember," he wrote to Leicester, "what great commendations and immortal fame many kings and princes have purchased for themselves for benefit, aid, and support bestowed on other princes being in like distress. Abraham delivered his brother Lot. Cyrus set free the Jews from their captivity. Evil Merodach delivered Joachim King of Judah forth of prison. The Romans restored Masinissa King of Numidia, and did not noble Cordela (*sic*) set up again in the royal throne of Britain her father, driven from thence by his two other unkind and unnatural daughters? Would not her Majesty in like manner have pity on one who was at once her sister, daughter, friend?" — The Bishop of Ross to Leicester, November 28: *MSS. Queen of Scots*.

happily been stirred too deeply, and neither the advice of fools or traitors, nor Norfolk's mendacity, nor the eloquence of the Bishop of Ross, could charm her now into a false security.

Meantime the Earls had missed their chance and had lost the game in missing it. Mary Stuart once beyond their reach, there was no longer any fear from Alva. The Southern noblemen let the time for action go by, and the rebel Earls, after waiting three days about Tadcaster, turned back upon their steps. They had expected that all England would rise to meet them. The universal tranquillity was not disturbed. The Earl of Derby, instead of rising, forwarded to Elizabeth the letters with which they had tempted his loyalty. Montague and Southampton waited for Alva, and Alva would not move till Mary Stuart was free. They had no money; the road to London was open, but they were unwilling to irritate the people by feeding their men upon plunder; and even could they reach London, they doubted their power to carry it by a *coup de main*, and to besiege it would be beyond their power. Like the Pilgrims of Grace, they halted in their first success, and in halting lost all.¹

Their plan was now to hold the north of Yorkshire, Durham, and Northumberland, and wait to be attacked. They thought of assaulting York, but they doubted whether they could take it without guns. There would be danger to their friends in the town, and though Westmoreland, who saw more clearly than the others the necessity of doing something important, was in favour of the attempt, he was alone in his opinion.²

¹ La Mothe, December 27: *Dépêches*, Vol. II.

² Bishop's confession: *MSS. Hatfield*. Confession of Christofer Norton April, 1570: *MSS. Domestic, Rolls House*.

Lord Sussex had deserved more credit than he was likely to receive. His brother, Sir Egremont Radcliffe, had joined the insurgent army, giving a show of colour to the Queen's suspicions. But when Hunsdon and Sadler arrived they found that he had done as much as he could in prudence have ventured. He had collected within the walls almost three thousand men. He had not led them against the rebels because "they wished better to the enemy's cause than to the Queen's." But as Elizabeth believed that he had been wilfully inactive, Sadler ventured to tell her "that there were not ten gentlemen in Yorkshire that did allow her proceedings in the cause of religion." "When one member of a family was with Sussex, another was with the Earls."¹ "The cause was great and dangerous," and Sussex had done loyally and wisely in refusing to risk a battle. If only their own lives were at stake, both he himself and Hunsdon and Sussex would try their fortunes, even "with the untrusty soldiers they had;" but "should they receive one overthrow the sequel would be so dangerous as it was better for the Queen to spend a great deal of treasure than they should give that adventure."²

Sussex, therefore, had acted well and wisely in sitting still behind the walls of York. Had the Queen of Scots been released his caution would have availed him little; the war would have rolled south and have left him behind: but it was necessary to risk something, and events worked for him. Money came in at last, though in small quantities and grudgingly given. The soldiers in the city were paid up and grew better tempered. "The discreet began to dislike the insur-

¹ Sadler to Cecil, December 6: *Sadler Papers*, Vol. II.

² Same to the same, December 3: *Border MSS.*

rection," "the wealthy to be afraid of spoil." At the first stir "there were few or none of the citizens that were not more addicted to the rebels than to the Queen," and there was not a cannon or a cartridge in the town. Sussex kept them all quiet, brought guns and powder up from Hull, threw up bulwarks, did everything better than could have been expected from his first fears and his commonplace character. Hunsdon was able to say, "that if Sussex's diligence and carefulness had not been great, her Majesty had neither had York nor Yorkshire any longer at her devotion: he wished to God her Majesty knew all his doings: she would know how good a subject she had."¹

By this time the Court was thoroughly alarmed, and a Southern force was on the move. Lord Pembroke replied to the Earls' manifesto with disclaiming all sympathy with them or their object. He had ever been a true subject, he said, and he did not mean in his old age to spot his former life with disloyalty. He declared himself ready and willing to serve anywhere and against any enemy.² With graceful confidence the Queen accepted Pembroke's services, and named him at once general of an army of reserve which was to assemble at Windsor.³ Southampton and Montague, partly perhaps in fear, partly with worse intentions, made an effort to escape abroad. They had sailed, but were driven back by a storm. The Queen

¹ Hunsdon to Cecil, November 26: *MSS. Border*.

² Pembroke to the Queen, December 5: *Burghley Papers*, Vol. I.

³ "The Queen will have an army here of 15,000 men by the 10th of December, whereof the Lord Pembroke shall be general." — Cecil to Sadler: *Sadler Papers*, Vol. II. It was to be composed of levies from Essex, Kent, Sussex, Hants, Oxfordshire, Bedfordshire, Wilts, and Somerset. — *MSS. Domestic*, November, 1569.

heard of it: to disarm treason by not affecting to see it, she gave Montague the command of the south coast, and joined Lord Bedford in commission with him, as a security against his betraying his trust.¹ By these and similar measures the insurrectionary spirit was subdued everywhere but in the North. So far as England was concerned generally, the rebellion had flashed in the pan. The Catholic leaders were taken by surprise, separated by long distances, and unable to concert any common plan of action. They distrusted one another, they doubted whether they would be supported from abroad, and at last it appeared were unwilling to move without direct instructions from Philip; ² while Philip on his side — in such letters as came in from him — would only say that they must do nothing unless they were certain of success.³

A proclamation was now sent down and issued at York, promising a free pardon to all the rebels except the two Earls and ten others, on condition of their immediately laying down their arms. Lord Clinton went into Lincolnshire, Lord Warwick and the Earl of Hereford into the Midland Counties, to collect a force to relieve Sussex; and by the end of November

¹ "Estuvó ya Milord Montague con su yerno el Conde de Southampton embarcado para ir á Flandes, y por tiempos contrarios se hubo de volver á desembarcar, y legandose un mandamiento de esta Serenissima Reyna, no rehusó de volver á la Corte y purgarse desta fama, y salido con ellos le dieron el gobierno del Condado de Sussex." — Don Guerau á Su Magestad, December 18: *MS Sinancas*.

² "De los que estan confederados ningunos han hecho aun movimiento porque estan esparcidos, pero entre si estan consultando de la forma de levantarse." — Don Guerau to Alva, December 1. And again, three weeks later: — "Estan sin osarse fiar los unos de los otros. Parece que aguardan á entender si V. Magd será servido de darles favor." — Don Guerau to Philip, December 20.

³ "Mas han de mirar mucho como lo emprender, pues si errasese el hecho eran todos perdidos, y vos hecisteis muy bien en remitirlos al Duque de Alva." — Philip to Don Guerau, November 18.

two bodies of 4000 men each were converging rapidly upon Doncaster.

Warwick was crippled with gout and only half recovered from the wound which he had received at Havre, but "thinking himself the unhappiest man living if he should not be in place to venture his life against the rebels;"¹ while ships left Sheerness, some to cruise in the Channel, some to lie off Hartlepool, in case the Spaniards should attempt to cross.

On the 26th of November the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland were proclaimed traitors at Windsor. Northumberland was a Knight of the Garter. On Sunday the 27th, a fortnight after the mass in Durham Cathedral, the Heralds and the Knight Marshal went in procession to St. George's Chapel. Rouge Cross read the sentence of degradation from a ladder against the wall. Chester then "hurled down with violence the Earl's banner of arms to the ground, his sword, his crest, and then his helmet and mantle;" while Garter, waiting below, "spurned them with like violence from the place where they had fallen, out of the west door of the Chapel, and thence clean out of the uttermost gates of the Castle."²

Three days later the rebel army was broken up. The men scattered about Yorkshire in parties of two and three hundred, "spoiling" for want of other means to feed themselves. Sussex kept close within the walls of York, and let them pursue their retreat unmolested. The Earls divided: Northumberland went straight back to Durham, sending his own people before him to fortify Alnwick. Westmoreland paused at Barncastle, where a brief success revived his failing

¹ Warwick to Cecil, December 3: *MSS. Domestic*.

² *M.S. Ibid.*, November, 1569.

spirits. Sir George Bowes was in the castle with 800 men. The Berwick garrison had made an effort to relieve him, but had been unable to leave the Borders. He was scantily provided with arms, and had so little powder that he durst not waste it. Westmoreland had brought falconets and other small field-pieces with him, and as Bowes was short of provisions besides his other deficiencies, Sussex sent him word that he had better let his "horse" cut their way out at night and make their way to York, and himself hold the keep till relief could reach him. The horse escaped as Sussex directed, but Bowes himself was less fortunate. The garrison mutinied. The men leapt over the walls by twenty and thirty at a time. Two hundred of "the best disposed" who were on guard went out openly through the gates and joined the insurgents, and as those who remained showed signs of intending to follow them, Bowes was obliged to surrender, stipulating only to be allowed to go where he would.

Westmoreland refortified the castle, left a party there to hold it, and went to Raby.¹ Vain of his solitary capture, he expected that the tide would now turn; he anticipated, from the behaviour of Bowes's followers, that the Queen's troops, which were coming up so slowly, had no intention of fighting, and that if they were forced into the field they would pass over to his side.² But a few days undeceived him. The evil signs remained unchanged. Dacres was at Car-

¹ Raby Castle was described at this time "as a marvellous huge house of building with three wards builded all of stone and covered with lead." The country round was bleak and untimbered: "nor the castle itself of any strength, but like a monstrous old abbey which would soon decay if it was not repaired." — Sadler to Cecil, December 2: *Memorials of the Rebellion*.

² Constable to Sadler, December 16: *Sadler Papers*, Vol. II.

lisle with Scrope, and sent word that if the object of the insurrection was to marry Norfolk to the Queen of Scots, he would have nothing to do with it.¹ The gentlemen grew cold and dropped off one by one. Even Westmoreland's own men refused "to serve without wages;" and Sir Robert Constable the spy, who had joined him, contrived "to spread such terror among them as he trusted there would be no need of stroke or shot." Constable had been directed "to sow sedition among the rebels, discourage, divide, and disperse them," and to "spare no money" in the process. For such purposes Elizabeth was generous, and he did his work effectually.² The garrison which had been left at Hartlepool strained their eyes for the sails of Alva's fleet, but they saw instead only the ships of the Queen, which as the weather served, drew in upon the shore and sent long shots among them. The harbour, even had Alva been willing, would not have answered the purpose, for it was dry at low water, and vessels of large burden could not enter it in ordinary high tides.³

It was useless to wait longer. Barncastle was again deserted, Hartlepool was evacuated, and so much of the insurgent force as held together was reassembled in Durham in the middle of December. There, as the solitary result of their movement, they could still hear mass in the Cathedral, but the Almighty Power whom they had hoped to propitiate had not interfered in their favour. About 4000 were said to be now remaining in arms, but among these "mistrust" was spreading, and a fear that the Earls would steal away and leave them to their fate.⁴ Meanwhile Clinton

¹ Confession of Bishop: *MSS. Hatfield*.

² Constable to Sadler, December 14: *Sadler Papers*, Vol. II.

³ Sussex to the Council, December 11: *MSS. Border*.

⁴ *Cotton MSS., Calig. B. IX. f. 488.*

and Warwick were advancing on their several routes. They had been long on their way, for the "roads were foul and miry." "The men were wearied with marching in armour," and could move only five or six miles a day. On the 10th of December Clinton was at Doncaster. He too was short of money and was disappointed in his expectations of finding supplies waiting for him there.¹ But the soldiers were loyal and were contented with promises. He pushed on, leaving accounts to be settled afterwards, and on the 13th met Warwick at Wetherby.

Together they had now 11,000 men, all well appointed, in high spirits, "and eager to encounter the rebels if they would abide."

This, however, it seemed now unlikely that the rebels would venture to do. The object was rather to prevent their flight; and Scrope, reassured by the apparent loyalty of Leonard Dacres, moved out from Carlisle to intercept them on their way to the Borders. To have allowed such a proceeding without obstruction, in the heart of his own country, would have ruined Dacres's popularity. He did not interfere himself, but he gave a hint to two of his brothers, and

¹ Elizabeth was in such a humour about expenses that every penny for the regular service had been doled out reluctantly. Every despatch from the different commanders contained a statement of their necessities. Cecil had to write in return that they must spend as little as possible. "There was much ado to procure money. Her Majesty was much grieved at her charges." Cecil's position made him write with reserve. Sir H. Radcliffe, another brother of Sussex, who was with the Queen at Windsor, expressed himself in plainer language.

"If your Lordship," he wrote to the President, "lack there the supplies promised, you must bear them and do what you may otherwise; and if some here with us bear glances or overthrusts, we must not understand them. Neither shall your Lordship receive this supply, though but small, which might have either ended, or at least mitigated, the matter by this time."--Sir H. Radcliffe to Sussex, December 10: *Cotton MSS., Calig B. 9.*

Scrope had no sooner marched out of Carlisle than he was recalled by the discovery of a plot to seize the castle and murder the Bishop, in whose care it had been left. He could not venture to leave his charge with mischief at his own door; though unable to quarrel with Dacres he durst not trust him, and was forced to remain upon the watch.

Thus, if the worst came to the worst, the passage into Scotland was still open, and with the possibility of escape, the irresolution of the Earls increased. On the 17th the Queen's army was at Ripon. Lord Westmoreland still held the fords and bridges of the Tees, and there, if anywhere, a stand was to be made. Northumberland had returned to his friends, and divided, disheartened, and with dwindled numbers, the rebels held a council at Durham to decide whether they should fight or fly. Westmoreland had some courage, and sufficient sense to know, that insurrection, if it meant anything, meant battle. In the Earl of Northumberland, the blood of Hotspur had cooled to the passive temperature, which could suffer, but could not act. Except for his wife, who never left his side, he would more than once have thrown himself upon Elizabeth's clemency;¹ and now, with some remains of loyalty about him, he shrunk from crossing swords with the soldiers. He had imagined that he had but to appear in the field for all England to welcome him. He had looked rather for a triumphant procession to London than to a rebellion which was to cost blood. "He had not taken arms to fight against his mistress," he said, but only in defence of his life,

¹ "His wife being the stouter of the two, doth harden and encourage him to persevere, and rideth up and down with the army, so as the grey mare is the better horse."—Hunsdon to Cecil, November 20: *MSS. Border.*

and to remonstrate against the misgovernment of his country.

In Percy's weakness the hope of rebellion was for the present ended. Five weeks before, the Earls had entered Durham with their priests and banners, to reinstate the kingdom of the saints. They had to leave it now in scandalous discomfiture, for the tide of heresy to flow once more behind them. They could not count their cause lost; the majority of the English nation, if measured by numbers, was still enormously in their favour. But for the moment, the powers of evil were still in the ascendant, and there was nothing left for them to do but to save their lives. The smaller gentlemen made for their homes, trusting to their insignificance to conceal the part which they had taken. The Earls and the more conspicuous leaders went off for Liddisdale, and the first act of the great Catholic conspiracy was over.

The Queen's troops followed swift on their retreating footsteps. There were now but a few score of them holding together; the two noblemen, their ladies, the Nortons, Markinfield, Swinburn, and their servants. The weather had changed; a blasting north wind swept over the moors, with snow and sleet lashing in their faces.¹ Beyond Hexham they were turned

¹ The hard weather lasted into January, and among the minor incidents of the rebellion there is a touching account of the consequent sufferings of two little daughters of the Earl of Northumberland, whom he had left behind him at Topcliff. Their uncle, Sir Henry Percy, who remained loyal, passing by three weeks after Christmas, reported to Sussex, "that he had found the young ladies in hard case, for neither had they any provisions nor one penny to relieve themselves with." "They would gladly be removed," he said; "their want of fire is so great, and their years may not well suffer that lack." — Sir H. Percy to Sussex, January 9: *Memorials of the Rebellion*.

There was "sharp execution" done at Topcliff before Percy's visit, and the poor children, as they looked shivering out of their window, must have

by Sir John Foster, and doubled back with an intention of hiding among the wolds. But Clinton's cavalry were on the Tyne, led by Sir Edward Horsey, the sworn brother of the Channel pirates, who railing at the cowardice which, having begun a rebellion, would not stand to fight it out, was eager to serve what he called God with the free use of rope and gallows.¹ At Horsey's side was Thomas Cecil, for whose loose ways his father once thought the Bastile the only cure; and who now "having," as he said, "adventured his carcase" in the Queen's service, was looking to fill his pockets from the profits of the expected confiscations.² The Yorkshiremen themselves had turned upon the Earls in their failure, and were now crying round Clinton, "Hang them that will not live and die with you."³ There was no possibility of return, and again turning their horses northward, on the night of the 20th the fugitives found shelter and a few hours' rest at Naworth. There, however, there was no remaining for them; Dacres was in no humour to compromise himself for men whose views he disliked and whose rashness and weakness had ruined

seen some scores of their father's servants hanging on the trees about the house.

¹ "Even as they have frowardly and villanously begun a lewd enterprise, so have they beastly and cowardly performed the same. The bruit of her Majesty's army drawing near did so appal their hearts as made them rather yield their heads unto a halter than by fight persist in their vile and detestable quarrel. I beseech Almighty God that her Majesty may take such order as the punishment of these rebels may be example to all others in this age. I would not have thought to have found any corner in England where God and the Queen is so little acknowledged, — the which now by your Honour's good order may be redressed." — Edward Horsey to Cecil, December 22: *MSS. Domestic*.

² Before the rebellion was over, and without waiting to know what the Queen would do, he applied for the administration of the estate of the Nortons. — Thomas Cecil to Sir William Cecil, December 23: *MS. Ibid.*

³ Sussex to Cecil, December 22: *MSS. Border*.

a great cause. The forlorn party, dwindled now to three ladies and twenty men, were again off before daybreak in the snow, and wind, and darkness.

Across the Border they were safe from their English pursuers; but their case was scarcely mended. They had poor hospitality to expect from Murray, and they had to seek a refuge among the outlaws and moss-troopers who had been the companions of the crimes of Bothwell. Black Ormiston, one of the murderers of Darnley, John of the Side, a noted Border thief, and others, opened their hiding places to them. But among these vagabonds there was little honour. The Regent was at Jedburgh. One of the Elliots, who was in danger of hanging, and wished to earn his pardon, laid a plot to take them. They were hunted out again, and it was then found that "the Liddisdale men had stolen the ladies' horses." The Countess of Northumberland had to be left behind at John of the Side's house, a place described "as not to be compared to an English dog-kennel." Lord Westmoreland, "to be the more unknown," exchanged his gay dress for the outlaw's greasy breeks and jerkin, and he and his companions spent their Christmas in the caves and peat-holes in the woods of Harlaw and the Debatable Land, till their more powerful Scottish friends could take measures for their relief.¹

While Clinton and Warwick were thus hunting the insurgents out of the country, Chapin Vitelli, in London, seeing the Catholics cut so poor a figure, was little disposed to encourage his master in going to war for them. Elizabeth was so suspicious of him, that at one time she sent him an order to leave the country;² but

¹ Sussex to Cecil, December 22 (midnight): *Border MSS.*

² Don Guerau to Alva, December 1.

he struggled on, doing his best to propitiate her, holding out hopes that if she would make up matters with Spain, Spain would assist her in recovering Calais. and, if he produced little effect upon the Queen, he succeeded in seriously alarming the French Ambassador. La Mothe Fénelon, to sound perhaps the real intentions of the Spaniards, said to Don Guerau, that if he could do anything to assist the Earls, he would himself heartily coöperate with him. Don Guerau coldly excused himself;¹ and La Mothe, more afraid than ever that a reconciliation between England and Spain would arise out of the Earls' defeat, began in turn to pay court to Elizabeth, and endeavoured to outbid Vitelli in offers of friendship. The English Catholics had made an effort to overthrow the Reformation; and as a result of it, the ministers of the Catholic Powers were contending for the smiles of the heretic sovereign. She knew the value of their advances. She judged rightly that her differences with Spain were deeper rooted than any which could exist with a country which was half of it Huguenot. She remained cold to Chapin. She accepted graciously the advances of La Mothe; and she spoke to him long and confidentially on the condition of Christendom. With tears in her eyes, she protested that she had not deserved the rebellion. For her relations with the Continent, she desired only that neither her own subjects should assist in creating trouble elsewhere, nor French or Spanish Catholics encourage insurrection in England. She spoke with horror of bloodshed. Ex-

¹ "El Embajador del Rey Christianissimo me vino á visitar y decir que si yo podia favorecer á estos en esta justa causa que por parte de su Rey me seria buen compañero, sin celos y sospecha alguna; yo me escusé con decir que no tenía mandamiento de su Magestad sobre ello." — Don Guerau to Alva, December 1.

cept for her honour's sake, she said, she would have already pardoned the Earls, and she hoped they would of themselves abandon their enterprise.

La Mothe observed that while there were differences of religion, Europe could never be quiet.

Elizabeth admitted in answer that between the Pope's pretended power to absolve subjects from their allegiance and the Protestant theory of the right of subjects to depose their sovereigns, Governments had a bad time before them. It was time to do something, and she would gladly come to some understanding with other sovereigns on these matters. As to the reunion of Christendom, there was nothing for which she was more anxious. There would be no difficulty with her. She had told Cardinal Châtillon that whatever he and his party might think of the abomination of going to mass, she would herself sooner have heard a thousand than have caused the least of the million villanies which had been committed on account of it.¹

Remarkable words, throwing the truest light now attainable upon the spiritual convictions of Elizabeth. They might be called wise from the modern point of view, to which varieties of religious forms seem like words in different languages expressing the same idea. For men to kill each other about a piece of bread appears, when so stated, the supreme culmination of human folly. Yet Knox and Coligny were, after all, more right than the Queen of England. The idol was

¹ "Et quant à chercher l'union de l'Eglise, Dieu sçavoit qu'elle avoit souvent envoyé devers l'Empereur pour l'en solliciter, et qu'elle ne s'y randoit jamais opiniastre; mesmes avoit dict à M. le Cardinal Châtillon que quoique on tint en leur religion pour une grande abomination d'aller à la Messe, qu'elle aymeroit mieulx en avoir ouy mille que d'avoir esté cause de la moindre méchanceté d'ung million qui s'estoient commises par ces troubles." — La Mothe au Roy, December 10: *Dépêches*, Vol. II.

nothing, and the thing offered to the idol was nothing ; but the mass in the sixteenth century meant the stake, the rack, the gibbet, the Inquisition dungeons, the Devil enthroned upon the judgment-seat of the world, with steel, cord, and fire to execute his sentences.

Chapin meanwhile continued to sue for an agreement with Spain, and made no progress. He offered terms the details of which are not preserved, but terms so favourable to England as to be humiliating to the Catholic King. The more pliant Philip appeared the more Elizabeth distrusted him. To make him see that she had no fears she discussed each condition with laboured prolixity : at length she said she would write to Philip, and desired the Minister to be the bearer of her letter. Chapin asked permission to send to Alva for advice ; the rebellion was made an excuse for refusing his request ; and, desperate at length of effecting anything whatever by negotiation, he found means to let Alva know that the English Government was inveterately hostile, and that without a revolution the two countries could never be brought together again.¹

It was a conclusion which both Philip and Alva were most reluctant to accept. In Philip's correspondence there is visible an extreme fear lest any representative of Spain should be found implicated in treason and conspiracy, an extreme dislike of encouraging or meddling with seditious persons, however unimpeachable their orthodoxy. The sympathies of Alva were on the side always of order, law, and government. He disapproved of heresy, but it was a question with him whether rebellion was not a greater crime. Such a loose, heedless, and ill-concerted movement as that of the two Earls seemed utterly contemptible to him.

¹ La Mothe au Roy, December 27 : *Dépêches*, Vol. II.

He owed his success as a general to prudence as well as courage. He was never known to trust to chance in any single point which care could anticipate; and till he saw some effective action among the English Catholics, besides rhetoric and fine promises, he was ill-inclined to risk the presence of his troops among them.¹ Chapin's message reached the ears of La Mothe, and probably therefore the ears of the Queen. He was again required to leave the country, and, as the order was persisted in, he was this time obliged to obey. Elizabeth merely told him that when the King of Spain would write to her under his own hand she would be willing to renew the negotiation. Meantime things remained as they were. Alva and Philip kept their hold on the little English property which they had arrested. Elizabeth kept the treasures, the ever-increasing piles of Spanish and Flemish goods, the ever-multiplying fleets of Spanish and Flemish merchantmen, with which her warehouses and her ports were choking.

The insurrection having exploded ineffectually, it remained to punish those who had taken part in it. But before relating the measures which the Government believed to be necessary, it remains to mention one more cause which had contributed to the failure of the enterprise. So many plans had intercrossed

¹ An expression of Philip's in one of his letters to Don Guerau shows that he thought particular care was necessary in dealing with English people: he was vain of his knowledge of the national character, and guided himself by consideration of its peculiarities:—"Por tanto fué bien no abríros vos con ellos (los Catolicos) ni alargaros á prometerles lo que os pedían, sin remitirlos al Duque; y de la misma manera procederéis en lo que mas ocurriese tocante á semejantes materias, por ser de qualidad que requieren tratarse con mucho miramiento y consideracion, y mayormente con los desta nación que de su natural son sospechosos en todo tiempo y mucho mas en la ocasion presente."—Philip to Don Guerau, December 26: *MS. Simancas*.

that no two parties understood each other. The Spaniards, the French, the Duke of Norfolk, the Queen of Scots, the Council, had all been playing with separate schemes, and the best of the Catholics, who cared simply for the restoration of the faith, had shrunk from risking their cause upon a movement with the purpose of which they were so obscurely acquainted. Lincolnshire, which had been the scene of the first Catholic insurrection against Henry VIII., was found by Lord Clinton entirely apathetic. Yet Lincolnshire had not been converted to the Reformation, and the behaviour of the people there is explained by a singular address from "the knights and gentlemen" of that county to Philip II. It is described as having been largely signed among them, and represents without doubt the feeling of a very large portion of the Catholic party in England.

"They looked to Philip," these persons said, "as the Prince who had the chief right to their crown, being at once the most Catholic in himself and the most able to defend and maintain the Catholic religion. He had borne the title of King of England. His name was on the English statute-book, and to him they now looked as their liege lord and sovereign.¹ They entreated his Majesty not to suspect or look strangely upon this expression of their feeling towards him. His Majesty might already understand their reason for it; but in the service of God and the Commonwealth, they would briefly explain themselves.

¹ "Comme le Prince du monde qui tient droict et peult avoir droict et titre à la couronne d'Angleterre, comme le plus Catholique et le plus puissant Prince qui les peult défendre et secourir en la foy Catholique; et en ces deux endroicts ils se submettent leurs vies et biens à V^{re} Maj^{te} en toutz respectz et conditions, comme partient à Seigneurs et Noblesse qui tient V^{re} Maj^{te} pour leur Prince et Souverain."

"Your Majesty," they said, knows well the many rights and titles which are pretended to the crown of this country, and in what peril we all live by reason of them. The succession is claimed by the Earls of Huntingdon and Hertford and other notorious and ambitious heretics, with how little ground, either of justice or strength, appearing manifestly from the quarrels among themselves. Your Majesty knows also the right which is pretended by the Queen of Scots, and the many persons among us who support her claim. We acknowledge both her rights and her deserts as a most virtuous and Catholic Princess, and we are ready to accept her as our sovereign, if your Majesty will place her on the throne, with due securities for the Catholic religion and for the maintenance of the ancient alliance between the houses of Burgundy and England. But we are of opinion that if the Queen of Scots be set up by ourselves only in this island, her Majesty may marry some heretic either by compulsion or else for love,¹ and by this means, our country being infected as it is, she may become her husband's thrall, and we and England be thus ruined forever. That there is but too much likelihood of this, your Majesty may perceive from the purpose of marriage between her and the Duke of Norfolk, while it may be also that she will prefer her old friends in France and Scotland to the prejudice and entire destruction of the connexion with the House of Burgundy, which thing we are determined at all costs not to endure.

"The Prince, her son, is in the hands of heretics, and is educated in the heretic belief. We fear that he cannot be extricated from among them, save on conditions which will be dangerous to the Catholic religion

¹ "Par amour."

and dangerous to the English Commonwealth. We admit the right of the Queen of Scots because she is a Catholic, and as long as she survives, these inconveniences may seem the less to be feared ; but should the Queen of Scots die at no distant time, the case is altered. The Prince, her son, will never be accepted by the Catholics unless your Majesty take him under your protection, and unless he becomes himself a Catholic.

“ There are other matters also,” continued the unknown person¹ by whom the address was sent, “ on which it is unnecessary now to weary your Majesty. You will see how ardently these gentlemen devote themselves to your Highness, in God’s service, as their only Prince and Protector. We desire, and all Catholics for their own safety ought to desire, to see the administration of their country in your Majesty’s hands. The county which these gentlemen inhabit — their names are in the list which we attach² — is called Lincolnshire. The position of it by land and sea is convenient, as your Majesty will perceive, for any enterprise which you may think proper to direct against the present Queen. Should your Majesty be unwilling to undertake anything in the present Queen’s lifetime, yet in the event of her death, or of any other favourable contingency, we can point out to your Majesty by what means success may be assured, even before you put your hand to the work. We pray God it may please your Majesty to use the services of all and each of us, according to your good-will and power, to obtain an end so excellent in itself, so important to

¹ The address was accompanied by a list of names which has not been preserved, and by a letter unsigned also, but professing to be by one of the gentlemen by whom it was presented.

² List not preserved.

the service of God and the common weal of Christendom." ¹

From this document it is evident that distrust of Mary, distrust of Norfolk, and the position of the little James, were paralyzing the energies of the Catholics. Unless Spain was openly at their head they would not move, and the collapse of the insurrection requires no further explanation. It did not imply that the Catholics generally were loyal to Elizabeth, but only that at the crisis of their trial they were smitten with confusion. Their faith was no longer a fire at white heat in which the units would fuse together into a compact and harmonious whole, but a cold opinion which left every man to act for himself, subject to all deflections for his special ends, fancies, and temptations.

To return to the Border.

The Earls having escaped into Scotland, the Regent had now to meet the question, what was to be done with them? The rebellion was part of the general disturbance which was agitating both the realms. It had been plotted by the Bishop of Ross; and the Queen of Scots was the centre of it. In Murray's words, "it had branches unknown, extending to the farthest marches of both the realms." ² Had Elizabeth fallen, Murray would have gone to the scaffold; and little reason as he had for feeling himself under obligations to her, his own interest was as deeply concerned as hers in extinguishing the last sparks of the conflagration.

¹ Address in the names of the Knights and Gentlemen of Lincolnshire to Philip II: *MS. Sinancas*. There is no date upon the MS. It belongs evidently to the year 1569, and was sent probably just before the insurrection, since in the letter there is a paragraph on the services to be expected from the Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland.

² Murray to Cecil, December 22: *MSS. Scotland*.

Elizabeth would now undoubtedly require him to arrest the Earls, and circumstanced as he was he would find it no easy matter either to comply or to refuse.

The quarrel with Maitland had seriously shaken his hold on Scotland. The breach between these two men, who had once worked together so cordially, had now widened into an impassable chasm. They had no longer any single aim which they pursued in common.

Murray had but one principle which guided him in all that he undertook. He was heart and soul a Protestant. His feelings as a brother and a certain inbred generosity of temperament had more than once prevented him from consenting to measures which it might have been wiser and better to have allowed to take their course. He was ambitious for his country, and he had taken perhaps more interest than he ought to have done in his sister's views upon the English succession; but from the time when he could no longer blind himself to her character, he had laid aside every inferior consideration, and had set himself steadily to maintain the cause for which he really cared.

To Maitland, on the other hand, the Reformation had been interesting so far and so far only as it promised political greatness to Scotland. His keen understanding had shown him that the union of the two kingdoms was inevitably approaching; and full of Scotch pride and Scotch traditions, his one hope was to end the long rivalry in the way most glorious to his own people, and to place a prince of Scotch blood on the throne of the Plantagenets. The person was of little moment to him. He had brought the English to Leith in the belief that Elizabeth would marry the Earl of Arran. When Elizabeth refused and the French King died, and Mary Stuart came back, his

energies were then devoted to securing Mary Stuart's succession. When the Queen of Scots had seemingly wrecked her prospects by marrying Bothwell, he had assisted at the coronation of James, believing then that for her own sake Elizabeth would give him the place for which his mother had so long intrigued, and so pacify her own people and gratify Scotland through its pride.

But again Elizabeth disappointed him. Her theories of government, her sympathy with Mary Stuart's sufferings, her dread of the misinterpretation of the world if she did not protect her, kept the question of questions still unsettled. Maitland saw or thought he saw that the Queen of Scots must be eventually restored, and the discontent of the English Catholics and of the noblemen of the whole nation under an insecure and undetermined succession, opened a new opportunity to him through the Norfolk marriage. He had flung himself into the scheme with all his strength, careless where it would lead him, so only he could succeed in his great object. His knowledge, his powerful character, his intellectual cultivation, unusual in any age and unexampled in his own — above all the response in every Scotch breast to the aim which he was pursuing — gave him an influence which shook from Murray's side half of the best of his friends. Even the foolish ministers of the Kirk he had talked over — poor wretches who if he had succeeded would have been handed over to Alva's Blood Council. Knox only, who in mere worldly sagacity was Maitland's match, had been deaf to his persuasions.¹ He had divided the nobles. He had gained Hume and Athol, and, worse

¹ Maitland to Mary Stuart, August, 1569, intercepted ciphers: *MSS. Queen of Scots, Rolls House.*

than all, the chivalrous Kirkaldy of Grange. He had fed everywhere a restless expectation of the Queen's return; and at length the Regent, being determined to check his intrigues, had arrested him, on the evidence of Paris and Crawford, as an accomplice with Bothwell. He demanded his trial, and the 22d of November was fixed to give him an opportunity "for the declaration of his innocency." He wrote to every friend that he possessed, Catholic and Protestant, to request their presence, and when the day came Edinburgh was thronged with the armed retainers of half-a-hundred knights and noblemen who had come together to throw a shield over their favourite.

The Bishop of Ross and the historians who have followed him have charged Murray with personal ambition in assuming the government of Scotland. Never perhaps was there a position which any reasonable man would have less coveted. English statesmen in their calculation of the future of the country placed his murder among the most likely of contingencies. He had narrowly escaped at Northallerton on his return from the Conference. In the past July "*Lyon Herald*" had "conspired his death" and had been burnt for it.¹ At best he was set to rule the most lawless country in Europe except Ireland, half of it avowedly disaffected, without a revenue, without troops, without a man at his back except his own and his friends' servants. He was held responsible by Elizabeth for the peace of the Borders, yet she would not acknowledge him as Regent. At every turn of her fancy he was expected to be the instrument of her policy, and to receive his sister back either as his Queen or as his prisoner, as convenience or the humour of the moment happened to dictate.

¹ Calderwood.

In such a position there was little to envy; and that supreme and commanding integrity, which alone made a tenure of power under such conditions possible, alone could have tempted him to assume it.

Aware of the intended assembly of Maitland's party, he had quietly, with the Earl of Morton's assistance, collected a force large enough for his own protection if they tried to kill him. This done, he showed "no misliking of the convocation." He received every one who presented himself with his usual courtesy, but before opening the court he requested them all to meet him in the Council Room. There he reminded them briefly that when he was in France they had elected him to the Regency without his knowledge and against his will. He had sworn to administer justice faithfully during his government, and they on their part had promised to assist him in the execution of his office. They had now assembled in arms to prevent justice from being done, and he desired them to consider whether this was to observe their engagements. He had not interfered with their meeting; he had wished to show them that they could not frighten him; he had now merely to say that their further presence was unnecessary, as the trial would be postponed till it could be fairly conducted.¹

The Lords listened with such patience as they could command. They dispersed quietly, but Murray knew what their attitude boded. If the rebellion of the Earls gained head in England, they would immediately revolt. He sent word therefore to Elizabeth that he would assist her to the utmost of his power, and at once went down to the Border with all the men that he could collect. Thus it was that he came to be at

¹ Murray to Cecil, November 22: *MSS. Scotland*.

Jedburgh when the Earls arrived in Scotland. The English army had halted on their own frontier, but a demand was sent from Berwick to the Regent requiring him to arrest and give them up. By the treaties between the two countries, traitors were excluded from protection, but this particular article had never been observed. The Scots were tenacious of their right of asylum, and especially sensitive when England attempted to violate it. The Border outlaws, who would plunder a church with the same indifference with which they would sack a farm-house, drive their neighbours' cattle, or cut his throat, regarded the protection of a fugitive on either side of the line as the one duty of which neglect was disgraceful. To fly in the face of such a feeling would have been extremely dangerous at any time, and at the existing crisis their ordinary jealousies were aggravated by the resentment of party. The Scotts, the Kers, the Maxwells, the Humes, the Hepburns, were all Catholics, all devoted to the Queen of Scots, all sympathizers with the English Earls. Murray asked whether he might look for any assistance from Elizabeth to enable him to maintain a regular force. He had no resources of his own for such a purpose. "His own life was directly sought," and as things stood, it was Elizabeth's interest to uphold him.¹ He might have foreseen the answer to such an application. Nevertheless, for the sake of the good cause, with a half consciousness that he was sealing his fate in doing so, he determined to brave the popular feeling, and if he could not give up the Earls, at least to make them prisoners. Lady Northumberland had been left behind in the first haste of the flight. Her husband wished to rejoin her, and Hector Arm

¹ Murray to Cecil, December 22 (midnight): *MSS. Scotland*.

strong, Hector of Harlaw, whose name was ever after infamous in Border story, undertook to guide him. The Regent had notice where to look for him, and a party of horse were on the watch. He was taken somewhere in Liddisdale, not without a struggle. Some English borderers tried to rescue him, and Captain Borthwick, who commanded the Regent's troops, was killed; but the men did their duty, and the Earl was brought safely into Jedburgh.

Westmoreland and the Nortons, it might be thought, could have been taken more easily, for they were close under Murray's hand. Two miles up the valley through which the stream runs from which Jedburgh takes its name, on the crest of a bank which falls off precipitously to the water, stand the remains of Fernihurst, then the stronghold of the Kers. It was on a scale more resembling the feudal castles of the English nobles than the narrow towers in which the lords of Scotland commonly made their homes; and although the bugle-note blown upon the battlements could be heard in the marketplace of the town, the laird of Fernihurst offered an asylum to the fugitives, and there the whole party, except Northumberland, was soon collected. The Regent sent to demand them. Fernihurst answered that if he wanted them he must come to fetch them, and Murray, who had a strong force with him, made an effort to punish his insolence. But before Murray came in sight of the castle, his men deserted so fast, that out of eight hundred whom he took with him out of Jedburgh he had but two hundred remaining. It was a symptom too alarming to be neglected. Placing Northumberland on horseback in the middle of a party of troopers, he made straight for Edinburgh, and thence transporting him over the Forth,

he sent him to occupy the rooms which Mary Stuart had left vacant in the island tower of Lochleven. Nothing could have occurred more unfortunate for the Regent's influence; nothing that he could have done could have given him a stronger and more immediate claim on Elizabeth's support. Not the Border only but all Scotland was shaken. The national pride was touched, "and there was a universal cry that, cost what it would, the Earl should not be given up. The liberty was broken which should be free to all banished men."¹ Even Morton, who was Murray's

January.

main stay, declared that his country was disgraced. "Between Berwick and Edinburgh the Regent could not find one man to stand by him,"² "and where he had ten mortal enemies before, he had now a hundred." Along Tweed and Teviot the indignation rose to madness. The hospitality of the Border had been consecrated by the practice of two hundred years,³ and the fugitives at Fernihurst, who had come there "hunted and dismayed," found themselves suddenly in better case than when they were at Durham," for they had a whole kingdom at their back "bent to succour them."⁴ Under these circumstances, if Elizabeth intended to persist in her demand for their extradition, it might have been expected that she would have

¹ Hunsdon to Cecil, December 31: *MSS. Border*.

² Same to the same, January 11: *MS. Ibid.*

³ "Half Scotland is like to rise against the Regent," wrote Sadler on the 9th of January. — *MSS. Border*. "The most part of the nobility," wrote Hunsdon, "do think it a great reproach and ignominy to the whole country to deliver any banished men to the slaughter, accounting it a liberty and freedom to all nations to succour banished men" — Hunsdon to Elizabeth, January 13. *Memorials of the Rebellion*. And again: "The Earl of Morton is bent for the maintenance of the rebels. He does account it a great shame and reproach to all the country in doing the contrary." — Hunsdon to Cecil, January 11.

⁴ Same to the same, January 11: *MSS. Border*.

ordered her army to advance into Scotland, to help the Regent to execute her wishes. Had she been as conscious as her ministers of the actual humour of England, she might perhaps have done so. Northumberland since his capture had spoken freely of the magnitude of the Catholic Confederacy. He had threatened the Regent with the vengeance of the whole English peerage if he gave him up; and Lord Hunsdon, too conscious of the breadth of the disaffection, warned her that the troubles were not at an end, but only beginning. "She should make no account of money." "If she looked not to the bottom of the matter, the sore would fester and break out worse than ever." "It would fall out to be the greatest conspiracy that had been in the realm for a hundred years."¹ The Southern Catholics at that very moment, angry with themselves for their weakness, were concerting fresh measures to renew the struggle. Southampton and Montague sent to the Spanish Ambassador to beg him not to accept the Earls' discomfiture as an index of their real strength. They desired only that the Pope would relieve them of the uncertainty which had divided the North.² If the Pope would excommunicate Elizabeth and absolve them from their allegiance, they would not fail a second time. They would make arrangements beforehand that every man might know what was expected of him. They would then rise everywhere in a single day, and never rest till the Catholic religion was reestablished.³

¹ Hunsdon to Cecil, December 29: *MSS. Border.*

² "Tan bien me ha dicho el obispo de Ross que los Catolicos de aqui descan que su Santidad con alguna Bulla publicada en parte que aqui se entendiese, los diese libes de juramento que á esta Reyna han hecho, por no ser ella Catolica y intitularse Cabeza desta Iglesia." — Don Guerau to Philip, January 18: *MS. Simancas.*

³ *MS. Ibid.*

Elizabeth, not suspecting, or not-choosing to suspect, the extent of treachery that was going on, believed that she could disarm conspiracy by seeming confidence;¹ yet with singular inconsistency, as will be presently seen, she was punishing the least guilty of the Northern rebels with a barbarity which could only be excused by her panic. She was bent upon getting the Earls into her hands, because she intended to try them and confiscate their estates, and she doubted whether in their absence she could carry their attainder through the House of Lords. At the same time she was quarrelling with the expenses, and quarrelling with the most loyal of her Council, whom she accused of having involved her in them. She listened, if she listened at all, to those "back councillors" whom Cecil so much dreaded, and of whom he so unceasingly complained. Still insisting that Murray should deliver Northumberland to her, she insisted at the same time that, as the rebellion was over, her army should be immediately dismissed; and so hasty, so peremptory, she was on this last point, that Sussex was compelled to disband half the troops with no better pay "than fair words and promises," while Scotland was exasperated into fury, and three counties were being driven wild with wholesale executions, which were only so far discriminating that the poorest of the people were chosen to be sufferers.

The opinion of the want of wisdom which Elizabeth was displaying in these matters is not the presumptuous censure of the half-informed modern historian. The disapprobation must have gone deep, when Cecil could have so written about her conduct as to call out

¹ "Let her Majesty look well to herself and not think all gold that glitters." — Hunsdon to Cecil, December 29.

the following answer from her own cousin and her most faithful servant Hunsdon :

LORD HUNSDON TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.¹

" Berwick, January 13.

"I have received your letter of the 6th with a letter from her Majesty touching the Earl of Northumberland and the rebels, whereof you are not ignorant. I was glad of the coming of the letters, because I looked long for them, and secondly, because I hoped for better news than I have therein found, and especially in yours, which hath so appalled me, as I am almost senseless, considering the time, the necessity her Majesty hath of assured friends, the needfulness of good and sound counsel, and the small care it seems she hath of either. Either she is bewitched, or else this practice of her destruction which was meant should have taken place perforce and by arms, being burst out before the time, being partly discovered and a little overthrown, is meant to be performed by practice and policy. For what nearer way can there be to achieve to this purpose than to discredit her faithfullest councillors, and to absent her most assured friends from her, whereby they may work all things at their will? I will condemn none, but God send her Majesty to have trusty friends about her and to follow good counsel; for although the upper skin of this wound be partly healed, the wound festers, and if it burst out again I fear me it will be past cure. It grieves me to see that her Majesty cannot be induced to think well of those that serve her best."

Considering that as yet not a single blow had been

¹ *Border MSS.*

struck in the rebellion, and that the active violence had been confined to the bloodless capture of Barncastle, the work of vengeance which the Council of York were unwillingly compelled to execute had been beyond example cruel. Though the leaders had escaped, many gentlemen had been taken in the closeness of the pursuit, and the prisons at Durham and York were crowded with unfortunates who had straggled back to their homes, and had been denounced and arrested. It was the theory of the Constitution, sanctioned so far by immemorial custom, that the lands as well as the lives of traitors should be forfeited to the Crown. Under the feudal system estates were held under the sovereign in consideration of active duties to be performed by the holder. Although military tenures were lapsing into more immediate and absolute ownership, yet security of property under the law involved as a matter of course obedience to the law, and, irrespective of higher considerations, all governments must be held entitled to indemnify themselves for the expense of repressing rebellion at the cost of those who have occasioned it. That the Crown in the present instance was entitled to avail itself of its right was implied in the nature of the case. Rebellions are never without pretexts which can be pleaded in their justification. The long peace which the country had enjoyed, the cessation of State prosecutions in so striking a contrast with their frequency in the previous reigns, the general prosperity of England contrasted with the confusion and anarchy of the continental kingdoms, gave the Queen a fair claim upon her subjects' loyalty. The Catholics had not been permitted the open exercise of their religion ; but there had been no inquisitions, no meddling in private with the rights

of conscience, no revenge for the Marian persecutions. Her sister's bishops had been deprived and imprisoned for refusing to take the oath of allegiance, but the government, wherever it had not been openly defied, had closed its eyes to the evasion of the law. The country was still full of Catholics, and the Protestant authorities had been prohibited from indulging their natural desire to punish them. In fact if not in theory there had been substantial toleration ; and whatever may be thought now of the prohibition of the mass, the success in modern times of a more generous system is no proof that it would have answered amidst the passions of the Reformation.

It may be said that so far Elizabeth had governed the country extremely well and with extreme forbearance. In declining to marry she had indeed severely tried her subjects' patience, and the difficulty of choosing a successor from among the many competitors should have furnished an additional inducement to overcome her natural reluctance. If ever circumstances could be conceived which demanded a sacrifice of such a kind, the prospects of England in the event of Elizabeth's death left her in this respect without excuse. Yet towards the Queen of Scots, "the daughter of debate," who was the occasion of her worst perplexities, she had acted with a weakness which her loyal subjects had a right to condemn, but which, justly looked at, had left little ground for complaint to the friends of her rival. She had saved her life, and she had saved her honour, when she might have spared herself all further trouble on her account by publishing the proofs of her infamy. These proofs Northumberland and Westmoreland had seen, had admitted, and in the rebellion itself had never ventured

to challenge; yet they had committed the last and worst form of treason — they had invited a foreign army into the kingdom, imperilling the national independence as well as the throne of the sovereign. There was nothing therefore except its bloodlessness in the circumstances of the rebellion which called for any particular leniency, and those who look back upon such a condition of things from times when the danger from similar combinations has long passed away, are apt to be misled by their natural compassion for sufferers, and from the instinctive sympathy with those who risk and lose their lives in a public cause.

It is equally certain, however, that there may be seen in the conduct of the Government at all times, and after all necessary allowance, the working of questionable passions; and the retributions inflicted upon the Northern insurgents show undoubtedly that anger and avarice had for a time overclouded Elizabeth's character.

The complaints of the Queen about expense while the rebels were in the field had been incessant. Every letter which Cecil wrote contained some intimation or other of the extreme difficulty of getting money from her. After the flight and dispersion from Durham, orders were immediately sent down that "some of the rascals should be hanged by martial law,"¹ but care was to be taken that none of the "richer sort" should suffer in that way. Death by martial law would not touch property, and the object was to make sure of the forfeitures.

Lord Sussex still received "hard constructions" at the Court; "he was supposed to have connived at the Earls' escape, and to have neglected precautions which

¹ Cecil to Sadler, December 20: *Sadler Papers*, Vol. II.

would have prevented them from reaching Scotland.”¹ The Queen therefore determined to make him the instrument of her severity, and he was directed to make a list of all the principal persons known to have been with the rebels, or to have assisted them with armour, food, or money. These persons he was immediately to arrest. If he was anywhere at a loss, he might take men on suspicion. He was to commit them “to strait prison,” “and as need should be” “pinch them with some lack of food and pain of imprisonment till they declared the names of as many as they could remember.” This done, on a given night, and at the same hour, there could be a general seizure; especial care being taken to apprehend “all priests, constables, bailiffs, and others that had held any office.”² The fish thus netted were then to be sorted into two classes: “of those who had no freeholds, copyholds, nor any substance of lands,” a sufficient number were to be selected, and to be immediately hanged by martial law in the parish green or marketplace where the rebels had held their assemblies: the servants of any principal insurgent were to suffer also, the scene of their execution being the neighbourhood of their masters’ houses; and “the bodies were not to be removed but to remain till they fell to pieces where they hung.”

The rest were to be formally tried, that her Majesty might be duly assured of her escheats. If “corruption or lucre” prevented a fair verdict — that is to say, if judgment were not given for the Crown — the prisoners were not to be released, but the trial adjourned to the Star Chamber.

¹ Cecil to Saffler, December 25.

² Cecil added in a separate clause: “Some notable example to be made of the priests that have offended in this rebellion.”

"For the avoiding of desperation," a proclamation was sent out that any one who was not already taken and would surrender of his own accord might be received to mercy. But it was added that if those who had been culpable should fly from the country they should never receive pardon at all.¹

The first part of these instructions was immediately acted upon. An indefinite number of unfortunate people were seized, and out of them six or seven hundred artisans, labourers, or poor tenant farmers were picked out for summary execution. Lord Sussex was scrupulous not "to include any person that had inheritance or wealth, for that he knew the law." Those were chosen whose worst crime was that they had followed the gentlemen who by the constitution of the country were their natural leaders, and these, besides "the prisoners taken in the field," were to be distributed about Yorkshire and hanged. "He meant to use such discretion," he said, "as that no sort should escape for example, and that the example should be, as was necessary, very great."²

If the seventy persons hanged in hot blood after the fight at Carlisle be not included, the number of persons executed after the Pilgrimage of Grace did not exceed forty, and among those "the common sort" were not represented. The tendency of a government to be harsh is in the ratio of its weakness; and Elizabeth, to whom nothing naturally was more distasteful than cruelty, when Sussex's arrangements were made known to her, was only impatient that they should be completed. There had been some delay, perhaps in determining the spots where the

¹ Notes for the suppression of the rebellion, December 31, 1569.

² Sussex to Cecil, December 28: *MSS. Border*.

executions were to be. She wrote on the 11th of January that "she somewhat marvelled that she had as yet heard nothing from Sussex of any execution done by martial law as was appointed." She required him, "if the same was not already done, to proceed thereto with all the expedition he might, and to certify her of his doings therein."¹ Sussex had no need of the spur, and had been only too anxious to clear himself of suspicions of disloyalty. Before the letter reached him the victims had been made over to the Provost Marshal. Sir George Bowes, who had undertaken to superintend the process, was stringing them leisurely upon the trees in the towns and village greens. Eighty were hanged at Durham, those chiefly who had taken a part in the Catholic jubilee at the Cathedral. Forty suffered at Darlington, and twenty of Bowes's own deserters on the walls at Barncastle. It is some relief to find that the wives and children of those who were executed "were favourably dealt with;" orders were given that "not only they should have no cause to complain, but should be satisfied" — whatever that might mean.² But the hanging business itself went on rapidly and mercilessly; "the lingering bred offence;" and on the 23d of January, Bowes reported that he had put to death "about six hundred," besides those who had been disposed of by Sussex himself.

Among contemporary engravings representing the condition of Europe at this period, may be seen pictures, intended to excite the pity and the passions of the Protestants, of the scenes in the French and Flemish towns when they were taken by the Catholic

¹ Elizabeth to Sussex, January 11: *MSS. Border.*

² Bowes to Sussex, January 8: *Memorials of the Rebellion.*

any other assurance which her Majesty desired. She was ready to engage also, that if the Queen died leaving the succession undetermined, she would not seek her right by force, but would leave it to be orderly settled by Parliament.¹

Her manner was so warm that Beale was really satisfied of her sincerity. In a letter to Walsingham, he intimated his conviction that she had ceased to be ambitious, that she wished only to live in quiet for the rest of her life, and that he thought her offers were not to be neglected.²

Beale's insight was not so acute as he imagined.

May. She had grown restless at the inexplicable delay of the long talked of invasion. M. Fontenay, her secretary's brother, had hinted that the Duke of Guise was less earnest than he pretended.³ A fear was beginning to rise, that the French Government might be gaining too much influence in Scotland, and that a French expedition, however Guise might endeavour to direct its action, might lead to France obtaining a stronger hold there than Spain could allow.⁴ Mary Stuart felt uncertain whether the present overtures to her were not merely blinds to lead her off

¹ Beale to the Queen, April 16, 1583: *MSS. Mary Queen of Scots*.

² Beale to Walsingham: *MS. Ibid.*

³ "Par les lettres de Fontenay il me mette en toute bonne esperance de la part du Roy Catholique mon dict Sieur et frere pour l'exécution de l'entreprise, et me mande tout plainement que l'on n'attend que apres la resolution de mondict cousin de Guise, la quelle je trouve merveillement estrange," &c. — Mary Stuart to Mendoza, May 15, 1583: *MSS. Simancas*.

⁴ This was Mendoza's fear.

"No es cosa ninguna mas prejudicial segun lo que yo puedo entender asi para la reduccion desta Isla como para el servicio de V. Mag^d que dan lugar á que Franceses por el medio de Escocia metan las manos en ella, teniendola totalmente á su devocion." — Mendoza al Rey, 6 Mayo.

Philip, who had been taught that Guise might be trusted though France could not, writes on the margin, "No sé si es esto por lo de Hercules que seria de consideracion." Hercules was Philip's name for the Duke of Guise.

from present designs.¹ But liberty was precious, and conditions after all were but words. She wrote to consult Mendoza. She would conclude nothing, she said, without his consent; but wishing probably to force Philip to a more rapid decision, she described the terms on which she now believed that she could be released, and enquired if he would advise her to close with them.

Mendoza's answer was long and elaborate. Many questions were raised by her letter, he said. The first was the place to which she was to go, if she could recover her liberty. Neither France nor Spain could offer her an asylum, for reasons which could easily be understood.² Their mutual jealousies forbade it. If she went elsewhere, it must be to some place at a distance, where her friends would soon forget her, and the great purpose of the recovery of England to the faith by her means would be utterly defeated. There remained, therefore, Scotland and England itself. Could the association be passed Scotland would be an excellent position for her. She would of course have the exercise of her religion, and her personal influence, her example, and the changes which she could introduce into the government would soon make an end of heresy there. If, however, either the Queen of England would not countenance the association, or her son accept it, she must in some shape or other make up her mind to remain in England. Under what conditions, depended on circumstances with which he was

¹ "Je crains beaucoup que tout ce remuement ne soit seulement une a. tifice pour me entretenir à faire laisser et interrompre mes autres des-seyns." — Mary Stuart to Mendoza, May 15: *MSS. Simancas*.

² "El tener V. M.^d libertad fuera de la Isla puede ser en España o Francia, partes donde hay los inconvenientes que se dexan entender" — Carta de Mendoza á la Reyna de Escocia, Mayo, 1583: *MS. Ibid*

imperfectly acquainted, the number of her friends, their resources and their general resolution. All the Catholic nobles, all the schismatics, and some of the Protestants were known to be well disposed towards her, but so far as he could see himself, they were diffident, distrustful of one another, and disinclined to move, unless supported by a force strong enough to conquer the country single-handed. Supposing this to be a true account of them, her best plan would then be to accept any terms on which the Queen would release her. Liberty and health were, next to the welfare of the soul, the most precious of human possessions. If she could keep those, time would cure all else. She could remain in the realm in a position like that of the Princess Mary during the life of her brother. She would be free to receive her friends, to correspond with whom she would, to enjoy whatever pleasure an English country life would offer, and a tacit understanding would gradually establish itself that she was to succeed on the Queen's death. It was true that the Queen had a deeply rooted fear of the probable effects of her liberty; she believed that when Mary Stuart was at large, her own reign would be at an end. It was therefore likely that the present overtures were merely artifices to gain time for the settlement of Scotland. In that case, the Queen of Scots had merely to wait on Providence, and to hold herself ready for the deliverance, which in all human and divine reason could not be distant; his Holiness and the King of Spain being determined not to neglect her, and God, as the cause was his own, being likely to provide opportunities.¹

Mendoza took credit to himself for the cleverness of

¹ Mendoza to the Queen of Scots, May, 1583: *MSS. Simancas*.

his answer. His object was to prevent her from leaving England for fear lest she should fall back upon France; and he had argued on the grounds of her own interest instead of betraying his anxiety for Spain.¹ She, perhaps, saw that he was not entirely frank with her; she could hardly have failed to observe that he said nothing about the Duke of Guise. She thanked him for his advice, and agreed that England was the best place for her; but she wished evidently to make him feel that she had resources besides Spain, and that if Spain wished for her friendship, it must exert itself. Elizabeth, she told him, so far as she could herself see, was dealing honestly and kindly with her.² Her cousin of Guise, she added (careless of the reflection which she was passing on her own good faith in the matter), had written to her to say that he was as determined as ever on the invasion of England, and as soon as ever his arrangements were completed, was coming over in person.³

By this time Colonel Stewart and Sir John Colville had arrived in London. Sir Robert Bowes had made

1 "He usado del mayor artificio que he podido en el significalle no estar la cosa mejor por todo buen respecto que el no ansentar su persona de la Isla, desamparando esta causa, y esto proponiendole todas las partes donde puede tener libertad y inconvenientes que hay en ellas, para que vistos, juzgase ser mi parecer mas conforme á razon que dirigido solo á la mira del servicio "de V. Mag^d, no necesitandola á vivir perpetualmente á prision ni tampoco aqui por salir della arriesgo lo que tan de veras ha de procurar conseguir, teniendo tuu ciertas esperanzas en él." — Mendoza al Rey, 6 Mayo, 1583: MSS. Simancas.

2 "La Reyne m'a escripte une fort honneste et gracieuse lettre, et jusques ici les diets commissaires ne m'ont démonstré que toute apparence de bien. Dieu veuille tout conduire á son honneur et gloire plus que á mon estat et contentment." — Mary Stuart to Don Bernardino, June 5. Cifer: MSS. Ibid.

3 "Par les derniers paquets que j'ay reçus de France, mon cousin M. de Guise m'a escript qu'il persistoit en sa premiere determination de descendre lui-mesmes en Angleterre, et que si tôt que les choses y seroient disposez il ne faudroit de marcher en personne." — Ibid.

known to the King the offers which had been made by Lennox, and the King, startled at his friend's real or apparent treachery, had consented to proposals which, if honest, were as simple as they were moderate, and if accepted would have closed Scotland to Jesuit intrigues. Colville was a tried Protestant; Stewart was selected as having long lived in England with Lady Lennox, and having been personally acquainted with Elizabeth. Both had been chosen as professedly favourable to the English alliance, and of the party of Angus and Gowrie. Mary Stuart flattered herself that her son was on his guard against Elizabeth, and knowing her to be treacherous, was repaying her in her own coin. Stewart, she said, had been an old instrument of communication between Lady Lennox and herself, and had been bribed to conduct his negotiations in Mary Stuart's interest.¹ She was deceived in both of them. If they could have obtained what they wanted, the confederate lords, and the King also, intended to adhere to their own part of the bargain.

The commissioners were directed to lay before Elizabeth the condition of the Scotch finances. The King asked for his grandmother's estate, or an equivalent of £5,000 a year. If she would give him either the one or the other he promised to be guided by her advice in his marriage and in the administration of the kingdom. He would abandon France and rely only on England. As "a testification of his amity," and "a terror to disloyal subjects," he declared himself willing to ratify the treaty of Leith, and to make a further defensive

¹ "Mon fils est suffisamment adverti de la dissimulation et artilices de la Roynie avec luy. Quant au Capitain Stuart, il asseure mon filz de sa fidelité et a receu un presente qui luy a este présenté pour le ramener du tout à ma devotion, comme autrefois il y estoit beaucoup, ayant traicté fort avant entre la Contesse de Lennox ma belle mère et moy." — Mary Stuart to Mendoza, May 15: MSS. *Simancas*.

league for mutual protection, should religion in either realm be made a plea for invasion or rebellion.¹ Nothing was said about his mother. Her name was not so much as mentioned. It was, however, intimated that if the request for so small a sum of money was refused, the King would be compelled by poverty to seek help elsewhere. Shortened down to the mere rents of the Lennox lands, his demands, if nothing lay behind, were singularly modest. Rumours of course were flying that the commissioners were confederate with the Queen of Scots—that the King would take the English money and go over to the other side.² La Mothe Fénelon had been heard to say that the English politicians were looking for “a white crow;”³ “that their doings in Scotland were but as if they were thrashing the water.” “We do what we can,” wrote Walsingham to Sir Robert Bowes, “to remove these unprofitable jealousies, that Colonel Stewart may receive such answers at her Majesty’s hands as may be to the King’s liking and satisfaction, and the common benefit of the realm.”⁴

Mendoza was of opinion that the Scots were essentially honest; they were really ready, that is to say, to run Elizabeth’s fortune if she would make it worth their while. The £5,000, however, would not be all which she would be required to pay. An additional sum was asked for a guard about the King’s person. In this demand, too, Walsingham desired the Queen to acquiesce, but she persisted against his advice on mixing the treaties with the mother with the treaty with the

¹ Instructions to Colonel Stewart going to England, April 24, 1583: *MSS. Scotland*.

² Secret information given to Walsingham, May 1583: *MSS. Simancas*.

³ “Ung corbeau blanc.”

⁴ Walsingham to Bowes, April 25: *MSS. Ibid.*

son. She had feared nothing so much as the association between them in the crown of Scotland; but having ascertained that the Scots were disinclined to consent, she made it a condition of Mary Stuart's release.¹ Before she would receive the commissioners she sent a copy of Mary Stuart's offers to James, and she asked if he would agree to the association provided it was managed by England. James, acute as he already considered himself, fell into the snare which she had laid for him. He told Bowes "that his mother being defeated, and desperate in her intended plots and purposes, and seeing how matters were likely to proceed between her Majesty and him," was now affecting to desire an amicable arrangement; but in reality she desired nothing less. She was only "casting a bone to stick between their teeth." "He wished," he said, "that his mother would give over her plots, and would turn truly to the religion received in the two realms;" in a draft of the association which she had sent him to look at she had claimed precedence; "she was a determined Papist," and French to the heart; he must look to his future as well as his present interests; and the English, he said significantly, "justly dreaded another Queen Mary;" "when his mother first proposed the association to him, she spoke of it only as a means to recover her liberty;" and she promised, as soon as she was released, to repeat her abdication; she had afterwards altered her note; she had shown that she in-

¹ "Esta Reyna ha dicho sobre la instancia que la de Escocia hace en su libertad, que aunque sea negocio tan peligroso y mal seguro por ella, cuando esta concluyda de todo punto la asociacion del Rey de Escocia y su madre por los nobles de aquel Reyno, holgara tratar de su libertad — cosa que la Reyna impidiera quando los de Escocia lo deseáren, siendo solo el decirlo cumplimiento y palabras," &c. — Don Bernardino al Rey, 20 Maio, 1583: *MSS. Simancas*.

tended to reclaim the whole or a part of the government, and to this he was determined never to consent; he declined to be a party to any agreement in which he was himself to be compromised till he saw deeper "into his mother's meaning."¹

James had thus revealed his own inward disposition. Lennox had failed to make a Catholic of him, and by his real or seeming treachery had for a time frightened him out of conspiracies. He had made up his mind to stick to Elizabeth if Elizabeth would allow him, to leave his mother in an enforced retirement which removed her from the political stage, and to look forward, with Elizabeth's consent and in the Protestant interest, to succeeding eventually to her throne.

"The King," wrote Bowes, "attends how her Majesty will deal. The French and Papists look that he shall receive a dilatory answer, persuading him to provide otherwise for his standing and welfare. The well affected must be comforted and sustained by her Majesty's kind dealing with the King, otherwise they shall be utterly cast down. The King and the realm can now be won or lost. I need not persuade the necessity of her Majesty's timely resolution, for the King's own necessity and the conditions of the time and personal causes will constrain the King and the realm to resolve speedily to provide for themselves without further trust to us."²

But Elizabeth had now, as she supposed, the control of the situation. Mary Stuart and James were separated, and as long as they could be kept at issue, she conceived that she had them both in her power—that she could hold James in check by threatening to release

¹ Bowes to Walsingham, May 3, 1583: *MSS. Scotland*.

² Same to the same, May 8: *MS. Ibid.*

his mother, force Mary Stuart into submission by proving to her that she was neglected by her son, and remain supreme arbiter of both their fortunes without risk, and still better without cost.

She was the less disposed to favour James, as he had just given her special cause of offence. The Jesuit, Gaspar Holt, after lying concealed for some weeks at Seton, had been surprised and taken. On his first examination he had confessed that "there was a purpose in hand between the Pope and the Princes Catholic, for a war against England; that the pretext was to be religion and the liberty of the Queen of Scots, and that they held the enterprise easy, considering their own preparation and the factions at home."¹ This was not enough. Elizabeth required further particulars as to these factions, and desired that either "Holt should be substantially examined and forced by torture to deliver what he knew,"² or else be handed over to herself as an English subject. The second alternative meant Little Ease, the Tower rack, and the Tyburn quartering knife; and Mendoza, in some alarm, could but pray "that God would give Holt constancy that he might earn his martyr's crown, and confess nothing that would do harm."³ But the poor wretch was spared the trial. James, with some pity for him, ordered his prison door to be left unlocked. He escaped and went again into a safe hiding place. Elizabeth had been very angry, and her resentment had not passed off when the commissioners arrived in London.

The first difficulty, as Mendoza anticipated, was about the King's guard. The King would have been

¹ Davison to Walsingham, March 4, 1583: *MSS. Scotland*.

² Walsingham to Bowes, April 16: *MS. Ibid.*

³ Don Bernardino to Philip, April 4: *MSS. Simancas*.

seized and carried off had he been left unprotected. It had been necessary — and the necessity continued — to keep three hundred men-at-arms at the Court. "The life of the cause depended on the guard," yet the King had not a penny to pay their wages;¹ and unless something was done immediately, they would disband in mutiny. Present temporary assistance was all that had been so far hinted at. The Queen stopped them at once with an absolute refusal. Declining to give a sixpence, she consented, only with extreme difficulty, that Sir Robert Bowes might, if he liked, lend the King £300.

"I pray you," said Walsingham, in informing him of her liberality, "stretch what you may for the performance hereof, weighing the necessity of the cause, and how much it concerns her Majesty's service, that the guard should not as yet be discharged. If her Majesty should happen to leave the burden upon you, I will not fail to see you myself discharged of the same."²

A fortnight then passed while the Queen was considering the reply which she should make to their main demands. The answer, when it ^{June.} came, would have been unfavourable without fresh provocation; but some one had whispered to her that Leicester, who had been planning a marriage for his son with Lady Arabella, had been feeling his way also towards finding a wife for James in one of his step-daughters. If there was a person in the world whom Elizabeth loathed it was the woman who had dared to become the wife of the only man that she had thought of seriously for herself. She was in such a fury when she heard of it that she said she would rather see James stripped of his crown than wedded to that she-wolf's

¹ Colville to Walsingham, May 7: *MSS. Scotland*.

² Walsingham to Bowes, May 9: *M.S. Ibid.*

enb. If there was no other way to check the pride of her and her traitor Leicester, she threatened to publish her wickednesses and her husband's horns to all the world.¹ Her exasperation vented itself on the Scots. She told them at first she could make no treaty unless their Queen was a party to it, and that as for money she would give them none. She had supposed, she said, that the gratitude for past kindness and conformity of creed would of itself have secured the King's good will towards her. She was sorry to see that sordid considerations had such weight with him. If he was in absolute want she would lend him a small sum, if the large towns and "chosen persons of the nobility of both factions would be surties for the repayment." The Lennox succession was under examination by lawyers, and the rents must remain sequestered till the right of aliens to inherit was decided. To the lords who had risked life and fortune in the raid of Ruthven she refused to give anything at all.

Colonel Stewart reminded her, with some resentment, "of the promises of help in men and money, which were made at the beginning of that action." The guard, he said, had been maintained at Court by the confederate lords solely to keep the English party in power. At least, he expected that she would allow them two months' wages.²

Then was then, and now was now. She complained to Burghley of the Scotch beggars, who were using religion as a pretext to rob her treasury.

¹ "La Reyna se encendió en la materia, de suerte que dixo que antes consentiría que el Rey le quitase su corona que verle casado con hija de una loba, y quando se hallase otro medio para reprimir su ambicion y del traydor Leicester, ella la publicaria por tal mala muger por toda la X^{da} y los cuernos de su marido." — Don Bernardino al Rey, 11 de Junio, 1583 *MSS. Simancas*.

² Stewart and Colville to Walsingham, May 18: *MSS. Scotland*.

Walsingham, with some warmth, tried to bring her to be more reasonable; but at times she had the very insanity of avarice. "Her servants and favourites," she said, "professed to love her for her high qualities, Alençon for her beauty, and the Scots for her crown; but they all meant the same in the end. They wanted nothing but her money, and they should not have it."¹

Walsingham carried her refusal to Stewart. He said she would live to repent it, at a time, perhaps, when there would be no remedy.

Again and most solemnly he remonstrated. At last he brought the Queen to say that she would allow James half the pension which he had asked for — two thousand five hundred pounds — but not a farthing more could be extorted from her; and even this Walsingham doubted if she would really pay.²

The commissioners did not waste time in endeavouring to move her further, and in fierce resentment returned to Scotland. James, accepting this second refusal either of the lands or their equivalent as a declaration against his succession, turned once more to the party from whom he had been for a time divided; and besides other tragical consequences soon to be related, Elizabeth had to spend thousands of pounds for every hundred which she had saved by her thrift.

She on her part, having shaken off her troublesome petitioners, turned to her treaty with the Queen of

¹ "La respondió que sus criados domesticos y favoritos profesaban amalla por sus buenas partes, Aleñon por su persona, y los Escoceses por su corona, y si bien eran estas tres causas diferentes, venian todas á parar á un fin, que era pedille dinero, que ella defenderia." — Don Bernardino al Rey, 4 Junio: *MSS. Simancas*.

² "Thus you see, notwithstanding it importeth us greatly to yield all contentment to that nation, how we stick at trifles. I pray God we perform the rest of things promised." — Walsingham to Bowes, May 29: *MSS. Scotland*.

Scots, which was to save her from the effects of their displeasure. On the departure of Stewart and Colville, Secretary Beale, accompanied by Sir Walter Mildmay, went again to Sheffield to tell the Queen of Scots that the offers which she had made deserved consideration. They were directed to read them over to her that she might not afterwards pretend her meaning to have been mistaken. If she made no exception, they were to turn particularly to the treaty of Edinburgh, and to ask by what authority she now undertook to ratify it for her son as well as for herself. Had she obtained her son's consent, or had the act of association gone secretly further than either she or he had as yet acknowledged?

The Queen of Scots, made acquainted perhaps with James's words to Sir Robert Bowes—at any rate, weary to death of her long captivity, and eager at any cost to be free, answered with extreme submissiveness. She acknowledged and expressed regret for her early faults, but she said she had been young and ill-advised. To the ratification of the treaty, she thought that her son had consented. She had imagined that she might safely undertake for him; but if the Queen wished, she would send to Scotland for the necessary powers. She accepted Beale's version of her promises as accurate, and repeated them as exactly and concisely as language would allow. She bound herself never to trouble Elizabeth more with pretensions to the crown; never to communicate with Jesuits or conspirators, and to leave the succession after the Queen's death to be decided by the English Parliament. She undertook never to meddle with the established religion. She declared herself willing to remain in England as an evidence of her good faith, and to take an oath in the House of Lords,

if the Queen wished it, to observe the treaty. The Kings of France and Spain, the Duke of Lorraine, the Duke of Guise, would together be securities for her good behaviour. She would live in any castle or park which Elizabeth might be pleased to assign to her, and some nobleman or gentleman in the neighbourhood might be appointed to keep an eye over her actions; while for herself she would promise never to go more than ten miles from the place of her abode.¹

These conditions were very much what Mendoza had sketched out for her. She was not to be credited, with having abandoned any one of her purposes; but liberty was sweet, and relief by revolution was long in coming. The Catholic Powers would gladly welcome a release from their responsibilities in an arrangement with which she could profess herself satisfied, and if they became securities for her at her own instance, they would be unlikely to move actively again in her favour; but she and they would exchange a precarious hope for a moderate certainty, and the treaty would amount to an acquiescence in her future claim on the succession.

Elizabeth admitted that these proposals were now all that she could wish. She suggested some additions, as, for instance, that the Queen of Scots should pay her own expenses out of her French dowry; but she did not insist on it, and she held out hopes that something now would be really done. But it seemed as if her main object was satisfied, when she had induced both James and Mary Stuart to shew their hands. When a decision became necessary, as usual, she was incapable of the act of will which would incline the wavering balance. She found that in a treaty she must recognise

¹ Proceedings with the Queen of Scots, May 24 and June 2, 1583: *MSS. Mary Queen of Scots*.

Mary Stuart as a Queen — a Queen in some sense or other — and to recognise her in any sense would threaten the internal peace of Scotland. The very intimation that she was likely to be set at liberty set every Scottish household in vibration. Walsingham bade Bowes feel the tempers of the leading politicians. "If," he said, "the Queen of Scots' offers were accompanied with good meaning, with the cautions and restrictions proposed, he saw no inconvenience, but rather profit, likely to ensue from her liberty." The doubt was of her sincerity. It was hard to obtain "an impartial opinion" about her, "the love and hatred that was borne her being either in the extremest degree." "It had been debated," Walsingham said, "whether she was to be sent to Scotland, or kept in England. The conclusion for the present had been to keep her; but if she could be placed in Scotland without any dangerous alteration, England would gladly be rid of her."¹

The longer Elizabeth considered, the more excuses she found for refusing to proceed. The King of Scots must be a party to any treaty which would hold, as well as the other princes, and James and the leading nobles, whatever their political sympathies, refused to allow Mary Stuart, in any shape or form, the title of Sovereign.² The difficulty might of course have been overcome had Elizabeth seriously wished it; but the negotiation from her point of view had already answered its purpose. She had balanced one party against the other, and she meant to keep them there without gratifying either. "I marvel," said Sir Walter Mildmay, "that finding the manners in Scotland so tickle, and this woman offering so much, there is no

¹ Walsingham to Bowes, June 12: *MSS. Scotland*

² Bowes to Walsingham, June 20: *MS. Ibid.*

more regard of it. I doubt the death of Lennox has brought too great a security."¹ But Elizabeth would not part with her money, and the release of the Queen of Scots was a measure which she preferred to hold in terror over James. When the lady at Sheffield was expecting to be established as a princess in England, free to correspond where she pleased, and to hold a second court of her Catholic admirers, she found after all that she had gained nothing, and was to remain where she was. She was informed that her offers were satisfactory, but that her son raised difficulties, which made her liberation for the present impossible, and that all her concessions had been in vain. After a few months' pause, the question was again brought up for consideration, but only again to be dismissed, and dismissed on grounds which, if valid at all, would be fatal against any treaty whatever. It was remembered that the Queen of Scots might disclaim the engagements into which she might enter, as she had disclaimed her abdication at Lochleven, on the plea that they had been forced from her in prison. She could escape with greater ease out of England, and her greater freedom if she was to continue there, would give life and hope to the disloyal Catholics. It would be an admission, moreover, that she had been detained hitherto unjustly. It would seem like an acquittal of the charge which had so far clouded her fame, and would otherwise be a confession of weakness. "Her Majesty," by releasing her, "would give the world to understand that the Queen of Scots was not in her opinion culpable of the murder of her husband — otherwise she would not shew her that favour."

To require a ratification of the treaty of Leith was

¹ Mildmay to Walsingham, June 17: MSS. *Mary Queen of Scots*

a quasi acknowledgment that the Queen doubted her own title. If the treaty proceeded a clause
October. would have to be inserted "that her Majesty did not clear her of the murder, but left her to God and her conscience, and the trial of Scotland, being a matter committed where her Majesty had no jurisdiction;" and with this qualification the Queen of Scots would refuse her signature, and her friends abroad their sanction.¹ The Council repeated their old opinion that "the best and most sure way was for her Majesty to conclude with the young King;" "so the treaty with the Queen would not be necessary, and she might remain as she was."²

Elizabeth preferred to conclude with neither. She had money in abundance. She had half a million in bullion locked away as a reserve. But it was to be touched only in an extremity she could never believe to have arrived.³ She had to choose, as Walsingham said, between her treasure and her safety, and she deliberately preferred the first.

The Reformed Calendar of Pope Gregory XIII. was published in the year 1582. Ten days were struck out of the computation, and the 5th of October was decreed to be the 15th. The Gregorian, or New Style, which was not accepted in England till 1752, was adopted at short intervals by countries in communion with the Holy See. In Spain the same 5th of October, 1582, became the 15th of October. In France, the 10th of December, 1582, became the 20th.

¹ Whether it be fit to treat and conclude with the Queen of Scots, October 2: *MSS. Mary Queen of Scots*.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Mendoza and Mauvissière both mention this.*

In the Catholic States of Germany, and the Catholic Netherlands, the 22nd of December, 1582, became the 1st of January, 1583. The English and foreign dates therefore no longer corresponding, the English first of January being in France and Spain the eleventh, all important letters and documents hereafter quoted will carry a double date.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE visit of the Duke of Alençon to England proved an expensive one. The Queen had hoped to escape her suitor and to save her money. She had flung him off to croak as she said in the Dutch canals, but she had been compelled to gild his departure. She had prevented his return upon her hands by subsidies, which were almost as much wasted as if they had been buried in the sand-banks of the Scheldt; and those subsidies were so large that if expended on the objects which the most eminent of her Council had so often pressed upon her, they would have given order and good government to Ireland, and secured Scotland ten times over to the friends of England and the Reformation. The kiss bestowed at Greenwich with so much precipitancy cost at once sixty thousand pounds. Before six months was over the sixty thousand had grown into three hundred thousand, and in the year 1582-3 three hundred and fifty thousand in addition were wrenched out of her unwilling hands.¹ At no less price was she allowed to redeem the slight which she had passed upon the brother of the King of France. The war which she so much dreaded would not have been a heavier burden, and she failed after all in the object at which her manœuvres had been aimed, of embroiling France and Spain in an open conflict.

¹ A brief of the Duke of Anjou's receipts from May 1, 1581, to October 31, 1583: *MSS. France, Rolls House*.

It was impossible indeed for the Duke of Alençon to undertake the protectorate of the King of Spain's insurgent subjects without in some degree compromising his brother. Philip was patient of affronts, and preferred to punish the House of Valois rather by intrigues than arms; but the Catholic Powers remained divided, and Elizabeth bought off her lover's indignation and kept her alliance with France unbroken. So far her artifices had not been ineffective, nor her treasure wholly thrown away. Had she taken her place as the leader of Protestant Europe, had she held out her hand and her purse to the struggling defenders of the Reformation in France and Scotland and the Netherlands, the result might have been as much grander as her course in itself would have been more honourable and straightforward. In the opinion of Burghley the path which she preferred was at once the most dangerous and the least effective, and those among her Council who most encouraged her were those who secretly desired her ruin.

Yet on the other side it is to be remembered that both Burghley and Walsingham held their places only through their mistress's pleasure. It was Elizabeth alone who enabled them to accomplish any fraction of their policy; and a government by majorities, an omnipotent House of Commons, elected by household suffrage, would at any moment have condemned them to obscurity or the scaffold. That she might have done more is not absolutely certain, and were it certain, does not deprive her of credit for the much which she did. The right cause is not always the strongest, and had France and Spain once combined, the Reformation, which had been made possible by their quarrel, might have been ended by their premature reconciliation.

So at least it seemed to Elizabeth. She saw no reason to risk her throne for a cause for which at best she had but a cold concern. She preferred to lie and twist, and perjure herself and betray her friends, with a purpose at the bottom moderately upright; and nature in fitting her for her work had left her without that nice sense of honour which would have made her part too difficult.

Alençon was thus installed in the Netherlands with a French army, paid jointly by Elizabeth and France. The States accepted him for the advantages which his presence promised. He was an unprincipled fool, but he was placed under the guidance of the Prince of Orange; and the Prince, who understood that he was saddled upon them to save the Queen from a husband, prepared to please her by making the best of him.

Orange was well understood to be the soul of the revolt. Could Orange be removed, Philip feared little either Alençon or any other person, and as all efforts to gain him over had been tried in vain, his life had been sought for some years past by the indirect means which are either murder or legitimate execution according to the character of the victim.¹ Bothwellhaugh, who killed Murray, had been employed to assassinate him in 1573, and party after party of English Catholic officers had tried it afterwards. In 1579 a youth introduced himself to Don Bernardino, in London, with a letter of credit from a merchant of Bruges. He said that he was in possession of a poison which if rubbed on the lining of a man's hat would dry up his brain and would kill him in ten days, and if the Ambassador approved, he was ready to try its effects upon the Prince

¹ The English Government had bought the head of Desmond. In our own time a reward has been offered for Nana Sahib, dead or alive.

of Orange. Don Bernardino, not expecting much result, yet gave him his blessing, and bade him do his best.¹ Other experiments more promising were tried afterwards, but none had hitherto succeeded.

Finally Philip declared the Prince outlawed, March. and promised a public reward to any one who would put him out of the way in the service of God and his country. The King's pleasure being made known, Don Pedro Arroya, father of one of the royal secretaries, announced that he knew a man who would make the venture. Philip offered eighty thousand dollars, with the Order of St. Iago; and the reward being held sufficient, Don Pedro gave in the name of Gaspar de Anastro, a Spanish merchant at Antwerp. A formal contract was drawn out and signed,² and Anastro watched an opportunity to strike the blow.

Finding, however, that he could get the job done cheaper, and clear a sum of money without peril to himself, the merchant pretended that "his courage was weak," and asked if he might employ a substitute. Philip had no objection; provided the Prince was killed the means were of no consequence, and he left Anastro to manage as he pleased. In his house was a lad eighteen years old, the son of a sword cutler at Bilbao, named Juan Jauregny. Ignorant, superstitious, undersized and paltry-looking, he was known to the cashier, Don Antonio Venero, to be a boy of singular audacity; and a present of three thousand dollars, and the persuasion of the chaplain, a Dominican priest, worked him into a proper state of mind. An Agnus

¹ Don Bernardino de Mendoza to Philip, February 26-March 8, 1579. *MSS. Simancaa*.

² Confession of Don Antonio, a Spaniard, cashier to Don Anastro, March 21-31, 1582: *MSS. Holland, Rolls House*. Cf. Motley's *History of the Dutch Republic*, Vol. III.

Dei was hung about his neck ; a wax taper and a dried toad were stuffed in his pocket, and he was told that they would render him invisible. A Jesuit catechism was given him for his spiritual comfort, and Parma promised that if the charms failed, and he was taken, he would compel his release by the threat of hanging every prisoner in his hands. Thus equipped and encouraged, and commending himself and his enterprise to the Virgin and the angel Gabriel, he prepared for the deed. The qualifications for successful political assassins are singularly rare. Jaureguy, however, possessed them all. Sunday the 18th-28th

March 18-28.

of March, was Alençon's birthday. Antwerp was to be illuminated in the evening, and the streets and squares were expected to be crowded. Some little jars had been felt already between the States and the French. Alençon was known to be impatient of the Prince's control, and the Spaniards calculated that if the murder could be accomplished when the people were collected and excited there would be an instant suspicion of treachery, and that an attack upon the French and a universal massacre of the citizens in retaliation by their allies would be a not improbable consequence.

The plot was ingeniously laid, and had all but succeeded. The Prince had dined in his own house. He had risen from the table, and had passed with his son, Count Maurice, and a few friends into another room, where he was seated on a low chair. Jaureguy had introduced himself among the servants, pretending that he wanted to present a petition. He approached Orange so close as to be able to touch him, and then snatching a pistol from under his cloak fired it full in the Prince's face. At the moment of the shot, the

Prince was rising from his seat, and happened to be turning his head. The ball entered under the right ear, passed through the roof of his mouth, and went out below the left eye. He staggered and fell. The assassin tried to draw a dagger, and finish his work, but he had overloaded his pistol, which had broken his thumb in the recoil. An instant later, and before he could speak, half a dozen swords were through his body. All was immediately confusion. A cry of horror rung through the city. Suspicion fell, but too naturally, where the Spaniards expected. Shouts were heard of "Kill the French, kill the French," and had Jaureguy waited till night when the fête had commenced, Alepçon and his suite would have probably been slaughtered on the spot.¹ Orange himself had swooned and was at first supposed to be dead. He recovered consciousness, however, in time to allay the worst alarm: Believing that he had but a few minutes to live, and anticipating the direction which popular fury might assume, he sent for the burgomaster, and assured him that to his certain knowledge it was the work not of France but of Spain. The assassin was identified by papers found about his person. Anastro, when the police went for him, had fled, but Antonio Venero was taken, and at once confessed, and before darkness fell the truth was known throughout the city.

The Prince lay in extreme danger, and but for his extraordinary calmness, the wound would have been certainly mortal. One of the large arteries of the throat had been divided, which the surgeons were unable to tie. Again and again the bleeding burst out,

¹ "Si bien afirman todos que si el moço aguardaría dar el pistoletazo á la noche en un gran banquete que hacía el Alençon, le mataran á él y á cuantos Franceses había." — Don Bernardino al Rey, 1-11 Avril, 1532: MSS. *Simancas*.

and his death was every moment expected. Daily bulletins were sent to England, and the delighted Catholics watched eagerly for the news which was to make their satisfaction complete.

“The Prince was gasping when the post left,” wrote Mendoza on the 4th–14th of April. “The April. physicians gave no hope, and the Queen hears that all is over. We may assume his death as certain, and we can but give infinite thanks to God that he has thus chastised so abominable a heretic and rebel.”¹ “We have news from Antwerp of the 9th–19th,” he wrote a week after. “The Prince was still alive, two surgeons holding the wound closed with their fingers, and relieving one another every hour. On the 7th–17th, conceiving that in human reason it was not possible for him to live, they laid open his right cheek in the hope of reaching the injured vein. We may suppose it to be the good providence of God to increase his agonies by prolonging his life. The pain which he suffered, they say, is terrible. In the opinion of those here, a few hours must now bring an end.”²

Mary Stuart’s gratification was no less than that of the Spanish Ambassador. “I have heard,” she said, “that an artery is cut, and that the Prince is in danger. I praise God for this his mercy to the Church, and to the King my brother, the Church’s chief protector.”³

Equally great was the consternation in Protestant England, and beyond all in the Queen. Ill as it had

¹ Mendoza to Philip, April 4–14: *MSS. Simancas*.

² Same to the same, April 11–21: *MS. Ibid.*

³ “J’ai eu avis du danger auquel estoit dernièrement le Prince d’Orange par le grand flux de sang que luy estoit survenu d’un arriere, dont je loue Dieu en consideration du bien qu’en reviendrait à son Eglise et au Roy mon bon frere, aujourd’hui principal protecteur d’elle.” — Marie Stuart à Don Bernardino, Avril 22–Mai 2: *MSS. Simancas*.

pleased her to use him, none knew better than she the value of William of Nassau. Her own life had been threatened as often as his, and his fate, when he was thought to be dying, appeared but a foretaste of her own. The first news entirely overwhelmed her.¹ The realm had its own fears. The very thought of a sudden vacancy of the throne was simply appalling; and in the midst of her terrors, Burghley had to remind her of the duty which she had so long refused to perform of naming a successor.² In her first excitement, her thoughts turned into the stereotyped track. She swore she would send for Alençon, and marry him; and Walsingham, who knew what would follow, and feared that a fresh affront to France might be fatal, prevented her with difficulty from sending a gentleman of her household to recall the Duke into the realm.³

Both hopes and fears were this time disappointed. The Prince's fine constitution and admirable courage give him a chance of recovery when a weaker person must have died. Once more Philip had failed, but he nursed his purpose; and the Catholic faith, which has influenced human character in so many curious ways, was singularly productive of men who would risk their lives to deliver the Church from an enemy.

On the 2nd-12th of May, Orange returned thanks for his recovery in the Cathedral at Ant-
werp. The commonwealth, unfortunately, May.

¹ "Se anichiló aquel día tanto como lo habieran quitado la corona." — Mendoza al Rey, 1-11 Abril: *MSS. Simancas*.

² "Entiendo que el Tbesorero le ha persuadido muy de veras estos dias hiciese cierta prevencion para declarar el successor deste Reyno, si las vidas, hijos y bienes de sus vassallos no queria que se perdieren." — *Ibid*.

³ "El Walsingham, por estar cierto que no piensa ensarse, teme que sera parte semejante demostracion tras las pasadas para irritar al de Francia, perdiendole de todo punto." — *Ibid*.

was sick of diseases which were less easy to cure. In all countries the noble part of the people is but a minority, and the trials of a protracted war bring the baser elements into prominence. The Catholics of Brabant and Flanders, weary of a freedom which brought with it religious toleration, were sighing for reabsorption into Spain. The presence of Alençon and the French was an excuse to the States to relax their own energies. They conceived that they had fought long enough and spent money enough, and that their allies might now relieve them of the burden. Peculation and corruption, the besetting sins of commercial communities, were rife among them. Sixteen thousand officials intercepted and consumed the revenues, while the English volunteer army, under John Norris, was left unpaid. Elizabeth found money for them, but with more right than usual resented the States' neglect. Alone, Norris could do but little service, yet Alençon neither helped him nor appeared to be conscious that he was in the country for any object except to sit still. Everywhere and in everything there was confusion of purpose, heartburning and jealousy. Parma, meanwhile, was pushing forward slowly but irresistibly. Town was falling after town; and though his success was checked once in a brilliant action before Ghent, in which, after the States troops had fled, Norris and his English sustained and repulsed an attack of the whole Spanish army, a single defeat did not affect the advance of the Spanish conquest, and

September.

by the end of the summer the States frontier had been pushed back, till all that they held of Flanders was the coast from Dunkirk to Ostend, and the great towns of Bruges, Ghent, Alost, and Brussels, which formed a line covering Antwerp.

Alençon laid the blame on the States, and the States upon Alençon. The towns, fearing that Alençon was betraying them, began privately to treat with Parma, while Alençon, suspecting treachery on their side, was meditating a grand surprise as an employment for his hitherto idle army. He was plotting to seize simultaneously upon Ghent, Bruges, and Antwerp; and thus holding Flanders in his hand and master of the situation, either to hand it over to his brother to be incorporated with France, or to fall back upon his mother's second policy — buy Philip's pardon by the restoration of his Flemish Provinces, and offer his precious hand to the Infanta.

Either he kept in his hands the money which he received from Elizabeth, or it was insufficient for the maintenance of his forces. At any rate, he exasperated them against the States by leaving them unpaid and pretending that they were robbed. He sent for reinforcements from France, and when Orange remonstrated with him for increasing his army when he could not maintain what he had already, he pretended that he was acting for the Queen of England; that he had her sanction as well as his brother's for what he was doing; that she was his wife in the sight of God, and could not abandon him. By representations of the same kind, he borrowed large sums of private persons,¹

¹ "Él de Orange tratando con Alençon la sospecha que tenían los Estados de que hiciese venir tanta gente tras no tener con que pagar la que se hallaba en ellos, le había respondido que en tanto que él fuese ministro de la Reyna de Inglaterra su lugarteniente capitán general en aquella empresa, no le faltarian dineros, asistiéndole juntamente el Rey de Francia su hermano para la paga de tantos soldados los quales no venian sin su licencia y particular consentimiento; asegurándole que esta reyna era delante de Dios y del mundo su muger, y que no podía abandonarle en aquella guerra sin mayor peligro de su persona y reyno. Que asimismo el duque de Alençon se había servido del nombre de la Reyna para sacar dineros de algunas personas aficionadas á sus cosas." — Mendoza al Rey, 16-26 de Enero, 1583: MSS. Simancas.

and being thus supplied with men and finances, he came to a private understanding with the Catholic factions in the cities which he was preparing to surprise. The French garrisons were quietly increased: his principal camp was brought close to the walls of Antwerp, and the soldiers were told that as their wages were withheld they should have an opportunity of paying themselves. Their plan was to rise at nine or ten places on the same day, overpower the burgher guards, and make themselves masters of Flanders. Secrecy was admirably observed, and in the small towns they were completely successful. On the 5th-
January. 15th of January, they took possession of Dunkirk, Ostend, Dixmuyde, Dendermonde, Alost, and Vilvoorde, without striking a blow. At Ghent, Bruges, and Antwerp, fortune was less propitious. Ghent proved too Spanish to be attempted; at Bruges the citizens had received information, and were on their guard; at Antwerp, where the Duke commanded in person, his own imbecility made his defeat more absolutely fatal. He had waited to hear of his success elsewhere. The delay brought notice to the Prince from Bruges, and he had leisure to prepare. The French camp contained four thousand men, trained soldiers all of them. The Provost of Antwerp was in Alençon's confidence, and had promised, so far as lay in him, to betray his trust. The Prince, saying nothing, made an excuse for calling the city guard under arms, and bidding them hold themselves in readiness to form at a moment's notice, went frankly to the Duke for explanations. The Duke swore, with seemingly equal openness, that he was absolutely innocent of any bad intentions whatever. He disclaimed all knowledge of what had happened at Bruges, and

professed himself a faithful and loyal servant of the States. The Prince was not satisfied. The city remained all night on the alert. In the morning he went again with a deputation of the magistrates to request that the camp should be withdrawn to a greater distance from the gates. The Duke agreed, still swearing that no harm was intended. He occupied a palace inside the walls, and the Prince asked him to prove his sincerity by remaining within the gates for a day. He gave his word only to break it: he remained quiet till the afternoon, that the French might do their work under cover of the early darkness, and then galloping out to them, where they were drawn up waiting for his coming, he pointed to the city and bade them go in and take it. The gate from which he had issued remained open. A party of horse plunged forward, killed the sentinels, and held the end of the street, while their comrades swarmed after them with shouts of "Vive la messe! Vive le Duc d'Anjou! Vive la messe! tuez! tuez! tuez!" The affair did not last half-an-hour. As they dashed into the narrow streets, barricades rose as if by magic behind them. Maddened by the terrible recollections of the Spanish fury, and exasperated at the treachery, the citizens flew out on their false allies from alley and cross-way, while tiles, stones, and boiling water were rained upon their heads from the parapets. Before the night fell in which they had promised themselves a surfeit of lust and plunder, two hundred and fifty officers and fifteen hundred men lay dead on the pavement. Two rows of corpses, piled ten feet high, were at the gate where they had entered, and which they were trying in vain to recover. Of the whole number, about half escaped at last by springing from the walls, plunging into the ditches, and so

miserably groping their way back into the camp. Alençon, craven as well as traitor, had not trusted his own precious person into danger. Not daring to abide till the morning, he started at once for Dendermonde, under cover of the darkness, followed by all of his men that were able to march. The alarm ontrán him: the citizens of Mechlin cut the dykes, and another thousand of the miserable wretches were drowned. Never had treachery encountered a more immediate or more absolutely disastrous retribution.

Whatever else might follow, the catastrophe was utterly fatal to Elizabeth's diplomacy. Alençon had only been borne with for her sake; and one universal cry rose over the whole Province that they would submit to Spain rather than allow him to remain any longer among them. With her card castle all in ruins about her, she first fell on the wretched Duke himself. Orange made haste to tell her that the Duke had many times threatened to be revenged upon her for jilting him;¹ and that be his other objects what they might, it was quite certain that he meant no good to England. She spoke "abominations" of him. She said "he was a false villain like his mother;" that "he kept faith neither with God nor man," and she flew out at every one who had advised her to marry him.² The first impression was that Alençon must have been in secret alliance with Parma. Mendoza hinted that it might be part of a plan between Alençon and Orange for a partition of the Low Countries.

¹ "Siempre había entendido de Alençon en pláticas que con él había tenido él de Orange el tener gran rencor contra la Reyna, y desseo de satisfacer la injuria que le había hecho, rehusándole por marido." — Mendoza al Rey, 16-26, 1583: MSS. *Simancas*.

² "Entiendo que está desabridísima con la nueva, y que dice abominaciones de Alençon, y de cuantos le persuadian su casamiento por ser un tirano y sin ninguna fee como su madre por no guardarla à Dios ny à las gentes." — *Ibid.*

Walsingham, not professing to understand Alençon's motive, and offering no conjecture "what might have happened if so desperate an enterprise had succeeded," yet conceived that he saw but too clearly what was likely now to follow. "He feared, with too much reason, that France and Spain would unite for the subversion of the Low Countries, and the overthrow of religion. Monsieur would marry the King of Spain's daughter, and then would come nothing else but what he had long looked for."¹

But the thing which Elizabeth considered policy very soon resumed its place with her, and her anger turned from Alençon to the States. Antwerp and Bruges, in anticipation of her changed humour, had thrown themselves at once prostrate before her, deprecating her displeasure. She refused to hear them, and insisted that the Duke should be recalled. She blamed Norris, who had been in Antwerp at the attack, for the miseries of Alençon's retreat. She said that he ought to have protected her dearest friend, and she ordered him either to place himself at Alençon's disposition, or instantly to leave the States. Norris pleaded that he had taken no part against Monsieur. When he heard the French cry, "Vive la messe," and "Kill the heretics," he had simply looked to the safety of his own people, as he conceived himself to have been bound to do. He would obey her Majesty's pleasure if she persisted; but he said plainly, that in obeying, "he would cause that to follow which her Majesty would not like of; the people were in that humour they would undoubtedly treat with the Spaniards."² The Prince wrote to ask whether, if France

¹ Walsingham to Cobham, January 17-27: *MSS. France.*

² Norris to Walsingham, February 3-13, February 8-18: *MSS. Holland.*

made war on the States in revenge for the slaughter, Elizabeth would stand by them? She replied by a demand that Alençon should be replaced in the Protectorate; and the Prince, not wishing to add France to the list of his enemies, with Elizabeth in her present humour, did his best to please her. Negotiations were opened, in which Monsieur was alternately insolent and cringing, and Elizabeth, at a loss what to do, was tossed to and fro in uncertainties. Alençon said truly that he had involved himself in the quarrel of the Low Countries only for her sake, and that she was bound to adhere to him. He wished to be rid of Norris, and he boasted that if the English were sent away, he could soon settle with the States.¹ The Queen dispatched Sir Arthur Darcy to apologise for Norris's behaviour. Darcy, with half-a-dozen of Alençon's suite, went to Norris to tell him that it was his mistress's pleasure that the English contingent should immediately withdraw. It seems, however, that she had sent a private message along with her order that he need not comply. Norris, with an affectation of bluntness, replied that he was a second son with not a yard of land in England; that he had taken an oath to the States, and would not desert them without an order under the Queen's hand.² She abused him in public: she said in private that he had answered well.³ Messenger was dispatched after messenger to bring about a reconciliation. The Prince of Orange

¹ "Alençon embió á pedir á la Reyna que pues desea tanto su acrecentamiento y tener su partido contra todo el mundo, mande luego salir los Ingleses que estan en los Estados, que como él quede solo con Franceses se avendra muy bien con los Estados." — Mendoza al Rey, 7-17 Marcio, 1583: *MSS. Simancas*.

² *Ibid.*

³ "Diciendo 'malas palabras del dicho Norris en publico y en secreto bien.'" — Same to the same, 18-28 Marcio, 1583: *MS. Ibid.*

exerted himself so earnestly as to throw suspicion on his patriotism. The English commander received fresh orders to remain at his post, but ^{April.} to be exclusively under Alençon's authority. But nothing could heal a wound so envenomed with treachery. Norris, knowing well that if mischief happened through the English contingent the blame would be laid on himself, declared that if he was to continue his command he would take his orders only from the States.¹ He had doubtful gentlemen in the service who would be ready for any villany on which Alençon might choose to employ them. Even as it was, the town of Alost, a few months later, was sold by an English officer to the Spaniards.²

Thus baffled, and false as he was cowardly, the Duke addressed himself to Parma, and attempted to bargain for the towns which he had succeeded in securing. But this paltry practice failed also. His garrisons were obliged to withdraw, and on the 28th of June, deserted, disgraced, and broken with disease and disappointment, the petted instrument of Elizabeth's political genius went back to France, not yet utterly cast aside — she could not wholly part with him — but disabled for further action, and with his miserable part in the world's drama played out.

Meanwhile, the cause of the Low Countries appeared to be totally ruined. The friendship of France was gone. The spirit of the people, ^{July.} thus scandalously abandoned after their splendid struggle, was broken. The Prince of Parma, who alone, of all the parties interested, saw his way clearly, and had his work definitely cut out, pushed forward slowly

¹ Norris to Walsingham, April 28: MSS. Holland.

² Same to the same, November 27: MS. Ibid.

but irresistibly. The towns which Alençon would have sold he recovered easily by force. On the sea-board he took Dunkirk, Gravelines, and Nieuporte, places which were of vital moment to him when England's turn came to be attacked. On the other side, Ipres, Zutphen, and afterwards Bruges surrendered. Almost everything which had been gained by the great revolt of 1576, was again lost, and once more a languid despondency palsied the policy of England. The effects of the raid of Ruthven had been undone by the rejection of Colonel Stewart's overtures. Scotland had again fallen under anti-English influences, and was reopened to the designs of the Duke of Guise. On all sides the cause of freedom, which so many times had been all but won, seemed finally collapsing; and some general compromise — something equivalent to a universal submission, by which the revolted Provinces would be restored to their master, and the Queen of Scots released and recognised in Parliament as heir presumptive in England, appeared now inevitably approaching.

Under these circumstances, Elizabeth reverted to the purpose which she had begun to execute in 1576. In the expected crash, she wished to be able to say that she had been no friend to the revolted Provinces. If she assisted in their overthrow she might claim a voice in the disposal of them; at all events, she might recover part of the treasure which she had lavished on the wretched Alençon. It will be remembered that six years before, the States had borrowed twenty thousand pounds from her, and she had made herself afterwards security for forty thousand pounds in addition. The debt had never been paid. As she held the jewels of the House of Burgundy

August.

in pawn, the States had thought no more about the matter. But she may have possibly reflected that these jewels would have to be given up to Philip after the reconquest, and either for this or some other reason she determined, while the States had still a corporate existence, to repay herself both principal and interest. Notwithstanding the war, an extensive trade continued between the United Provinces and Spain. Their merchant fleet was expected in the Channel on its return from Cadiz. She proposed quietly to take possession of it.

"The causes of the loans" were first formally "set down," as Elizabeth pleased to describe them.

She had justified herself, from the first, for assisting the States, on the ground that she could not allow them to be annexed to France. She still maintained the same position, distinctly denying that she had been influenced by hostility to Spain.¹ "Hard it is," said the secretary who was employed upon the duty, "to deal in these causes that are so perplexed, especially to such as are not accustomed to swim between two waters. The care that is to be taken is that her honour may be preserved, and yet her turn served in this her pleasure."²

She had her own notions of honour and of the means to preserve it. Once more — and this time in serious

¹ "I have set down," said Walsingham's secretary, "the cause of these loans. Her Majesty doubted that one or the other would follow, if they were not helped. My master directed me to name these causes, though in truth I do not see how it will stand with honour et *federum* side. I could wish they were spared, and some other colour set upon the matter. The States in all intendment of her Majesty are taken as the King of Spain's subjects. She never otherwise liked of any of their proceedings, and from time to time in her own writings, taketh and nameth them so." — Lawrence Tomson to Mr. Hammond, August 13: *MSS. Holland*.

² *Ibid.*

earnest — she sent orders for Norris and the volunteers to leave the Provinces,¹ while she directed Captain Bingham, an officer of her own navy, to go out into the Channel and there seize the best of the ships of the States as a punishment for their want of gratitude, “considering the extraordinary favours which she had shewn them.”

“You will apprehend,” she said, “any ships which you may discover to be richly laden, either passing westwards or returning homewards; you will encounter with them and assail them, yet without force if it conveniently may be. Assure yourself beforehand what substance is in any ship or ships, so as the prize may countervail the debt, and also all such other charges as may in justice be demanded. The interest now amounts to thirty-five or thirty-six thousand pounds. If you are not certain of the value, you shall, on first boarding, search, pretending that you are to look for certain notorious traitors escaped out of England. Be sure to capture the entire fleet: let not one escape you.”²

Ingenuity may invent excuses for Elizabeth. There may have been secret circumstances or secret intentions which might make her conduct not wholly indefensible; yet the reverting a second time to the same resolution on the recurrence of the same circumstances, indicates a principle and a policy. She would have protected the United Provinces at all times, had she seen her way to it without open war; but war, with its certain costs and uncertain issues, she did not choose

¹ She offered Norris the marshalship of Berwick, as a reward for his past service, but thrifty in her liberality, she required five or six hundred pounds for it, and the bargain was too hard for him. — Norris to Burghley, September 13: *MSS. Holland*.

² Instructions to Captain Bingham, August 18, 1583: *MS. Ibid.*

to encounter ; and if the States were to be conquered, she hoped, by assisting Philip, to obtain a moderating voice in the terms of their submission, and a share at any rate in the spoils.

The good genius of England stood between its sovereign and discredit, and the bad purpose was left unexecuted. Three months later the ^{September.} Prince of Orange was again Elizabeth's dearest friend. Hopes of compromise had vanished, and the war which she had waded through so many manœuvres to avoid, stared her in the face. She was convinced, perhaps for the first time, that if Philip conquered, her own deposition was to be a condition of the pacification of Europe ; and again without a blush she sought the friendship of the only allies on whom she could rely.

The raid of Ruthven and the expulsion of Lennox had disconcerted the plot which had been first formed for the invasion. In the original programme the Duke of Guise was to enter Scotland as the ally of the King, and with the consent of the party in power there. Savage as James had shown himself on his capture, he had been persuaded to make another trial of Elizabeth's good-will. De Mainville, La Mothe Fénelon's companion in the French embassy, was Guise's friend and confederate, and had laboured to persuade the King that his English prospects depended on the Catholics. But so long as he had hopes of an English pension, and of being recognised as successor in preference to his mother, he had held aloof, giving hesitating answers. He had declared his intention of remaining a Protestant, and evidently, if Elizabeth had been willing to meet his wishes, was prepared to take his chance at her side. De Mainville, therefore, while Colonel Stewart was still unanswered, had returned to Paris

with an opinion that Scotland was not to be relied upon; that the Kirk was too strong, and that Protestantism had too firm a hold upon the country. The Duke of Guise in consequence, not abandoning his enterprise, but changing the direction of it, turned his eyes upon England itself. The Jesuits assured him that the people were ripe for insurrection. He had about him a knot of young English gentlemen, cadets of Catholic families, who were in regular correspondence with their friends. Mendoza's six noblemen, though refusing to move alone, were waiting only for help from abroad; and the Queen of Scots, while she was affecting to treat with Elizabeth, had agents in Paris, between whom and herself there was a constant interchange of ciphered letters. The most active of these were Charles Paget, son of Henry VIII.'s minister, and younger brother of Lord Paget, who was perhaps one of the six; William Parry, who, pretending to be a spy of Burghley's, was in fact betraying him; Charles Arundel, brother of Sir Matthew Arundel of Wardour; and a person who was afterwards the unwilling cause of the Queen of Scots' execution, named Thomas Morgan.¹

¹ In the natural exasperation of the Catholic conspirators, when their plots were defeated and exploded, Morgan was suspected of treachery. He was seized, carried to Brussels, and examined by Parma, to whom he related his history. As he became a person of so much consequence it is worth recording. He was the son of a Welsh gentleman, and was born in 1543. When he was eighteen he was put into the household of the Bishop of Exeter, and became afterwards secretary to Young, the Archbishop of York, with whom he remained till the Archbishop's death in 1570. These two prelates, he said, were violent Calvinists. He was himself a Catholic, but had concealed his creed, and had received church preferment from them, though a layman, worth four thousand crowns a year. When Young died, excited by the rising of the North, he resolved to devote himself to the service of the Queen of Scots. Lord Northumberland and the Earl of Pembroke recommended him to Lord Shrewsbury, and in the loose custody in which the Queen of Scots was held, he was soon able to be useful to her

These gentlemen agreed in representing the enterprise against England as offering no serious difficulties, and the noble families as eager to rid the country of the disgrace of heresy. On the 24th of April (May 4) Baptista de Tassis spoke of Guise as almost ready, and as endeavouring, meanwhile, to find some one who would do what Alva always recommended as a preliminary step, that is, shoot or stab Elizabeth.¹

Beyond the general resolution, however, there was

He managed her correspondence, and as Shrewsbury's secretary he was able to read and communicate to her whatever passed between his master and the Court. When her rooms and boxes were to be searched he had notice beforehand, and concealed her papers. After three years of this employment, he was discovered, and sent to the Tower under a charge of having been acquainted with the Ridolfi conspiracy. There he confined ten months, and the most suspicious circumstance about him was that at the end of that time he was dismissed unpunished. The Tower gates, he admitted, were rarely opened to Catholic prisoners, except on condition that they turned traitors. Many Catholics, he confessed, had escaped in that way, and had afterwards become servants of the Government. He denied, however, entirely that he had himself purchased his release by treachery. Lord Burghley, he said, had interceded for him, he knew not why. And he retained and deserved the confidence of the Queen of Scots, whose most trusted instrument he ever after remained. She recommended him to Guise and the Archbishop of Glasgow. He lived at Paris, where she allowed him 30 crowns a month out of her dowry. He managed her elphers, and corresponded for her with the Pope, the Nuncio in France, the English Catholics at home and abroad, with Allen, Sanders, and every other person concerned in the conspiracies against Elizabeth. The Queen of Scots entrusted him with her deepest and darkest secrets, and though her connexion with him proved fatal to her, there is no doubt of his genuine fidelity. — *Cargas contra Tomas Morgan; fecho en Brusselas en doze de Hebrero, 1600: MSS. Simancas.*

¹ "La traça en que andaba Hercules (Guise), y que apunté a V. M. á 4 de Mayo, era un hecho violento contra esa señora." — Juan Baptista de Tassis al Rey, 14-24 de Mayo: Toullet, Vol. V. Three sets of conspirators besides the Jesuits were meditating the Queen's murder at that very moment: Somerville and Arden in Warwickshire, Thomas Morgan and his friends at Paris, and a third party, whose names were unknown. — See the trial of the Earl of Arundel: *State Trials*, Vol. I. It is uncertain to whom De Tassis referred. Opposite De Tassis's words Philip wrote, "Así creo que lo entendimos acá, y con que lo hicieran ellos no fuera malo, aunque habian de prevenir algunas cosas."

still great uncertainty, and wide divergence of opinion. At a consultation at the Nuncio's house at Paris in June, the Duke of Guise announced that Duke Albert of Bavaria would take a part in the invasion, and supposing the King of Spain to approve, but to be unwilling to appear in the matter personally, he said that he was ready himself to cross immediately to the coast of North-amberland with four thousand of his own people. His brother the Duke of Mayenne would land with as many more in Sussex, and if Parma would allow the use of Dunkirk, Duke Albert would pass from thence to Norfolk with five thousand Germans. This plan appeared to him to be on the whole the most desirable. It could be executed at once; the danger of discovery from delay would be avoided; while France itself could provide arms and men.

From this proposal, prompt and decisive as it was, the English Jesuits dissented. Their leanings
June. were entirely Spanish, and although they were ready to accept Guise as their leader, they wished him to act only under Philip's directions. They made objections to a triple combination. They said that unless the King of Spain was supreme, they would quarrel among themselves — one party would think only re-establishing religion, another of placing Mary Stuart on the throne, while a third would be for letting Elizabeth remain, and for giving the Queen of Scots only the succession. Again, supposing Mary Stuart Queen, the Scots, they said, would look to have precedents at Court, to which the English would never yield. Catholic England was ready to take her as its sovereign, but only as the representative of Philip. The people were strongly attached to their old alliance, and could only be relied on to rise if Spain was distinctly in the

field. Father Allen, who was present, recommended strongly that the force employed should be Spanish and Italian, and not French. The Pope might gratify France by appointing the Duke of Guise to the command. The King of Spain need not appear, but must keep the control of everything in his hand. Four thousand men, Allen thought, would be sufficient, with arms for those who would join them, and money to pay their way, that they might not have to prey upon the country. Volunteers would crowd to the standard. Allen himself offered to go first and take possession of the see of Durham, to which the Pope had appointed him. God, he thought, could be relied upon for the rest.

As Allen drew the picture, De Tassis admitted that it was a tempting one. Guise was ready to sacrifice his own scheme, if the other was preferred. The invasion it was thought ought not to be postponed beyond the coming September at latest, but four thousand men might be sent off with no great difficulty. In the interests of England, of France, of Flanders, of all Europe, De Tassis recommended Philip to consent, at all events he pressed for an immediate answer. All were agreed on the danger of delay. If Allen's plans were disliked, Guise and Mayenne were ready to fall back upon their own.¹

Promptitude was an element of human success which Philip II. neither commanded nor understood. The fitness of the Duke of Guise to conduct the English invasion had been canvassed for years; yet now, when the enterprise was on the eve of execution, he preferred to reconsider the whole question. When De Tassis's letter of the 4th of May reached him, he sent Guise word that he was glad he was so well employed, that

¹ De Tassis to Philip II., April 24-May 4, June 14-24: Teulet, Vol. V.

he wished him success, and would give him money ; but he desired first to learn particularly what he meant to do — while, as it was contrary to Spanish political tradition to allow a Frenchman to gain a footing in England, and as De Tassis was under Guise's influence, he wrote to Mendoza to send him a confidential opinion.¹

Mendoza's answer throws admirable light on the complications which embarrassed the Catholic cause.

July. "Your Majesty asks me," he wrote, "what I think of the Duke of Guise : whether his coming to England is open to the objection which we entertain generally against the introduction of the French into the island ; and whether it will be sufficient to help him with money, or if your Majesty should do more. I have many times insisted to your Highness that if the French invade Scotland or England in the interests of the Queen of Scots, and if they gain entire control of the situation, this much is certain, that the island will not be recovered to the Catholic faith. The French care little enough for it at home. Religion with them is but an accessory of politics, as they have shown in their transactions with the Low Countries. You can consider, therefore, the inconveniences which will arise. The English will be in a frenzy, the French being their natural enemies, and when so just an object is pretended as the conversion of the people, and the rights of the Scottish Queen, your Majesty will be unable to interfere on the Queen of England's behalf.

"Well then, to obviate this, and to neutralise the jealousy which cannot but arise between France and

¹ Philip to De Tassis, June 6 ; Philip to Mendoza, June 6 : Teulet, Vol V.

Spain, if either of them attempt alone the conquest of England, God has been pleased to introduce the Queen of Scots as a neutral person between us. Other causes besides religion make it desirable both to us and to France that the Queen of Scots should have this crown. She will put a stop to the mischief which the English have done, and are doing, in Flanders and France also ; only there must be a clear understanding that whoever comes hither at the head of an army, comes with no other object but to set her at liberty, and replant religion. I do not know what is passing between the Catholics here and the Duke of Guise. They say nothing of it to me ; but the Duke knows them of course—being what they are—to wish well to himself and his house ; and they know him to be the defender, with your Majesty's help, of French orthodoxy. I cannot think, therefore, that inconvenience can arise from his coming, either to this country or to Scotland. Rather, I think, we should invite him to undertake the enterprise, there being no other person in whom so many advantages conenr. He is the Queen of Scots' near kinsman, and possesses her fullest confidence. He will be himself interested in preventing France from gaining too strong a hold here. His concern will be for the imprisoned Queen, from whom we have so much to expect in the way of service to God and your Majesty. The Duke will take charge of her interests. He will see that the son does not supplant the mother in England as he has done in Scotland. From the son, until he be reconciled to the Church, there is nothing more to be looked for than from any other Scot or heretic. The Catholics will not admit him here while he is unconverted. They will not even accept his mother except in concert with

and under the authority of your Majesty, and it is on your Majesty assuredly that the Queen of Scots will lean. She knows the hatred borne to her by the Queen-mother, and the animosity between her kinsmen the Guises and the Houses of Bourbon and Montmorency. As to the form and quality of your Majesty's assistance, I can advise nothing till I know more of your Highness's intentions. It must depend on whether your Majesty means to declare yourself openly — whether the King of France is to take a part, or whether it is to be left to his Holiness and the Duke of Guise, your Majesty reserving a power to interpose if the French go too far. As to the amount of force, you remember what the Duke of Lennox asked for when the invasion was intended through Scotland. Baptista de Tassis and the Nuncio have talked over matters since that time with the other parties concerned, but I know not what they have resolved. If England is to be invaded immediately, I should like to know in what strength the Duke calculates the Catholics here will join him. He may either come over with three or four thousand thoroughly trusty men, or he may come with a large army regularly appointed. If the first, your Majesty will do well to provide him with a number of experienced officers. Some of those in Flanders may seem to quarrel with the Prince of Parma, and be turned adrift to seek service elsewhere. If the second, and if your Majesty will not commit yourself by sending Spaniards, the army ought to consist of Italians and German Catholics, wholly devoted to your Majesty. The Duke of Guise will make no objection, for he will be assured that your Majesty will ensure him a safe return to France, and will guarantee him against his rivals during his absence. The realm is ripe for revo-

lution. It is full of sects and faction. The people will not bear control, and the doings of the Council and clergy are scandalous. There is every reason, therefore, to expect success. The French Ambassador tells them that the Queen of Scots may count on the help of Alençon. For the honour of God, let your Majesty beware of this false and ambitious Prince. If you mean to do anything here do it promptly, and trust only to Guise. Do not let Alençon fancy that you will allow him to conduct the enterprise, or give him time to hinder it if he is refused. Guise alone can be safely trusted. It is not for your Majesty's interests that any other Frenchman should come hither, unless indeed for every hundred of his countrymen he bring as many Spaniards also. If they are coming to restore religion, your Majesty's soldiers are as zealous as they. If they have ulterior objects, it will be well to have our own people on the spot to share the game."¹

Scotland, it will be seen, was now dropped out of the scheme of invasion. Scotland, and with it the interests of Scotland's young King, who had been intriguing with the other side, and as long as he was unconverted, was to be excluded from further advancement. But James and the politicians with whom he was surrounded had no intention of being thus thrust into the shade. The English succession was the loadstar on which James's eyes were permanently fixed. He had hoped to secure it for himself over his mother's head; he had offended her and the Catholics, and he had as yet obtained nothing. He might still wait humbly, and so at last hope to propitiate Elizabeth. On the other hand Guise might come over, and the Catholics might rise and make a revolution, and his chances would

¹ Mendoza to Philip, July 6-16. Abridged: *MSS. Simancas*.

be forfeited for ever. Could he but have commanded the second sight of his countrymen, how easy would have been his course! If he turned Catholic prematurely, and after all the Protestants won the victory, he was lost equally that way. It was a tremendous position, but the scoundrels who surrounded him were equal to it. The first step was to beg his mother's pardon for having coquetted with Elizabeth. Colonel Stewart had brought his orders with him to London, and instantly that he and Colville were dismissed, with their requests refused, he found means of communicating with Sheffield, and telling the lady that her son had acted under constraint. In Scotland preparations were made swiftly and secretly to undo the effects of the raid of Ruthven, shake off the English lords, and place the country once more at the disposition of the conspirators at Paris, if they cared to use it. Gowrie himself, blinded by the phantom of the succession, and exasperated at the broken promises of Elizabeth, imagined that he had no more interest in holding James prisoner. John Maitland lent abilities to the new intrigues, which were second only to his brother's. Colonel Stewart came back from London with as keen a hatred of the English alliance, as he had carried thither a desire to make it perpetual.¹ The Catholic noblemen were burning to recover their ascendancy. The King was at Falkland in charge of Angus and Mar, and a plot was rapidly formed, with James's privity, to rescue him. Young Seton stole off to France to tell De Tassis that a revolution was coming, and that Scotland would

¹ "Colonel Stewart est retourné d'Angleterre, où les choses luy sont si mal ancedées qu'il n'a peu choisir meilleur party que de se ranger du côté du Roy et abandonner l'autre faction du tout, de sorte que le Roy mesme est beaucoup refroidy." — Letter from a nobleman at St. Andrew's to M. de Mainville, July 3-13: Teulet, Vol. III.

soon be Spanish again.¹ Warnings were sent to Huntley, Montrose, Crawford, and others of the Catholic faction, to hold themselves in readiness, and on the 7th of July² the King and Colonel Stewart slipped away to St. Andrew's, and shut themselves up in the castle there. The two Earls followed in haste, but Huntley had the start of them. St. Andrew's was swarming with Gordons, the King was in the midst of his mother's friends, and they were obliged to retire as they came. A second messenger went off to Paris with the news, and with a promise that the work so well begun would soon be finished, that Gowrie, who had been made a tool of, would be shaken off, and that the Catholics would have Scotland at their feet. It was the rebound of the stone of Sisyphus. After years of anxiety and miracles of diplomatic adroitness, the neglect which had destroyed Morton had been repaired. The cards had been once more in Elizabeth's hands, she had flung them in the face of her friends, and they, as usual, were left to perish, and her ministers to begin their ever recurring and ever hopeless toil.

Utterly discomfited, Mar, Angus, and Lindsay could but sit still. They knew not what to do, or in which direction to turn. Only the ministers saw their way clearly. A deputation from the Presbytery at Edinburgh came over to St. Andrew's, demanded an interview with the King, and warned him against "new courses." James, whatever his shifts of politics, had never wavered in his hatred of the Kirk. He turned fiercely on them. "Never king in Europe," he said, "would have borne at their hands what he had borne." David Fergusson, one of the party, coolly answered that he had been well brought up, and they did not

¹ De Tassis to Philip, June 29-July 9: Teulet, Vol. V. ² New Style.

wish him to be like other kings. If they saw occasion to speak to him, they intended to speak, whether he liked it or not. "There was not the face on flesh that they would spare, if they found rebellion to God, whose message they carried." He might despise them, but his contempt would not alter facts. "There was never one in that realm that prospered in authority after the ministers began to threaten him."¹ It was disrespectful language from a subject to a sovereign — disrespectful and, as some think, vain and absurd — yet no more, after all, than the literal truth. Nothing in the history of these times is more remarkable than the correctness of the political judgment of John Knox and his successors. They believed that the world was governed by justice and truth, and not by intrigue and chicanery, and the event proved that they were right.

Meanwhile it was the enemies' day. Every officer, either of state or household, known to be attached to England was removed, and those who had been in exile for fidelity to the Queen of Scots were recalled and promoted. When Sir Robert Bowes remonstrated, he was taunted with his mistress's parsimony. When he asked if they would accept the pension which she had offered the King, he was told that sooner than the King should disgrace himself by accepting so vile a sum the lords would subscribe double the amount for him themselves.² An agent of Walsingham's sent word that if the Queen interfered with force, France would take it "as if she had declared war;" the King had distinctly told him so;³ and perplexed and penitent too late Elizabeth flew from counsel to counsel, cursing the

¹ Calderwood.

² Bowes to Walsingham, July 13-23: *MSS Scotland*.

³ *MS.* (sic) to Walsingham, July, 1583: *MS. Ibid.*

changeableness of the Scots, as if she had given them cause for constancy. Secretary Beale went again to Sheffield, carrying proposals, ignominious now because extorted by fear, to go on with the treaty. Elizabeth might have spared herself the humiliation. In the exulting confidence of expected triumph the Queen of Scots refused now to be bound by her past promises. If she was to ratify the treaty of Leith, she must have her right of succession recognized by Act of Parliament, or at least by private deed under Elizabeth's hand and seal. She declined to pledge herself against alterations of the established religion. She would consent to remain in England — it was part of the scheme which she had arranged with Guise and Mendoza — but she required the free use of the Catholic ritual for herself and her household, free access to her person from all parts of the world, and the title of an English duchy.¹ Walsingham cynically advised that his mistress should go even further and replace Mary Stuart in Scotland, and when reminded of his past objections, answered that times were changed and that wise men must change with them.² "You are not so resolute there," he wrote to Bowes, "as we are irresolute here."³ Sir Walter Mildmay, who had been with Beale at Sheffield, was ordered to prepare to accompany Lord Hunsdon to the Scotch Court,⁴ while Bowes,

¹ Mauvissière to the King of France, July 21-31: Toullet, Vol. III.

² "Le Sieur de Walsingham a dict que il luy sembloit que l'on devoit contenter ladite Roynie d'Escosse, et qu'elle demeureroit par-deli, avec assurance de la Roynie d'Angleterre pour demeurer seurement en son Royaulme sans que luy feust fait ny mal ny desplaisir. Aulcuns luy ont respondu qu'il n'avoit pas toujours tenu ce langage ny esté de ce conseil. Il a respondu que aussy voyoit-il qu'il se falloit accommoder et changer selon les temps." — M. de Castelnau à la Roynie mère, 31 Juillet-10 Aoust, 1583: *Ibid.*

³ Walsingham to Bowes, July 22-August 1: *MSS. So. 4242.*

⁴ Same to the same, July 10-20: *MS. Ibid.*

on the same day, was bidden renew for the twentieth time the as often broken promises, look out the noblemen affected to the English crown, and promise them help in arms and money if they would again combine.¹

Frightened off this course by fear of France, she directed the Ambassador to remonstrate sharply with the King. In a second letter she bade him "not reproach but rather expostulate." Next she resolved to do nothing, expecting "that the King would do what was right of his own mind."² Finally after a violent scene with Walsingham, she insisted that he should go to Scotland himself, and either by persuasion or by any means that he could find, undo the effects of her own neglect of his advice. Walsingham said "that he would most willingly have used his travail therein if the Queen did embrace and go through with things as effectively as she should do."³ As it was, he received his order "with as ill a will as ever he undertook any service in his life." He "feared he could do little good." He "would most willingly have avoided the journey if he could have done it without her Majesty's extreme displeasure," and not choosing to be the means of tempting Scotch noblemen to rely upon promises which he knew would not be observed, he sent word to the Earl of Mar, who had applied for advice to Sir Robert Bowes, "to follow the way of counsel that might be best for his own safety, without further regard to England."⁴

He was curious to see James, however, and form his own impressions about him, while Elizabeth prepared the way by a letter of condescend-

August.

¹ Walsingham to Bowes, July 10-20: *MSS. Scotland*.

² Same to the same, July 27-August 6: *MS. Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Same to the same, August 6-16: *MS. Ibid.*

ing and contemptuous superiority, which, however truly it might represent the essential relations between herself and the young Prince, was not calculated to make the latter unwilling to quarrel with her.¹ She said she intended to deal as an affectionate sister with him. With how much truth may be inferred from Walsingham's unwillingness to go. She intended in fact to tempt him to forsake his new friends, with vague assurances which might or might not be realized after her death, but for which he would certainly receive no value till the grave had closed over her. She said she would enlarge his pension if the sum which she had offered appeared too small, but he must replace in office the lords of the English party, and send their opponents away. For Lady Lennox's estate, which was the symbol of the succession, and the point thereof of especial soreness, she bade Walsingham say that she had suspended her answer for his own sake. She could not consent till the opposing claims had been heard of the Lady Arabella, and as the issue might be such as would offend him she preferred to leave it undecided.²

How far evasions of this kind were likely to influence James in his present mood, or how far Elizabeth's admonition was likely to work favourably on him, may be gathered from a letter which he now wrote to the

¹ "My dear brother and cousin, — It moveth me much to morn you when I behold how diversely sundry wicked spirits distract your mind, and bend your course to crooked paths, and like all evil illusions, wrapped under the cloke of your best safety, endanger your estate. You deal with one whose experience will not take dross for good payment, and with one who will not easily be beguiled. No, no, I mean to set to school your craftiest councillors. I beseech you proceed no further in this course till you receive an express messenger, a trusty servant of mine, by whom I intend to deal as an affectionate sister with you." — Elizabeth to James, August 7-17: *MSS. Scotland*.

² Instructions to Walsingham, August 13-23: *MS. Ibid.*

Duke of Guise. He was infinitely delighted with himself for having recovered his liberty. He assumed that Guise was ready as ever to use Scotland as his stepping-stone to England, but was anxious to let him know that he claimed for himself a right to a share in the enterprise.

"Your proposal to send troops here is most agreeable to me," he said. "I will accept or not accept it as circumstances shall require. I hold myself happy in having so brilliant and distinguished a kinsman, the first captain of his age, ready to take arms in my behalf. M. de Mainville, you tell me, has been pleased to speak of *the virtues and rare qualities which God has bestowed upon me*.¹ I am the more bound to imitate the ever memorable deeds of my ancestors of the noble House of Lorraine. If there be anything in me deserving praise it is to that house from which through my mother I derive my origin, that I attribute all. Had I, at the receipt of your letter, been in the condition in which M. de Mainville left me, you would have excited in my breast an ardent desire of liberty; but God be praised I had already extricated myself by my own prudence and patience. I am now free, and eager for an opportunity to revenge myself. My mother, in a letter which I have just received from her, refers me to you for directions. You propose, I understand, to set her free and establish our united right to the English crown. I admire your object. I approve of the means which you intend to use, and which have only to be handled with dexterity. I will send you my opinion in a few days. I have much of

¹ This letter is preserved in a Spanish translation, sent by De Tassis to the King of Spain. The words in italics were underlined by Philip, who remarked upon them "a modest young gentleman" ("bien las confiesa de sí").

great consequence to say to you, which I dare not commit to paper except in cipher."¹

The writer of such a letter as this was not likely to take patiently a lecture upon his pliancy to evil. While it justifies Elizabeth's extreme distrust of his character, it shews also the imprudence of trifling away the control over him which the raid of Ruthven had placed in her hands. Having a more slender estimate of James's abilities than he had formed for himself, Guise was not anxious to take him into partnership. The escape of the young King was so recent, and the changes had been so many and so sudden, that the scheme which he had formed originally with Lennox no longer seemed advisable. The Scotch Protestants were evidently very strong; it was enough if for the present they could be neutralized. England was the point to strike at, and to strike at with speed. Guise's position at home was critical. The King feared him. Catherine de Medici hated him. His personal safety, as he told Mendoza, required the support of an army. Action somewhere was a necessity to him, either in France or England, and he preferred to transfer the miseries of war to a foreign country.² Philip, after due consideration, had decided against an over trust in the French, and on himself supplying at least part of the force which was to be employed. Parma could easily spare four or five thousand men, and it had been settled that a Spanish fleet was to hold the Channel to protect the crossing. For the fleet, and for the fleet

¹ James VI. to the Duke of Guise, August 9-19, 1583: Teulet, Vol. V.

² "Díjome el clerigo particular enueta en nombre de Herenlos de la resolucion hecha, y juntamente de que á él le habia de ser fuerza y á su hermano, por el termino con que procedin con ellos el Rey de Francia tomar as armas en aquel Reyno ó en Inglaterra." — Don Bernardino al Rey, 9-19 Agosto: MSS. Simanca.

only, Guise was now waiting. All else was ready. Notice had gone round to the principal houses in the northern counties in England to be on the alert. The Queen of Scots was prepared either to fly or to defend herself. The "principal noblemen," Northumberland, that is, and the Earl of Arundel, had sent word that her friends were prepared.¹ The Earl of Westmoreland was in Flanders, waiting for the moment to return to his tenants. Durham was reported ready to welcome Allen as Bishop. A brother of Leonard Dacres, who now claimed the title, undertook for Gilsland and the English border. Lord Wharton, the Earl of Cumberland, and the Percys had promised six thousand horse between them; Fernyhurst and Maxwell three thousand Scots from Teviotdale and Dumfries. It was calculated that twenty thousand men at least would take arms on the instant that Guise was known to have landed. The Earls of Rutland, Arundel, and Worcester, Lord Montague, and several others had promised to declare themselves when the insurrection was once in motion. The plan had been minutely arranged. Mendoza was to remain quietly in London till the last moment, and then to slip away to Dunkirk. Guise and Allen were to join him there. Parma was to supply the troops. They were to run down the French coast, double the Land's End, and land in Morecambe Bay, where they would be least expected. The Pope had prepared a Bull, declaring that the King of Spain and the Duke of Guise had

¹ "Habiendo escrito la Reyna de Escocia y dado aviso, los principales señores de aquel reyno que las cosas estan muy bien dispuestas, principalmente hacia los confines de Escocia, donde debe desconfender la armada de España, tandem se ha hecho resolucion que bastará que el Rey Catolico embie una armada de quatro mil buenos soldados," &c. — Instrucion por los negocios de Inglaterra, 12-23 de Agosto: Tenlet, Vol. V.

undertaken the execution of the Church's censures against Elizabeth. Allen, as Nuncio, was to issue it immediately that they were on shore, while the Duc de Mayenne, with a second army, was to throw himself on the coast of Sussex, where Lord Paget and Arundel of Wardour had engaged to receive him.

The arrangements being thus forward, Guise was naturally restless. The ships from Spain were long in coming, and to employ the time he sent Charles Paget privately across the Channel to arrange with his friends the exact spot where Mayenne should land, and to remove at the same time any lingering alarm which they might feel of danger to English liberty by assuring them that he and his brother were coming over merely and simply to re-establish the faith of Christ, and make Mary Stuart Queen;¹ that when these objects were obtained both French and Spaniards were to withdraw from the country, and that if the Spaniards hesitated he was prepared to compel them.

The murder scheme had failed. The unknown person whom Guise had employed had gone to England for the purpose, but had made no progress, and at last gave up the business, returned ineffectually to the Continent, and with a rare conscience for an assassin

¹ "Y para poner la Reyna de Escocia pacifica de la corona de Inglaterra, la cual de derecho le pertenesce." — Instructions of the Duke of Guise to Charles Paget, August 18-28: Teulet, Vol. V. These instructions were not intended for Philip's eye. De Tassis, however, copied, translated and sent them to him. He underlined the words referring to the Queen of Scots, writing on the margin an "Ojo," to draw special attention to them. He was not at all sure after all that he wished Mary Stuart to be Queen. He was quite certain that he did not mean James to be King. He knew that Guise aspired — on the failure of the House of Valois — to the French crown. Guise, if a Catholic, was a Frenchman, and it was of as much importance to Philip to divide England from France as it was to Elizabeth to keep France apart from Spain.

returned his reward.¹ Mendoza concluded with a sigh that it was not God's pleasure that this easy method should prosper. Paget's errand answered better. He went over to the coast of Sussex in disguise, accompanied by one of the Throgmortons. He saw the Earl of Arundel, and he saw also the Earl of Northumberland, gave Guise's message, and obtained all the assurances and all the information which Guise desired. He took soundings in Rye harbour. He fixed apparently on Rye as the most appropriate landing place, and returned safely to France, having been seen and suspected, but having escaped arrest or identification. No more could be done till the coming of the fleet. Guise wrote to Mendoza asking him candidly for his opinion as a soldier how far the English Catholics were to be depended upon.² He apparently was satisfied with the answer, and waited only till Philip sent the means to carry him over.

While the mine was thus dug under her feet, and on the point of explosion, Elizabeth was totally unconscious that she was in unusual danger. Rumours had reached her of intended mischief, but such only as she had been accustomed to hear every day for twenty years. She was uneasy about Scotland, but rather for the ultimate consequences of the revolution there than for any mischief to be immediately apprehended. Notwithstanding

¹ "A la persona que escribí á V. S. en mis antecedentes se le ha ordenado por un caso accidental no vaya adonde esta la otra, por lo cual él ha vuelto á dar lo que se le había entregado, diciendo que no quiero engañar á nadie, pues falta ocasión, que es muestra de que procedía con llaneza y que Dios no quiere que se haga el negocio en aquella manera." — Autograph of Don Bernardino to Secretary Idriguez, August 19-29: *MSS. Simancas*.

² "Me podía le advertir precisamente como solado lo que se podría operar de los Católicos de Inglaterra y parciales de la de Escocia, con lo cual él se satisfaría, y no con relación de otra ninguna persona." — Don Bernardino al Rey, 19 de Agosto, 1593: *MS. Ibid.*

Alençon she was on good terms with the French Government. Catherine de Medici had written affectionately to her after Alençon's return from the Low Countries, regretting that the marriage had come to nothing, but expressing a hope that the friendship between the two crowns might remain unbroken,¹ and that then and always they might act together in the interests of Christendom.² Even Walsingham was satisfied that nothing was to be feared from the King and the Queen-mother,³ and as to Guise and his brother, a small subsidy to the Huguenots would find them occupation at home.⁴ In Scotland Elizabeth recognised that mischief was working, but she had played into Guise's hands by the way in which she had dealt with it. Her letter to James "mightily stirred the coals."⁵ The more angry she shewed herself the less he regarded her admonitions. The Queen of England, he said, ruled her subjects, and he intended to rule the Scots. Confident in Guise and in the expected invasion, he no longer thought it necessary to carry a fair face to Gowrie. He proceeded to call to account both him and all the others who had been concerned in the raid, and insisted that if they were not to be punished they should apply for their pardons. Gowrie, whose eyes were soon opened to his mistake in letting the King escape, at first refused. "He was brought into such a passion," wrote Sir Robert Bowes, "that he cursed the time that he obeyed the King's letters to come to him — seeing

¹ Catherine de Medici to Elizabeth, July 16-26: *MSS. France*.

² Walsingham to Cobham, August 6-16: *MS. Ibid.*

³ Walsingham to Bowes, August 20-30: *MSS. Scotland*.

⁴ "La Reyna con la libertad del Rey de Escocia ha juzgado ser lo que mas le importa, es remover guerra en Francia, en la cual de por fuerza se han de ocupar los de la casa de Guisa." — Don Bernardino al Rey 19 Agosto: *MSS. Simancas*.

⁵ Bowes to Walsingham, August 20-30: *MSS. Scotland*.

promises had been doubly broken with him — and also accused himself of great beastliness;¹ by the which those mischiefs were suffered to spring, wishing himself rather banished than accept pardon for the act which his conscience testifies to be good.”² Afterwards seeing that he was in real danger he made a sullen acknowledgment of his fault, and withdrew from the Court. The ministers, as usual, stood their ground. They were required “to condemn the act of Ruthven.” They said that the King himself had admitted it to have been good, and to have delivered religion from great perils; the Kirk had approved it in general assembly, and the judgment of the Kirk was law. They were threatened, but they stood to their word. “Sundry barons and chief burroughs” were seen to approve of their answer, and the King, not wishing to promote a further quarrel till Guise had arrived, controlled himself, and let them go.³

It was at this moment, when Guise was watching for the Spanish sails, and Paget had stolen over upon his secret errand, that Walsingham was started at last upon his journey to the Scotch Court. His dislike of his mission made him ill; and he lingered long upon the road. Believing France to be secure, and that Guise could not move without his master's consent, he would have proffered to see James “go his own way and taste the fruits of his folly.”⁴ “The Court was ruled by those who were devoted to the King's mother, directed by her counsel, and hated by the people,”⁵

¹ *Bélise*, folly.

² Bowes to Walsingham, August 17-27: *MSS. Scotland*.

³ Same to the same, August 22-September 1; August 25-September 4: *MSS. Ibid.*

⁴ Walsingham to Bowes, August 30-30: *MSS. Ibid.*

⁵ Walsingham to Burghley, August 30-September 2: *MSS. Ibid.*

"and was wholly bent upon a violent course;" but the ministers of the Kirk could be relied upon; "the burroughs, who lived by traffic, and were grown wealthy by long-continued peace with England, would not willingly hear of a breach;" "the existing state could not long continue,"¹ and if neither France nor England interposed, Walsingham thought the Scots might be safely left to settle their own differences.

He found James at Perth. The Earl of Arran was now his first favourite as Lennox had formerly been, and by Arran and Colonel Stewart he ^{September.} was ruled. When Walsingham was introduced, the King began with complaints. The Queen, he said, found fault with his councillors; what had she to do with his councillors? he made no objections to hers. Walsingham, out of humour already, told him that "if he made so little account of her Majesty she would leave him to his own direction;" England had no need of his friendship, nor had he come to seek it; he was sent "to charge him with unkind dealing, and to require satisfaction, excuse, or reparation."

Excuse was not considered necessary, and reparation was not intended. Arran and Stewart affected innocent surprise. Walsingham would not listen to them, and on the whole formed a worse opinion than he had even expected, both of them and their master. "I have no hopes of the recovery of this young Prince," he wrote to Burghley. "If his power may agree with his will he will become a dangerous enemy." He described James as "full of contempt for her Majesty, into which he had grown altogether by the advice of his mother, who put him in hope of a great party in England." His mother had told him "that the more alienated he

¹ Walsingham to Burghley, September 6-16: *MSS. Scotland.*

shewed himself from her Majesty, and the more inclined to change the religion," the more his party would increase. He was evidently "depending on Spain and the Pope," and "shewing himself bent by degrees to follow that course." At times, perhaps, he hesitated; "but if he proceeded not as was meant he should, his mother, who was the layer of the plot, would work his confusion; and though she could not live many years, yet before their end would see his overthrow."¹

Walsingham remained a week, and was then going; when James, not wishing to be utterly defiant while there was still a chance of the non-appearance of Guise, made a faint attempt at conciliation. He assured the English minister that he was really anxious to please the Queen, and that if she desired it he would say no more of "the raid of Ruthven;" he was ready to pass an act of oblivion, and to replace the English lords in the Council. Walsingham, not trusting him, said coldly, that he had been ill-advised in surrounding himself with so many passionate ambitious young men; he was treading in the steps of the English Edward II., and might come to the same end; the execution of Morton had been a bad beginning; princes fancied themselves absolute, but princes were as much bound to rule justly as subjects were bound to obey, and if they broke the law they were no longer kings but tyrants.²

But James had spoken fairly, and to try his sincerity, Walsingham sent him a note of his offers in writing, and asked if he had understood his meaning. "A dark and ambiguous answer" was returned. It was obviously idle to depend upon him; and Walsingham being

¹ Walsingham to Burghley, September 11-21; to Elizabeth, September 11-21, 12-22: *MSS. Scotland*.

² Heads of a conversation between Secretary Walsingham and the King of Scots, September 12-23: *MSS. Ibid.*

on the spot consulted with the old friends of England on the feasibility of some new raid and of "forcing" James, whether he would or no, to depend on her Majesty's favour. Gowrie, Angus, Mar, Lindsay, were all willing, provided that this time the Queen would give them a definite sum of money to work with. Walsingham neither could nor would make promises, but he said that he would write to his mistress, wait at Durham for her answer, and send them word.¹ He was afraid that she would prove impracticable,² and the event proved to be as he expected.

Money Elizabeth would give none. She was incredulous of the danger with which she was threatened. She probably believed that the Scotch Protestants would move on their own account without her interposition. Walsingham's letters were ineffectual; and his personal arguments, when he returned to London, were equally powerless. He could prevail neither with his ministers nor with Burghley, and he sent word to the lords that they must provide for their safety and not depend on England, in the hope that the message would reach them in time to prevent them from committing themselves. They had been over sanguine and had gone far; not only Gowrie, Angus, and Mar, but Glamys and the Earl of Rothes, had been in consultation. Angus had laid a plot to carry off James when hunting. Rothes, though unwilling "to be an executor in the action," had consented to join afterwards. The rest were more seriously compromised. Glamys and Mar fled to Ire-

¹ Walsingham to Elizabeth, September 15-25: *MSS. Scotland*.

² "If the answer I receive from our Court be not such as was to be wished, and the necessity of the present times requires — whereof I stand in some doubt, for security did never more possess us than at this present — I would have you retire from thence with as convenient speed as you may." — Walsingham to Bowes, September 25-October 5: *MS. Ibid.*

land, and lay concealed at Knockfergus. Gowrie and Angus imagining, as it proved untrue, that they had not been discovered, remained at home, waiting till circumstances again compelled Elizabeth to espouse their cause.¹

Meanwhile another overture of no less consequence had been made to Elizabeth from France. Mendoza had said that she meditated rekindling the civil war there as a counterpoise to the change in Scotland. It was at all times an easy process, but if the war would kindle without her assistance, she naturally preferred to be a spectator. The French King, lying between the two factions of Catholics and Huguenots, was neither able nor particularly anxious to keep the peace between them; and the King of Navarre and the Duke of Guise raised armies, occupied towns, and enforced or suppressed the edicts of toleration where each happened to be strongest. As Alençon's health failed, and the accession of the House of Bourbon to the crown became more probable, the bitterness between them became naturally aggravated. The Duke of Guise, to spare France from being the battle-field of the rival creeds, became more impatient every day to be moving, knowing that to overthrow Protestantism in England and Scotland was to overthrow it everywhere. The King of Navarre was equally aware that the liberator of Mary Stuart and the conqueror of England would be a rival, whose power and popularity it would be idle for him to attempt to resist.

In September, therefore, while Walsingham was in Scotland, Navarre sent his secretary, M. Ségur, to London, to lay before the Queen once more the scheme for a Protestant alliance which waited only for her

¹ Bowes to Walsingham, December 29—January 8: *MSS. Scotland*.

consent to organise itself. M. Ségur pointed out to her, what her own ministers were weary of repeating, that the Protestants in France and the Low Countries had so far saved England from a joint invasion by the Catholic Powers. The Prince of Orange and the King of Navarre had been fighting her battle as well as their own, and the assistance which they had received from her had so far been almost nothing. She imagined that she had done wonders for them. In the last thirteen years, her solitary contribution to the Huguenot cause had been a loan of sixty thousand crowns, for which the King had given her jewels of five times the value as a security. He hoped that now, with the Low Countries almost at the last gasp and the Catholics everywhere recovering the ascendancy, she would see her way to a more liberal co-operation with those who were her best if not her only friends. Nothing, he was convinced, but inability would hold her back at such a time. If it could not be, M. Ségur was instructed to request the restoration of the jewels on payment of the sum for which they were pledged.¹

Some intention of encouraging Navarre may have passed over her mind among her shifts of purpose; but, as the reader has seen, she had October. fallen off like a vessel unable to contend against the wind. Her thoughts were once more of compromise, and Captain Bingham was waiting for his final orders to make an end of the commerce of the Hollanders. "Such," wrote Walsingham on his return from Scotland, "as are at Court for the King of Navarre, to solicit an association for the common defence of religion, will be dismissed I doubt with no very good satisfaction, and yet was there never more cause to embrace

¹ Memorial of M. Ségur, 1583: *MSS. France*.

such a motion than now."¹ Dismissed they were. Slight as was the good will with which struggling Protestantism was regarded by Elizabeth, the Huguenots had earned her special disfavor by turning upon her at the occupation of Havre. She had assisted Alençon when Alençon was their leader, but rather for his sake than for theirs. The King of Navarre, as Ségur said, had been one of the supports on which her throne had rested, but she recognized her obligations but slightly. She was not contented with rejecting his suit. She declined to restore his securities. Acquisitiveness of precious stones was a kind of madness with her. She had already collected (and there is no sign that she had parted with them) the Crown jewels of three countries — of Scotland, which had been sold by Murray; of Burgundy, which had been pledged by the States; of the House of Braganza, which she had manœuvred out of Don Antonio. The Navarre diamonds were a brilliant addition. The rights of the case cannot be decided, since there is but Ségur's statement on one side and the Queen's contradiction on the other. It is only certain that Burghley was in favour of the King of Navarre and against his mistress.² Either she credited the King with part of the money which she had advanced to Alençon, or she calculated interest against him by tables of her own, as she had done against the States. Ségur, at any rate, insisted that she had lent his master but sixty thousand crowns. Elizabeth said that he owed her three hundred thousand. Ségur demanded either that the diamonds should be given up to him or that they should be valued, and that she should

¹ Walsingham to Bowes, September 25–October 5: *MSS. Scotland*.

² "J'ai esté bien adverti qu'il n'a tenue à vous que la Reyne n'ait rendue au Roi de Navarre ses bagues." — Ségur to Burghley, October 9–19: *MSS. France*.

let his master have the surplus. Elizabeth contended that there was no surplus, that the diamonds were hers, and that she would keep them.¹ The friendship of the King of Navarre, as M. Ségur well said to Burghley, was of more importance to her than a thousand diamonds; at least, he said, she ought to be contented with her lawful debt without extorting five times the amount of it. He left England in supreme indignation, and before long the Queen found reason to reconsider the wisdom of what she was doing. A letter of extravagant flattery from the King of Navarre to her, in the following December, shows that, as far as he was concerned, she had repented of her sharp practice.²

Guise meanwhile, himself chafing with eagerness, was reproached day by day for his inaction by letters from the Queen of Scots, and vexed with the fretful pleadings of the Jesuits and refugees. "Hours," wrote De Tassis, "appear like years to those poor afflicted creatures, pining as they are for deliverance."³ Nothing could be done without the Spanish ships, and no Spanish ships appeared. Instead of them came letters preaching patience, and insisting on elaborate preparation as a condition of success. The days wore away. October passed, and with the broken weather the sea-

¹ "Au lieu de cela sa Ma^{te} se laisse persuader qu'elles sont engagées pour deux cent cinquante ou trois cent mille escus, et le Roy de Navarre croit qu'elles ne sont tenues que pour cinquante ou soixante mille. Voilà pourquoi j'ascri à sa Ma^{te} à ce qu'il luy plaise faire averer pour combien elles sont engagées, à fin que le sachant j'en donne avis au Roy de Navarre, qui trouvera moyens de les desengager; ou si la Reyne les veut retenir, je la supplie les vouloir faire priser et m'en vouloir faire delivrer le surplus de la juste valeur desdictes bagues que le Roy de Navarre entend estre employé comme le reste qu'il a entre mes mains pour la conservation de l'Eglise de Dieu." — Ségur to Burghley, October 9-19: *MSS. France*.

² The King of Navarre to Elizabeth, December, 1583: *MS. Ibid.*

³ De Tassis to Philip, November 5-15: Tenulet, Vol. V

son for action passed also. Philip promised everything in the spring, but the Pope had now grown suspicious. He was still ready to issue bulls, make Allen Nuncio, and give his blessing to assassins. He was less liberal about money, and contracted miserably the extent of his contributions. The Duke of Guise, weary of his dilatory allies, turned his thoughts once more to Scotland, and had resolved to use the fishing boats of Normandy, and make a sudden descent on the coast of Fife. But his English friends again interposed. They represented to him that a French army invading from Scotland would irritate the national sensibilities, and that the patriotism of the Catholics would prove stronger than their creed. Unwillingly the Duke consented to wait till the spring. Too many persons had been taken into confidence under the impression that the invasion would be immediate, and the English, as experience had proved, were ill-keepers of dangerous secrets.

Walsingham had apostate priests in his service, who had saved themselves from the Tower rack by selling their souls. Some of them were in the seminary at Rheims, some were still prisoners in English dungeons, sharing the confidence of their comrades by seemingly partaking of their sufferings. Others were flitting in the usual disguises about country houses saying mass, hearing confessions, and all on the watch for information; and a number of curious notes from unknown hands, written or signed in cipher, survive as evidence of the hundred eyes with which Elizabeth's secretary was peering into the secrets of the enemy. It was not for nothing that De Tassis and Guise had recommended haste. So furnished, and with such instruments, it was scarcely possible that a secret of so much magnitude could for many months escape Walsingham's knowledge.

Among the Catholics themselves, too, there were differences of opinion, which were indicated rather than openly expressed in the conference of the conspirators at Paris. Some were for James, some for Mary; some had looked to Henry III. and Alençon; some considered the Valois King to have inherited a poison from the English King after whom he was named, and "to have been appointed of God to be a scourge to religion in other countries as King Henry VIII. had been in England." Allen, Parsons, and the Jesuits were intensely Spanish, while still more curiously the English layman's contempt of the clergy survived in the Catholic camp. Charles Paget and Thomas Throgmorton had set themselves to thwart and contradict Parsons, "liking not that gentlemen should be directed by priests."¹ The longer the invasion was postponed the more these divisions widened, and with them grew also the peril of discovery. Towards the end of 1583 an account of the plot was sent in to Walsingham, so accurate that it must have been furnished by some one who knew every part of it. The King of Scots, some informant said, was secretly practising with the Duke of Guise and the Jesuits for the invasion of England; whether the descent would be first in England or in Scotland was uncertain, but he gave in a catalogue of the English confederates, and the names of the Earls of Cumberland, Rutland, Northumberland, Arundel, and the Pagets, agree accurately with the lists of De Tassis. He mentioned Charles Paget's coming to England, as well as his interview with the Earl of Northumberland.²

¹ Miscellaneous notes in 1582-1583, scattered through the *Domestica MSS.* of these years, and through the collection referring to the Queen of Scots.

² MS. endorsed "Extracts from B.'s letters," August and September, 1583: *MSS. Mary Queen of Scots.*

and a witch.¹ He began to talk of killing her at old Arden's table, and Arden said nothing to forbid him. Then he took his friends into confidence; he told them he was going to London "to shoot the Queen with his dagger, and he hoped to see her head set upon a pole, for she was a serpent and a viper."²

Though Guise's emissary had failed, there was no real difficulty. The only requisite was courage. Never was princess more easy of access than Elizabeth, or more entirely regardless of the dangers to which she knew that she was exposed. Nor was escape, though unlikely, at all impossible. There was a danger, of course, of being killed upon the spot, but the royal household was full of friends of the Queen of Scots, who might try to please her by saving her champion. Half the Babington conspirators were connected with the Palace. Even Hatton—the spoilt and petted Hatton—though not false to his mistress, had a second loyalty for the lady who was likely to succeed her, and had sent Mary Stuart word that on the instant of Elizabeth's death he would go down to Sheffield with the guard and take charge of her person.³ Somerville had studied Jaureguy's exploit, and notwithstanding his fate, imitated him in his preparations. He too assumed an *Agnus Dei* for an amulet, and confessed and received the sacrament from Father Hall before setting out on

¹ "He admits that he was moved to that wicked resolution touching her Majesty, being moved to hatred of her by certain speeches of one Hall, a priest, which touched her Majesty, and also by certain English books, containing exhortations to that wicked enterprise."—Somerville's Confession, October 31–November 10: *MSS. Domestic*.

² Examination of R. Cross, Thomas Sanders and others, before John Doyley, of Merton, October, 1583: *MS. Ibid.*

³ "Hatton luy a fait divers bons offices, luy offrant par la Contesse de Shrewsbury que la Reyne d'Angleterre venant à deceder, il seroit prest de venir trouver la Reyne d'Ecosse avec la garde."—*MS.* endorsed "Nau's private notes of reminiscences," November, 1584: *MSS. Mary Queen of Scots*.

his journey;¹ but he was a loose-tongued blockhead, and betrayed himself on the road by idle speeches. Some one by whom he was overheard sent notice to the Council. He was intercepted and carried up to the Tower, where the rack, or the threat of it, made short work with him. He was craven, and made a full confession. He denounced his father-in-law as his accomplice, and the priest as the instigator of his crime. They were all three tried, found guilty, and sentenced to be executed. Somerville strangled himself in his cell; Arden was hanged at Tyburn, and his head and Somerville's were set on London Bridge beside the skull of the Earl of Desmond. The priest was spared, having paid, it is easy to see, the only price by which he could have saved himself, and undertaken to be a spy.

The affair had been of spontaneous growth, unconnected with the main conspiracy. Nothing had come out which connected it with ulterior designs, and De Tassis, when he heard of the story, flattered himself that the Queen was on the wrong scent, and that the principal secret was still safe. He was congratulating himself too soon. Accident, immediately after Somerville's death, revealed the whole mystery.

The Cheshire Throgmortons were among the stoutest partisans of Mary Stuart in England. Sir Nicholas, a politician chiefly, had saved her November. life at Lochleven, and as long as he lived had defended her and her title. His brother, Sir John, being required to take an oath after the coming in of the Jesuits, and being unable to comply, had forfeited an office which he held in Cheshire, and had thereupon

¹ MS. endorsed, "Mr. Wilkes touching the cause of Somerville," November 7-17: *MSS. Domestic*.

become malcontent with the rest of his family. Sir John's second son, Thomas, was with Charles Paget at Paris, and, as has been seen, had come over with him into Sussex in September. Francis, the eldest, had also spent a year or two on the Continent, and had been, among other places, at Madrid, where he had discussed the invasion of England with Englefield. His father, to whom he wrote, "seeing no probability of success, had dissuaded him from further meddling." On his way home he had met Morgan in Paris, who, seeing that he was of the right metal, had admitted him to share the honours and the dangers of the great conspiracy. He had a house in London at Paul's Wharf, to which he returned, and became the medium through which Morgan communicated with the Queen of Scots, and the Queen of Scots with Mendoza. The secret police observed him frequently leaving the Spanish Ambassador's house. He was watched. Other suspicious circumstances were noted, and an order was issued to seize his person and search his rooms. When the constables entered he was in the act of ciphering a letter to Mary Stuart. He darted up a staircase, destroying the paper on his way. He had time to entrust a casket of compromising letters to a maid-servant, who carried them to Mendoza. But a list was found of the Catholic English confederates, plans of harbours sketched by Charles Paget, and described as suitable for the landing of a foreign force, treatises in defence of the Queen of Scots' title, and "six or seven infamous libels against her Majesty, printed beyond seas." With these he was taken to the Tower, and the Council prepared to examine him.

This time they had struck the true trail, and the party in Paris were in dismay.¹ Throgmorton found

¹ De Tassis to Philip, December 12-22: Toulst, Vol. V.

time before he was carried off to cipher a few hasty words on the back of a playing card and to send them with the casket to Mendoza. He said that he had denied all knowledge of the papers, and had explained that they must have been left in his house by some one who desired to injure him. He bade the Ambassador have no fear for his constancy; he promised to die a thousand deaths before a word should be wrung from his lips.¹ But the rack, as Mendoza well knew, was a terrible persuader. He thought it not unlikely that Guise, on the news of the arrest, would hesitate no longer, and either go at once to Scotland or fling himself desperately into Sussex. He sent to entreat him to pause, but he doubted whether Guise would listen to him, and he wrote to the Queen of Scots, bidding her keep up her courage, and above all not to let distress make her ill, as if her friends moved her life would be in danger, and she would need all her energies.²

There was still a hope that Throgmorton might remain firm. But his fortitude was not equal to the trial. Interrogated in the gloomy cell which had rung with the screams of the Jesuits, the horrid instrument at his side, with the mute executioners standing ready to strain his limbs out of their sockets, his imagination was appalled, his senses refused to do their work. He equivocated, varied in his story, contradicted himself in every succeeding sentence. Pardon was promised him if he would make a free confession. He still held out, but he could not conceal that he had much to tell,

¹ Mendoza to Philip, November 16-26: *MSS. Simancas*.

² "Yo he escrito á la señora presa el suceso, animandola no le de pena que cause daño en su salud, negocio que es de temer por el peligro que correa su vida si se vienen aclarar de todo punto las que platican en Francia."
— *N* Mendoza al Rey, 16-26 de Noviembre: *MSS. Ibid.*

and the times did not permit humanity to traitors to imperil the safety of the realm. The Queen gave the necessary authority to proceed with "the pains." "Her Majesty thought it agreeable with good policy and the safety of her person and seat, to commit him to the hands of her learned Council, to assay by torture to draw the truth from him." Again he was offered pardon: again he refused; and he was handed over "to such as were usually appointed in the Tower to handle the rack."¹

His honour struggled with his agony. "On the first racking he confessed nothing;" but he could not encounter a second trial. When he was laid again upon the frame, "before he was strained to any purpose, he yielded to confess everything that he knew."² Sitting in wretchedness beside the horrid engine, the November light faintly streaming down the tunnelled windows into the dungeon beneath the armoury, he broke his pledged word, and broke his heart along with it. The accuracy of his narrative can be tested by the letters of De Tassis and Mendoza, and a comparison between them proves, if not the lawfulness, yet the tremendous efficiency of the method by which Elizabeth's statesmen baffled the conspiracies of the Catholics. All was revealed: the spot where Guise or the Duc de Mayenne was to land; the force that was coming over; the names of the noblemen and others whose assistance had been promised. Then came the past history of the plot, the correspondence between the Jesuits, the Pope, the King of Spain, the Queen of Scots and the two Spanish Ambassadors; then Charles Paget's visit, the particulars of which he knew from

¹ Throgmorton's treason. Official narrative, June, 1584: *MSS. Domestic*.

² *Ibid.*

his brother, who had come up secretly to London at the time, and had brought with him the plans of the harbours. He acknowledged the sending the casket to Mendoza. It was past recovery, but the general contents of it were admitted to be traitorous. He confessed that Mary Stuart had been consulted upon every detail: he described the plans which had been formed in England for her rescue as soon as the invaders should have landed: he told how Mendoza was to communicate "with sundry recusants, being in the commission of the peace, to raise the Catholics when the Duke of Guise should arrive, under pretext of her Majesty's levy, afterwards to use them against her Majesty."¹ Then at last, when all was out, and there was nothing more to reveal, he drew himself up upon his seat and sobbed in misery, "Now I have disclosed the secrets of her who was the dearest Queen to me in the world, whom I thought no torment could have drawn me so much to have prejudiced. I have broken faith to her, and I care not if I were hanged. Che a perso la fede a perso l'honore."²

Hanged the poor wretch naturally was: a free confession would have secured him a life of shame. A confession on the rack did but sentence him to the death which he desired, and left him so much of the honour which he thought that he had lost, as was equivalent to the torture which he had borne. He was detained a few months till his evidence could be of no more service. He was then tried, and executed, as usual, at Tyburn.

Meanwhile he was known to have sunk under the test, and as an instant effect, there was a flight of

¹ Throgmorton's treason, June, 1584: *MSS. Domestic.*

² *Ibid.*

Catholics over the Channel, thick as autumn swallows. It was a race between the fugitives and the officers of justice. Suspected persons everywhere were either sent to prison or ordered to keep their houses under surveillance. Mendoza calculated that by the middle of the winter, eleven thousand were under arrest in one form or other. Lord Paget escaped to France, writing, on his way, to Burghley, that he found life unendurable without free enjoyment of the sacraments. The Earls of Arundel and Northumberland, who had arranged the landing place for Guise with Lord Paget's brother, were taken and sent to the Tower. They swore they were innocent; and historians whose business has been to make the Government of Elizabeth odious, insist still that there was no shadow of proof against them. If proof was wanting, it was not from the falsehood of the charges. Two servants of Northumberland were arrested; one of them his secretary. "If these men confess," Mendoza scornfully said, "as easily as English prisoners generally do, it will go hard with their master."¹

The revelations of Throgmorton startled Elizabeth at last out of her dream of security. The
 December. visions of compromise faded away, and with them her intentions of assisting in the collapse of the miserable Netherlands. She recognised, for a time, that her wrestle with Spain was a mortal one, and that she must win or perish. She had suspended her extravagant orders to seize the ships of the States; if they knew what she had meditated they had remained prudently silent. But they had seen themselves aban-

¹ "Tan bien han prendido dos criados del Conde de Northumberland, y e uno su secretario, que si confiesan con la facilidad que lo hacen los demas Ingleses, haran harto á su amo."—Don Bernardino al Rey, 8-18 Enero, 1584: *MSS. Sinuensis*.

done — had taken counsel with despair, and were preparing to surrender to the Spaniards. "They do not even care for religion," wrote M. Busenval to Walsingham from Middleburgh, "so they may have their lives in peace. If the Spaniards come they will send their ships to receive them."¹ Three months earlier the Queen had persisted in calling them Spanish subjects. Now, excusing her neglect on the score of their past unthankfulness, she allowed Walsingham to tell St. Aldegonde that "Spain was revengeful;" that no safety was "to be looked for that way," and that sooner than "they should come to an accord with Spain," she would reconsider the possibility of assisting them.²

Her own danger was still most imminent: any morning might find Guise upon the coast, and swarms of French pouring into Kent or Sussex. Stafford reported from Paris that there had been another consultation at the house of the Nuncio; that ^{1584.} Guise was present, and that the conspirators had separated in high spirits and full of hope and enthusiasm. The King of Scots, they were satisfied, was for them: the Earl of Shrewsbury, they believed, was Catholic at heart, and would protect Mary Stuart; and very soon they looked to have "bean jeu" in England.³

The English Council was divided in opinion: Walsingham, as usual, was for the straight course — an open alliance with Orange and the Scotch Protestants. Others were for making terms with James only. Conditions were sketched out which James "would have liked well, by reason they were a direct answer and

¹ November 4-14, 1583: *MSS. Holland*

² Instructions for Ed. Bureau, November 12-23: *MS. Ibid.*

³ Stafford to Walsingham, January 8-18, 1584: *MSS. France*

good" to all his demands. Archibald Douglas, who was in London in James's interests, was bidden to prepare to go down to Scotland and tell his master that the Queen was willing to recognise him.¹ "This resolution continued hot for a certain space." But there came news from Scotland that the Protestant lords were conspiring again, that the country was in confusion; that "the proudest there was ready to make friends with the Queen of England; so that she was persuaded that she held the balance in her hands, and could smooth over matters with fair words,"² "and as usual nothing was done."

The navy, however, was sent to sea — not now on the unworthy errand intended for it in the January. autumn, but to lie in three squadrons — in the Downs, in the Isle of Wight, and at Scilly, to guard the coast. "The strength of the realm" was called under arms, and Catholic or malcontent officers were weeded out of the service. The forts and bulwarks were repaired, the arms were looked to, and drilling and training went forward in town and village. A visitation was instituted of the Inns of Court, the legal profession being still constant to precedent and the old faith, and in consequence, a most dangerous stronghold of disloyalty. Conformity in religion was made henceforth a condition of admission to the bar. Commissions were issued in every county to examine suspected magistrates on their allegiance; and if they gave uncertain answers, to remove or imprison them. There were, or were believed to be, still five hundred Jesuits and seminary priests in England. A great many had been

¹ MS. endorsed by Burghley "Copy of Archibald Douglas's letter to Scotland," January 23-February 2: *MSS. Scotland*.

² *Ibid.*

seized, and batches had from time to time been executed. The Council ordered that every priest now under arrest in any house or gaol, should be examined on the authority of the Pope; and that those who would not swear without reserve to be loyal to the Queen, should be condemned as traitors. "As many as should be thought requisite should suffer death;" others should be banished "with judgment to be hanged if they returned;" others "should be strictly imprisoned" where they could infest no one with their doctrines; "while the charge of their diet" was to be furnished out of the forfeitures of the recusants.¹

Under these instructions, seven priests—Oxford converts most of them—of the same race as Campian, were immediately executed; five at Tyburn and two at York. Each martyr's death was counted a victory of the faith; and these triumphs, of which the Jesuits could not be deprived, were the more welcome as their secular prospects were again clouded. In the training of these happy or unhappy youths, Allen had been thoroughly successful. He had desired to compel Elizabeth into persecution, and he had provided willing victims who had forced her to sacrifice them. They perished as he hoped and intended, and their heroic deaths were now trumpeted over Europe with all the hideous details to stir rage and hatred against the Antichrist of England. The reproach was felt, felt the more keenly as Elizabeth had tried so hard to avoid giving occasion for it. So loud was the clamour, and so sensitive the Queen, that Burghley took pen to reply to it, and the publication of the libels was the occasion of an elaborate and noble defence of Elizabeth's Government,

¹ Memoranda of resolutions of Council, December 2, 1583. Burghley's hand: MSS. Domestic.

containing the entire history of her relations with the Catholics, her steady forbearance to retaliate for the Marian persecution, her resolution that at no time and under no circumstances should any one of her subjects suffer for persevering in the faith of his ancestors. In this spirit she had begun her reign, and in this spirit Lord Burghley said she would have continued, had not the Pope forced a change of policy upon her by making treason a part of his creed. The principle of the administration remained unchanged. He repented what he had declared many times already, that no Catholic had been or would be punished for his opinions on the Christian mysteries; but, with a just disdain, he refused to recognise the pretence that the Pope could make rebellion a religious duty, or could elevate men into martyrs who had suffered deaths for conspiring against their sovereign.

Equally decided was the course taken with Don Bernardino de Mendoza. Four times the experiment of a resident Spanish Ambassador in Protestant England, had evidenced the reluctance of the old allies to drift into hostility. Four times the separative tendencies of the creeds had proved too strong for the efforts of statesmanship. The chief obligation which devolved upon the representatives of Spain was to encourage the Catholics to persevere in recusancy, to sustain their spirits, to hold out indefinite prospects to them of better days that were to come; and it was a duty which lay so near conspiracy that the step from one to the other was almost inevitable. The Bishop of Aquila had escaped expulsion only by death. De Silva, a layman and a gentleman, had managed better, but he too had found his position become intolerable. He had seen the Catholic nobility made restless by the presence in the realm of

the Queen of Scots. The emissaries of the Pope had been too strong for him. The ferment had gathered under his eyes towards the first insurrection, and De Silva made an excuse to demand his recall to escape a quarrel in which he foresaw that he would be involved. Up to this time, Philip had laboured loyally to prevent the Catholics from embarrassing Elizabeth with insurrection. Don Guerau de Espes represented a different policy. Pope Pius having excommunicated her, though against Philip's wishes, the King was drawn reluctantly into acquiescing in her deposition. Under the advice of the Duke of Feria and the Archbishop of Toledo, he allowed Vitelli to undertake to assassinate her, and directed Alva to invade England. The intention was discovered, the Duke of Norfolk was executed, and Don Guerau, who had been the soul of the conspiracy, was driven out with infamy. Philip, shrinking from war, again acquiesced in the insult, and relapsed into his attitude of expectation. The embassy was suspended, and Spain was represented in England only by a commercial factor, Don Antonio de Guaras. But the same necessity made De Guaras the focus of insurrection. Elizabeth, who always reserved alternatives on which she could fall back in extremity, took De Guaras more than once into her confidence; more than once talked to him about her relations with Philip, and her desire to be on more cordial terms with so old a friend. But the Queen of Scots and the priests drew De Guaras, like his predecessors, into the charmed circle. He too, after a severe and protracted imprisonment, was desired to leave the country and never to return.

War would then have followed but for the great revolt of the Low Countries, which tempted the ambi-

tion of France and united the circle of the Provinces against the Spanish Sovereign. The breach with England was indefinitely postponed: a fifth representative, a soldier, a statesman, and a Mendoza, was dispatched to renew the efforts at conciliation. An English Minister was allowed with impunity to insult the Grand Inquisitor at Madrid. The services of the volunteers in Flanders, and the piracies of Drake, were condoned or passed over with a faint complaint. The honour of Spain was trailed in the dirt to prevent Elizabeth from allying herself with the Prince of Orange. It was all in vain. The Jesuits had stirred the fire till the flame could no longer be kept under. Once more a grand combination had grown up for invasion, rebellion, and regicide: once more a Spanish Ambassador was at its heart. Mendoza foresaw what must follow when he heard that Throgmorton had confessed. On the 9th-19th of January, the Queen sent to tell him that the Council were in session at the house of Lord Chancellor Bromley, and had a message of importance to deliver to him. Mendoza replied that when ministers of state desired to speak with ambassadors, their usual practice was to repair themselves to the ambassador's residence. Since the collected Cabinet wished to speak to him, however, he would wait on them and hear what they had to say.

The party which he found assembled consisted of the Chancellor, the Earl of Leicester, Lord Charles Howard, Lord Hunsdon, and Walsingham. Burghley for some cause was absent. They rose as Don Bernardino entered, raised their hats gravely, and withdrew with him into an inner apartment, where they sat down and motioned him also to a chair. Don Bernardino spoke English imperfectly, and Walsingham,

as the spokesman for the rest, addressed him in Italian. "The Queen," he said, "regretted that he had given her serious cause to be dissatisfied with his conduct. From the time that he had come to England to reside, he had troubled the quiet of the realm. He had connected himself with the Queen of Scots, had written to her, encouraged her to rely for support on Spain, and contrived plans for her escape. He had fomented the discontent of the Catholics. He had corresponded with Charles Paget, with the traitor Throgmorton, and with the Earl of Northumberland, and had concerted plans with them for bringing in the Duke of Guise. His house had been the rendezvous of conspirators, Jesuits, seminary priests, and other disaffected subjects. It was now her Majesty's pleasure that he should leave the country, and leave it within fifteen days."

Mendoza had been careful in his communications. He knew that Francis Throgmorton was the only witness that could be produced against him, and that Throgmorton's confession had been extorted by the rack. He answered boldly that the Council were dreaming. The Queen of Scots was heir presumptive to the crown. What, he asked, had she to gain by conspiring? or he by conspiring with her? She would but ruin her prospects, forfeit her French dowry, and throw the cost of her maintenance on the King of Spain. Experienced men did not hatch treason with boys like Throgmorton; and with the Earl of Northumberland he swore that he had never exchanged a word.¹ He

¹ Telling the truth in this, as he explained to Philip, all his communications with the Earl having passed through Mary Stuart. "Como es verdad, no he hablado jamas al Conde de Northumberland, por haber procedido siempre en estas materias con gran recato y de manera que no me pudiesen clarificar nada dellas, no habiendo platicado con persona fuera de la de Escocia de particular ninguno, sino fuese escribiendo ella que confidantes suyos me advirtiesen dello." — Mendoza al Rey, 16-26 E. ero, 1584. *MSS. Simancas.*

challenged Walsingham to prove his charges. What had he said, and when, and to whom? How had he planned the Queen of Scots' escape? Her Majesty found fault with him. She should look rather to what she had done herself. She had lent money to the revolted States, and three thousand English under English officers were serving at that moment in the Low Countries. She had assisted Don Antonio. She had supported the Duke of Alençon. Again and again and again she had taken possession of treasure belonging to Spain, and had always refused redress. If she wished him to depart he declared that he was ready to go; he had no desire to remain where he was unwelcome; but uncertain whether the Council were in earnest, he said that he must first inform his master, and receive an answer from him.

The Council swiftly convinced him that they were serious. They again rose from their seats while Walsingham said for them that delay could not be allowed. The Ambassador must leave the country at once. He had done ill service to the King of Spain, and he had cause to congratulate himself that her Majesty had not ordered him to be chastised.

The blood of the Mendozas flamed up at the word chastisement. Starting on his feet also, and, as he admitted, bursting with passion, he replied that he would answer for his conduct to his master alone. None else should touch him unless sword in hand. Chastisement was a fool's word. Let the Queen send him his passport, and he would begone. She was quarrelling with her best friend, but being a woman she was acting after her kind. As he had not pleased her as a minister of peace, he would endeavour for the future to satisfy her better in war.¹

¹ "Pues no le había dada satisfaccion siendo ministro de paz, me enfor-

Not feeling quite certain whether Philip would approve of his violence, he said in his report that he had been so angry that he could not control himself. To be sent away thus suddenly was supremely inconvenient. He had swarms of foreigners on his hands,¹ whom he would have to carry away with him. "He could not leave them on the horns of the bull." The Channel pirates would probably catch him if he attempted to sail for Spain. He must go to France, and he distrusted his reception there. His exchequer was embarrassed, and the expense would ruin him; while so great, he said, was the fury of the people in London, that he was like to be torn in pieces. He was charged publicly in the churches, and even by a Court preacher in the presence of the Council, with having conspired against the Queen's life.²

"The insolence of these people," he wrote to Secretary Idriaquez, "so exasperates me, that I desire to live only to be revenged upon them. I hope in God the time will soon come, and that He will give me grace to be an instrument in their punishment. I will walk barefoot over Europe to compass it. His Majesty, I am certain, will send them the answer which they have deserved."³ "God," he wrote to Philip himself, "has made your Majesty so great a Prince, that you cannot overlook such insolence, though they offer you all the world to forgive them."

(aria de aquí adelante para que la tuviese de mí en la guerra." The Ambassador was proud of the vigour of his expression: "palabra," he adds, "que han ruinado ellos entre sí despues acá, baptizandola por muy sucadida y profunda." — Mendoza al Rey, 16-26 Enero, 1584; *MSS. Simancas*.

¹ Come over probably to take part in the expected rising.

² "Teniendome todos tanta indignacion, que se ha acrecentado mucho mas con la fama que han echado de que me mandan salir por haber tratado de matar á la Reyna, lo cual dixó un ministro en sus predicas en la misma corte adelante de todos estos conasejeros." — Mendoza al Rey, 16-26 Enero, 1584; *MSS. Simancas*.

³ Mendoza á Don Juan de Idriaquez, 16-26 Enero: *MS.* *Ibid.*

He was obliged to go, leaving Northumberland in the Tower, where Arundel, who had been released after his first arrest, speedily rejoined him, the conspiracy dislocated, and the chance of overthrowing Elizabeth by surprise finally gone. He applied for a Queen's ship to carry him across the Channel. He was told that such courtesies were for friends, and not for those who had concerted revolutions. He sued no more, but took his leave with Castilian haughtiness. "Don Bernardino de Mendoza," he said to the officer who brought him the message, "was not born to revolutionise kingdoms, but to conquer them."¹

Unwilling to give the dismissal of the Ambassador a character of abrupt defiance, Elizabeth sent Sir William Wade to Madrid to explain the causes of it. Philip refused to admit Wade to his presence, or to listen to any justification. A second and more pressing application for an audience was equally unsuccessful. The English Ambassador, like Mendoza, was directed to depart, and was told also, "in dark and doubtful terms," "that he was favourably dealt with, and might have looked for worse entertainment." He returned as he went, and the diplomatic relations between Spain and England were at an end.²

War sooner or later was now inevitable; but, between the "leadens foot" of Philip and the Pope's unwillingness to part with money, it was likely to be rather later than sooner. The assassination of Elizabeth alone would certainly precipitate the convulsion. On this, therefore, the eyes of the crew at Paris were fastened with deadly earnestness. As one plot failed

¹ "No podía dexar de decirlo que Don Bernardino de Mendoza no había nacido para revolver Reynos, sino por conquistarlos." — Mendoza al Rey 20-30 Enero: *MSS. Simancas*.

² Mission of Sir William Wade, 1583-4: *MSS. Spain*.

another grew in its place, and in their first rage of disappointment they sent over a chosen instrument of villany carefully disciplined for the work, whose history is peculiarly illustrative of the character of the time.

Among the correspondents whose letters from abroad to Burghley and Walsingham are preserved in the Record Office, one of the most regular was William Parry. He had been educated in the palace, and for many years had held an office about the Queen's person; he had attracted her notice, and was on terms of easy intimacy with her. Being a ruffling scoundrel, he had some discreditable quarrel with a gentleman of the Temple, whom he attempted to run through the body. He was tried, found guilty, and left for execution, but was saved by his mistress's interference. He went abroad in July 1582, with permission to remain till his crime was forgotten; and to recover favour, he proposed to Walsingham to make himself useful, by collecting information, and sending it home to the Council. He had no particular principles. The Court was the most lax of all places in England in its religious observances. The Queen chose that half the household should be Catholics. Every one was left, in consequence, to his own conscience, and Parry had not "communicated" for twenty years. In this condition he fell an easy victim to the Jesuits. He was secretly "reconciled" in Paris. From thence he went to Milan, where he "justified himself" before the Grand Inquisitor. In the warmth of conversion he desired to do something great for the cause which he had espoused. Meditating much on the afflictions of the English Catholics, and pondering how he could deliver them from "captivity," he thought for himself of the obvious means, which his knowledge of the Queen and Court would

give him special opportunities to execute, and he consulted a Jesuit acquaintance at Venice. The Jesuit commended his devotion, introduced him to the Nuncio as a chosen vessel, and sent word of him to Pope Gregory. He returned in the autumn (1583) to Paris, where, being a Welshman, he fell in with his countryman Thomas Morgan. The two worthies were not long in understanding each other. The assassination was a constant subject of conversation between them; but Parry, professing conscientious scruples, desired the opinion of certain learned divines. If his doubts could be resolved, he promised to undertake the business. He was aware already of the opinion of the Jesuits, but accident brought him across a priest of the old school; and there were clergy still with antiquated notions, to whom murder was still a crime, and regicide was sacrilege. This man strongly condemned what Allen as warmly commended, and, distracted between his counsellors, he agreed at last to refer the question to the Vatican. If the Pope would sanction his purpose, and give him absolution for it beforehand, he promised to be satisfied. Morgan took him to the Nuncio at Paris. The Nuncio undertook to lay the case before his Holiness, and meanwhile to remember him in his prayers.

Other influences, however, were brought to bear upon him — persuasion, possibly — if he was the person alluded to by De Tassis — from the Duke of Guise. Before an answer came from Rome, he had started for England, resolute, as he professed, for the deed, and due preparation was made on the Scotch border and elsewhere to take advantage of the confusion when the Queen should be known to be dead. He landed at Rye. He assured himself of access to Elizabeth's per-

son by writing word to her that he had brought information of consequence to communicate. It was at the moment of the discovery of the plot. He knew that she would send for him to London, and he had made up his mind that she should not escape his hands alive.

The age was a theological one, and crimes were curiously balanced. There was a peculiar baseness in taking advantage of the Queen's unsuspicious nature, and of her regard for and kindness to himself. But dishonour was not among the offences which were graduated by the canon law, and the special facilities which he possessed appeared rather indications of Providence that he was elected to do service to the Church. But murder in itself was one of the seven mortal sins. He was never weary of talking to priests about it. Their opinions differed, and to mistake might be damnation. An English confessor once more shook his resolution. He saw Elizabeth alone. He came to her with a purpose half overthrown. He left her, if not penitent, yet unwilling, till his scruples could be removed, to proceed further, and he wrote to Morgan to tell him so.¹

¹ The letter was found among Morgan's papers at Paris, and is beyond doubt in Parry's hand.

"London, February 24, 1583-4.

'Good Mr. Morgan,—

"I do most heartily thank you for your friendly letter of the 6th, and am glad that by your and my dear friend Mr. Charles Paget's example I may so safely send to you. I have not been careless of the debt undertaken, but being meanly satisfied before my departure from Paris, I laboured by conference with a singular man* on this side to be fully informed what might be done with conscience in that case for the common good. I was very learnedly and substantially in reason, policy, and divinity overruled, and assured it ought not to fall into the thought of a good Christian. The difficulties besides are many, and in this vigilant time full of despair. The service you know did never pass your hand and mine, and may therefore

* This was probably William Crichton. See *Hollinshed*, Vol. IV. p. 572

To gain her confidence, and to explain his coming over, he had the audacity to tell her that overtures had been made to him to kill her, concealing, indeed, nothing of the story but his own assent. According to his own story, he wished to frighten her into a change of policy.¹

"The Queen," he says, "took it doubtfully." She told him that no Catholic who would live as a loyal subject "should be troubled either for religion or for the supremacy;" but her manner was cold and stern, and "he departed with fear." Soon after this the answer came from the Vatican. The Cardinal of Como wrote in the name of the Pope to bid him at once and for ever lay aside his needless scruples. The father of Christendom sent his benediction, with indulgences and remission of sins for the faithful son who would do the Church so great a service, and promised not only

with more ease and less offence to be concealed and suppressed. I am out of doubt that the divine with whom I had conference in Paris by your appointment is secret and honest. If you will travail to satisfy the greatest and to retain my better sort of friends in good opinion of me, I shall hold it for a singular pleasure, and if you can use me in any other possible service on this side for you and yours, be bold and assured for me. I have not been careless of the Lord Paget and his brother. Neither do I yet, notwithstanding the proclamation, see any great cause why they should be hasty or overforward in seeking or embracing foreign entertainment. I find the Queen very calm, and heard that she terned some cormorants for their greediness in seeking men's livings. Mr. Charles Arundel is condemned to have dealt unthankfully with the Queen, unkindly with his friends, and unadvisedly with himself. I write thus much of them to you to the intent you may make them privy to it, for I know you do honour and love them all.

'Read and burn.

W. PARRY."

The "greatest" who was to be satisfied was either Guise or, more likely, the Queen of Scots. Philip evidently knew what was intended, and so did other Spanish statesmen. Writing to Count Olivarez of the discovery of the general conspiracy, he adds, "Siento mucho lo que padescan, y quiera Dios no se acabe de descubrir lo principal." — *El Rey al Conde de Olivarez, 13 Febrero: MSS. Simancas.*

¹ All these circumstances, and Parry's whole history, were related by himself on his trial: *State Trials*, Vol. I.

favour in heaven, but substantial acknowledgments upon earth.¹ Thus encouraged, Parry resumed his half-abandoned purpose. He was allowed to remain at the Court. He saw the Queen continually, and again and again endeavoured to screw his courage to the striking point; but he was made of the wrong material, and he found or made excuses for delay. Once, when he was about to stab her, he was appalled by her likeness to Henry VIII. At last he decided that he would not do it till other means of working upon her had been tried and failed; he would obtain a seat in the next Parliament, and appeal in behalf of the Catholics to the representatives of his country.²

While "the principal matter" was thus halting, the conspirators abroad were in no good humour with each other. Every post from England brought news of arrests and imprisonments of their friends in England. The leaders, on whose assistance they had calculated, were disarmed and confined. Guise and the Pope blamed Philip. Philip defended his caution by appealing to the evident fact that the English Catholics were weaker than they had pretended. He had himself collected ships and troops. He had even thought of accompanying the expedition in person, to secure the benefit of the expected conquest.³

¹ "La Santità di N. S. ha veduto le lettere di V. S. con la fede inclusa, e non può se non laudare la buona disposizione e risoluzione che scrive di tenere verso il servizio e beneficio publico, nel che la Santità sua l'esorta di perseverare con farne riascire li effetti che V. S. promette: et acciòché tanto maggiormente V. S. sia ajutata da quel buon spirito che l'ha mosso, le concede sua Benedictione, plenaria Indulgenza e Remissione di tutti li peccati secondo che V. S. ha chiesto, assicurandosi che oltre il merito che n' haverà in cielo, vuole anco sua Santità costituirsi debitore a riconoscere li meriti di V. S. in ogni miglior modo che potrà, &c. — Di Roma, a 30 di Gennaio, 1584." — *Trial of William Parry: State Trials*, Vol. I.

² Parry's Confession: *Ibid.*

³ Roger Bodenham to Burghley from Seville, May 8-18. *MSS. Spain*

He described himself as being as much mortified as Guise, and as anxious to find means of repairing his disappointment. He felt but too sure that after the expulsion of Mendoza, Elizabeth would ally herself in earnest with the Netherlands. But if he had sent the handful of men which Guise had asked for, the Catholics, he said, who were now in prison, would all have been in their graves.¹

His fears about the Netherlands seemed likely to be realised. St. Aldegonde, in reply to the message sent by Walsingham in November, had answered that the States were at the last extremity. They could not hold out beyond the following summer without help, and if England continued to hold aloof, there were but two alternatives before them. If the whole of the States, including Holland and Zealand, would consent to be annexed to France, the French, notwithstanding the accident at Antwerp, were still ready to risk a war for the acquisition; otherwise necessity was a law of iron, and they must submit to Spain.²

It was hard to say which of these two results would be most unwelcome in England. It was a received political axiom that the acquisition of the Provinces by France would be fatal to English independence, while for Spain to recover the seaboard of Zealand, with a war impending, was equally formidable. The States, St. Aldegonde said, were ready to contribute sixty thousand crowns a month if England would add thirty thousand. Fifteen thousand men could then be kept in the field, or maintained in garrison, and would suffice to hold Parma at bay for ever.³ The sum was not

¹ Philip to Olivarez, January 31–February 10, 1584: *MSS. Simancas*.

² St. Aldegonde to Walsingham, December, 1583: *MSS. Holland*.

³ Roger Williams to Walsingham, January 26–February 6: *MSS. Ibid.*

large in itself, but the expenses of war were usually undercalculated, and thousands often grew to tens of thousands. Not wholly trusting St. Aldegonde, Elizabeth sent over a favourite of her own, Sir Edward Dyer, to learn the real condition to which the States were reduced. Dyer reported that "the cause was panting, and all but dead." It was not yet utterly desperate, but the moments were running away. Sir William Wade returned from Spain while the Queen was hesitating, with news that Philip would not see him, and she allowed Dyer to tell the Prince of Orange that her fleet should unite at once with that of Holland to hold the seas against Spain, and that she would listen to proposals for the joint defence of the two countries.¹

Many a shift of purpose lay yet between resolution and performance; but Orange, sanguine always, believed that his long-cherished hopes were at last about to be realised. A hearty alliance with England, a bold defiance of Pope, Spain, and devil, had been his dream for fifty years. France might then be sent to the winds. He "blessed God that he had opened the eyes of the Queen." He undertook to keep twenty good ships in the Channel, besides defending his own waters. Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht, he said, now that their spirits were revived, would alone maintain twelve thousand men,² and if her Majesty would accept them for her subjects, were still eager to become part of the English Empire. The Queen, perhaps, fancied that

¹ "Sa M^{te} trouve necessaire pour obvier aux forces de mer du Roy d'Espagne, joindre forces avec celles de ces Pays semblablement par mer.

² "Sa M^{te} desire avoir l'avis de Son Excellence à ce qui est le plus expedient de faire proceder en mutuelle defense." — Articles presented to the Prince of Orange by Mr. Dyer, March 3-13: *MSS. Holland*.

² Answer of the Prince of Orange: *MS. Ibid.*

she was in earnest. Perhaps she had other thoughts, which she did not like to acknowledge. She retained her coolness, at any rate, and chose to stand prepared for all contingencies. She dispatched Secretary Davison to say that she compassionated the Prince's condition, and was anxious to help him; but she had "not forgotten the Protestants in France, who, after embroiling her in war, made their own peace, and then turned against her." "Her Majesty had been cooled towards them" — towards the Huguenots, and towards all others in the same position "from that time forth." If she went to war for their sakes — and it pleased her to pretend that her motive was purely disinterested — she said "she must have assurance." She could not accept the States as subjects, but she was willing to be their protectress on condition that Flushing, Brill, and Enchusen were made over to her to be occupied by English garrisons.¹

A few months before, the Queen of England was on the edge of becoming an open enemy. These three towns were the keys of the States' independence, and it was possible, though blasphemy to dream of it, that she might be nursing some secret purpose of making terms with Philip for herself by betraying them. The negotiation not unnaturally "cooled a little."

It was a peculiarity of Elizabeth that no matter how great her danger, or how obvious her interest
May. in a straightforward and open course of action, she exhibited always the same obliquities. She could not write an English sentence without the most intricate involutions. Like animals which move only sideways, she advanced, when she advanced at all, in

¹ Davison to Walsingham, April 3-13; Burnham to Davison, April 21 May 1: MSS. Holland.

zigzag lines, with her eyes everywhere except directly in her front. She never adopted a policy, she never ventured on an action, where her retreat was not secured, or where she had not some unexpected and crooked reason to allege in its defence. To become an ally of the revolted States on the ground of a common religion, was to furnish her own Catholic subjects with a justification of a revolt against herself; and to call on Parliament to grant subsidies for a war in a cause which half England abhorred, might provoke the Catholics' patience beyond anything which she had hitherto ventured. She intended, if she again moved for the States, to maintain her old position. The safety of England required that they should not become French. She required the towns as a guarantee for the repayment of her expenses, and to use them also for such further purposes as the turn of events might make necessary.

It was a dangerous manoeuvre, for meanwhile "the grass was growing." The circle of Brabant which held out against Parma was narrowing day by day. Ghent had submitted, Brussels had submitted. Of all the Belgian Provinces the narrow strip of coast from Ostend to the Scheldt alone remained besides Antwerp. Antwerp was now threatened. There was a large peace party in Holland, which, if Antwerp fell and Parma gained a footing among the Islands, would immediately make itself felt. "A general revolt" was not impossible while Elizabeth was haggling; and as "a long and severe war," in the opinion of all intelligent people, was hanging inevitably over England, the narrowest prudence recommended her to strike in before the States were further weakened and disheartened.¹

¹ "Si les malcontents ou les Espagnols, par subtilité, ou par gagner aul-

Nor was this her only or her most pressing peril. The irony of fate had flung on Elizabeth, who disdained the name of Protestant, the task of defending the Reformation in the countries where Protestantism was most pronounced. The prim, self-satisfied Anglo-Catholic prided himself on the gulf of separation which divided him from the Calvinist. The Anglo-Catholic had his Apostolic succession, his episcopate, and his sacraments. He fasted twice in the week, he gave tithes of all that he possessed. He was not as Knox or Beza, and was clamorous in his demand to be distinguished from them. He was a thing of vapour, but he depended for his existence on the Protestantism which he despised. Elizabeth had been taught already, and the lesson was to be repeated till it was learnt, that the cause of the Reformation in Scotland was identical with her own cause. If she was to escape herself from being dethroned, it was necessary for her to uphold the Assembly against King, Bishop, or Jesuit, as the Assembly had upheld her.

Notwithstanding the completeness of his success, and the defiant tone which he had assumed, January. the young King was not altogether satisfied. The fixed idea of his life was the English crown. With his mother or without his mother, before, or if not before then after her, he had fastenened his hopes on this one prize, and he meant to have it; and it was with no easy feelings that he had learnt the modifica-

cune Seigneurs ou Capitains, prennent deux ou trois villes, soit en Holland ou Zealand, il est à craindre ainsy que l'on cognoit bien ceux de Holland, non pas les Seigneurs mais le comun peuple, qu'ils feront sortir le Prince d'Orange hors du Pays, et accorderont avec le Roy d'Espagne, car ils ne voudront point combattre comme ils ont faict cy-devant." — MS. endorsed by Burghley, "Advice to make an army in Brabant, May, 1584": MSS. Holland.

tion of the first plan of the Duke of Guise, and the substitution of England for Scotland as the point where the invasion was to be made. Under the original arrangement he was to have come forward as the champion of his mother, to have demanded her release, and to have invited the co-operation of his cousin. Carried out thus, he could not have been cheated of the profits of the enterprise. The direct invasion of England was a different matter. His first act on his escape from Gowrie had been to invite Guise over, and no notice had been taken of him. Were Guise and the Spaniards to throw themselves into Sussex or into Northumberland, were a Catholic insurrection to follow, and were Elizabeth to be dethroned, his mother would become Queen; but after the double play in which he had been engaged, he began to fear that his own subsequent succession need not necessarily follow. It was of no great moment that his conversion would be insisted on — James was not a youth who would lose a crown for a confession of faith — but Philip would have the controlling voice; he knew that Philip did not like him; and a conversion after the event might not be accepted. In Scotland, also, it was no less clear that on his mother's elevation he would have to descend to the position of a subject. He had broken with Elizabeth; he had refused her pension, and turned his back upon her minister; yet he did not wish absolutely to quarrel with her. He wished so to act that whatever happened, and whichever party was uppermost, he should himself still be the winner. He dared not at once declare himself a Catholic, for the Catholics might fail, after all, and then he would be ruined. He wished to avoid committing himself, and yet to secure the Catholic support. He was now not perfectly sure that he wished

Guise to come over at all; but if he came, it was all important that he should come first to Scotland. His position was a very difficult one. The cunning which he displayed was altogether beyond his age, and must be attributed to the counsels of the Earl of Arran.

The arrest and confession of Throgmorton having disarranged for the moment the plan for invading England, he sent off Seton to Paris to see Guise, and tell him that Scotland was still at his service; and by Seton's hands he sent two letters, one to his cousin, and the other through his cousin to the Pope. To Guise he wrote that, following his advice, he had now thoroughly espoused his mother's cause, and had separated himself from the English connexion. The Queen of England, he said, desired to revolutionise Scotland, to imprison him, perhaps to take his life from him, or his honour, which he valued more. He besought Guise, therefore, to intercede in his behalf with the Holy Father, and to bring the Catholic Powers to his aid. Support from them and from his good friends in England would enable him to conquer his difficulties. Guise, he promised, should be his guide in everything, and he would take his place definitely at his side, in religion as well as in policy.¹

The letter to the Pope is even more curious, and deserves particular attention. Whether it was the composition of James himself, or of the subtle heads with whom he was surrounded, there is no evidence to shew.

¹ "Si par vostre moyen je puis obtenir quelque bon secours, j'espere, aidant Dieu, qu'avec l'assistance du bon nombre de serviteurs que j'ay, tant en ce mien Royaume qu'en Angleterre, je sortiray bien tôt de ces difficultez, et lors j'en serois en plein liberté de pourvoir embrasser vostre bon conseil et advis en toutes choses, tant de religion que d'estat, comme je desire tousjours de me ranger en tout ce que sera raisonnable." — James of Scotland to the Duke of Guise, February 9-19, 1584: *MSS. Simmons*.

"The affection and good will," so the letter runs, "which your Holiness and your predecessors have always borne towards this Crown ^{February.} and my ancestors, together with the fatherly care which the Holy See has exercised over the Queen, my most dear mother, have emboldened me to address your Holiness at this present. I desire as well to thank your Holiness for your exertions in my mother's behalf, as to explain the difficulties in which my having placed myself in the position towards her which my duty requires, has involved me. The prejudices of my education, the temptations of ambition, the advice or pressure of those who are more masters of my dominions than I am myself, combined to lead me into another course; but I have preferred rather to be guided by the laws of God and nature, and the advice of my near and loving kinsmen of the House of Guise, whom I understand to be devoted to your Holiness. Thus it has come to pass that the faction who expelled my said lady and mother, who made use of my young years as the veil and shield of their own tyrannous appetites, seeing that I was beginning to comprehend their evil deportment towards their natural Princes, have now banded themselves together against me, and with the help of my neighbour, the Queen of England, who has encouraged every bad enterprise attempted in this country throughout her reign, they intend if they can to destroy me altogether. I confide, however, both in your Holiness's prudence, and in your love for my mother. I have myself as yet deserved nothing at your hands, but it shall not be always thus.¹ Those under whose advice I am now acting have told me

¹ "Sans que jusque à present j'ai encore rien mérité, que je ne permettray pas qu'il en soit ainsi."

always to look to your Holiness rather than to any other prince. My extremity, however, is such that if I receive no help from abroad, I see that I soon may be forced to play into the hands of your Holiness's worst enemies and mine. Traitors, abusing my youth and my authority, have taken possession of my government, of the revenues of my estates, of the chief fortresses in the realm. They have deprived me of every means of defending myself, or of delivering my mother, or recovering the rights which she possesses, along with myself, in the realm of England.¹ How best to remedy these things I shall be advised by my dear cousin of Guise, by whose counsel I am at present acting, in undertaking the defence of my dear and honoured lady and mother. I look also to satisfying your Holiness in all other things, especially if in this my great necessity your Holiness stands my friend.² I must beseech your Holiness to let no one know that I have written to you. Should it get abroad, it will embarrass my position, and may prove my utter destruction, so weak am I, and so powerless to defend myself if I am assailed at once by my rebels, and by my neighbour of England. God grant your Holiness health and a long and happy life, with all spiritual graces. From my palace at Holyrood, Feb. 19, 1584.

Your Holiness's most humble and affectionate

"JAMES R."³

In forwarding this letter to the Vatican, the Duke

¹ "Pour deliverer madame ma mere et recouvrer le droit qu'elle et moy avons au Royaume d'Angleterre."

² "J'espere aussi de pouvoir satisfaire à Vostre Santité en toutes autres choses, principalement si je suis secouru en une si grande necessité par vostre Santité."

³ *MSS. Simancas.*

of Guise, through whom it was sent, added his own entreaties that Gregory would espouse the cause of "the poor young man."¹ But "the poor young man's" cause was complicated by cross politics and purposes extremely difficult to reconcile. Spain and France, while jealous of each other, were neither of them anxious to facilitate the union of Scotland and England. The English Catholics were Spanish in their sympathies. The Scotch Catholics were French. The Duke of Guise, whose views had been already turning again towards Scotland, responded to James's invitation. He insisted to Allen and De Tassis on the military advantages of landing in a friendly country. If he invaded England out of Scotland, he would be able to take James along with him,² present him to the English people as heir to the crown, and introduce him as having come thither to redress the wrongs under which the Catholics were suffering.³

On the other hand, there were many Catholics in England, whom even the prospect of the res-
titution of the faith could not reconcile to a ^{April.} conquest by a Scoto-French army. They were ready to accept a Scotch princess as their sovereign, but their own arms, or the arms of Spain, must place her on the throne. England, if the crowns were united, expected to remain the superior. In the dread of be-

¹ Guise to the Pope, April 5-15: *MSS. Simancas*.

² "Sospecho que tienen intencion de que lleve el Rey de Escocia el exercito on persona y entro con el en Inglaterra." — Tassis to Philip, April 8-18: Tenlet Vol. V.

³ "The title of the crown was of great efficacy with the English nation. Whenever any prince did govern evil, if the successor did take upon him to remedy the same, never any to whom the succession did belong did at any time take arms to reform the government but he had good success." — Discourse on the Invasion of England, found on Crichton, the Jesuit, May 1584: *MSS. Domestic*.

ing overborne by Scotland and France, the party represented by Allen and the Jesuits intended, after Mary Stuart became Queen, that she should remain inseparably connected with Spain. Guise had undertaken through Charles Paget that if Spaniards accompanied the invasion, they should be compelled to retire when it had succeeded. Allen insisted through De Tassis that there should be no invasion unless the Spaniards bore a part in it, and that a Spanish force should remain in the country after the conquest had been completed, and the Queen of Scots was on the throne.¹

A subtle divergence of opinion divided the whole party. The choice of Guise to lead the enterprise had diminished, but had failed to remove, the national rivalries and suspicions. De Tassis said that if James was to accompany the Duke into England he must first declare himself a Catholic.² It was answered that many English Protestants favoured the Scotch title, and that to alienate them prematurely would be unwise. The objection being still maintained, Lord Seton applied to Catherine de Medici, and held out "the direction and disposition of the cause" as a temptation to the French Crown independent of Spain altogether.³

Mauvissière, who had been the minister of the Anglo-French alliance, and had hitherto clung to Elizabeth, had begun to doubt her stability, and to hint that James's star was perhaps the rising one. "The

¹ "No quieren Ingleses otro patron que V. M. No solamente tienen ojo á que V. M. les remedie á la primera entrada, pero que aunque se les constituya Reyna la de Escocia, no les de-ampara tan presto hasta tener toda aquello bien asegurado." — Tassis to Philip, May 17-27: Teulet, Vol. V.

² Tassis to Philip, April 9-19: *Ibid.*

³ Words of Lord Seton to the Queen-mother, April 9-19, 1584: Teulet Vol. III.

Queen of Scots," he wrote to Catherine, "is a thorn in this Queen's foot. Every moment she suffers from it, but she cannot pluck it out. She lost Scotland when she lost Morton. None but he could have mastered the young King; and the young King means to be monarch of this island, as one day he will and must be."¹

Rumours reached De Tassis that the conspirators, weary of his master's delay, were turning their thoughts in a direction mischievous to Spanish interests, and he made haste² to send word to Philip. Mauvissière's prophecy was right, but the day of its fulfilment was still far distant, and the jealousies which had so long protected Elizabeth continued to paralyse her enemies. Both Spain and France, it was thought, could have agreed to trust the Duke of Guise, but opposite policies and opposite principles unravelled out the coalition as fast as it was woven. The King of Spain, like De Tassis, insisted on the immediate conversion of James, and perhaps was not anxious at heart that James should comply. He feared James's connexion with France, as he had feared his mother's; and though, like the Jesuits, he was willing that Mary Stuart should reign if she would lean on Spain to uphold her, he coveted, as became afterwards clear, the reversion of the title for himself.

Meanwhile in Scotland itself James was going merrily forward. In his letter to the Pope he had been more desponding than the occasion called for.

Disconcerted by Elizabeth's backwardness, Gowrie

¹ Mauvissière to the Queen-mother, March 30-April 9: Teulet, Vol. III.

² "Melino ha me dicho en confianza que andan entre los Escoceses enfadados de la dilacion plasticas, de ver si seria posible guiar este negocio por otras manes que las de Vuestra Majestad."—J. B. de Tassis al Rey, 17-27 de Maio: Teulet, Vol. V.

and his friends had attempted to make their peace with the King and Arran. They had been met coldly and ambiguously. Angus's plan of seizing James when hunting had been betrayed. The King had held his tongue, in fear of provoking England prematurely, but none the less it was clear that he knew something, if not all. The confession of Throgmorton may perhaps have made Elizabeth more encouraging. Sir Robert Bowes, at any rate, reported in January, as a thing which she would be pleased to hear, that a conspiracy was again on foot which would soon be executed. "The chief instruments," Gowrie himself among them, were said to be "hanging back," and "shewing much faintness;" but they were provided with unlooked-for allies in the two Hamilton brothers, Lord Claude and Lord John, the natural chiefs of the Catholic faction, who had been deprived of their estates by Morton, and had been kept out of them to feed the avarice of the Earl of Arran. In lending support to men who had suffered for their fidelity to Mary Stuart, who had fought for her at Langside, who had murdered Murray and Lennox to please her, Elizabeth could not be accused of partisanship. The brothers undertook, if she would restore them, to break up the present faction which ruled the King. She sent them down to the border, and made a shew of collecting a force at Berwick. Mar and Glamys stole back from Knockfergus, and an unnatural alliance was secretly formed between the chiefs of the Protestant faction and the sons of the Duke of Chatelherault. Gowrie, Rothes, Angus, and several others undertook to surprise the King, and deal with him as might afterwards be found convenient. If they failed, or if they could find no convenient opportunity, their plan was to fall back

upon the border. The Hamiltons were then to join them, and their united parties were to march on Edinburgh, drawing supplies from Berwick, and perhaps attended by an English fleet.¹

Elizabeth's promises, however, were still ambiguous. She gave good words in plenty, but neither from her nor from Sir Robert Bowes could the lords obtain a definite engagement in writing; and experience of her conduct on other occasions was less encouraging than Bowes would have had them believe. He perceived the thing "to lie coldly on their stomachs,"² and either he or some one else in the secret intimated that the Queen was waiting for them to do something decisive for themselves. England, he sent them word, could not interpose till there was an open ground for interference, and an open party to be helped. The Queen had sent an army to Berwick to save Morton, but none of the Scots took arms for him, and she was obliged to withdraw with shame. They ought to be up and doing. If they had written to England for advice "before Davie was slaughtered, or the Queen taken prisoner, neither of those things could have been done," but the lords knew "how well they were taken

¹ Mauvissière, writing on the 23rd of April, says distinctly that they looked for help from England, but they were purposely misled by Sir Robert Bowes, whose instructions were to tempt them to commit themselves while evading a distinct engagement on the part of his own Government.

"By such discreet messengers as I employed," he wrote, "I satisfied the chief solicitor in this cause and the rest of the party, of his late letters sent to me. In this I have advised to behold the goodwill shewed in like matters in time past, whereby they may have good experience that neither the good cause nor the well-affected have been abandoned in time of necessity. I have not nor dare not write any particular promise or comfort to them otherwise than by words and effects rehearsed with like generalities, to continue them in good hopes, without any bond or promise from me." — Bowes to Walsingham, April 4-14: *MSS. Scotland*.

² *Ibid.*

afterwards." It was time "to draw sword," and not "to be hanging on uncertainty."¹

Translated into plain language, these words meant that the lords were to venture something decided, at their own risk, and that if they succeeded Elizabeth would accept the benefit of their enterprise. The allusion to the capture of the Queen of Scots was an unhappy one, for relieved from danger by the Queen of Scots' deposition, Elizabeth had sought credit with other established governments by threatening to chastise the instruments of it. Morton's skull over the Tolbooth gate was a grinning evidence of the value of these misleading promptings; but Gowrie's fate was coming upon him, and he allowed himself to be persuaded. Angus and Mar undertook the capture of the King. Gowrie pretended that he was going over into France, and went down to Dundee, intending to cross by water to Tantallon, where Lord Lindsay, the two Hamiltons, and, as he hoped, the English had agreed to join him.² As it was with Guise and the invasion of England, however, so it was with the plots against James. There were too many confederates. There had been too much talk beforehand, and the secret had been betrayed to the Earl of Arran. Stewart, who had been in England with Colville, followed Gowrie with a party of horse to Dundee, captured him, and carried him off to Holyrood. Angus and Mar were more successful. They missed James, but accompanied by Glamys, they surprised and captured Stirling Castle, and sent out a proclamation inviting the country to rise and join them. "The King," they

¹ Letter endorsed by Burghley, "Mr. Colville;" and in another hand,

² Copy of my last letter to Scotland, April 16-26": *MSS. Scotland*.

² Bowes to Walsingham, April 4-14: *MS. Ibid.*

said, "was abused by persons of low estate." He was surrounded "by a young and insolent company of papists, atheists, and furtherers of the bloody Council of Trent." "The fearers of God"¹ were in danger of massacre, and had taken arms in the King's interests, and their own. Couriers flew to Lindsay at Tantallon, to the Hamiltons at Berwick, and on to London to the Court, to entreat for help. The conditions were fulfilled which the Queen had required; a distinct party was in arms with a public cause. If she would but order her ships to the Forth, to intimate by their presence that she favoured their enterprise, if she would check Maxwell and Fernyhurst on the border, and give or lend a little money, the three Earls, notwithstanding Gowrie's capture, were confident of success.

Half Scotland was waiting to see what England would do. Had Gowrie escaped, the Queen's interference would perhaps not have been needed. His capture had so far inclined the scale, that many who had promised their assistance hung back till they saw for certain that they might depend upon Elizabeth.

There was of course the usual difficulty, the treaty of non-intervention, which had been tacitly formed with France. Mauvissière objected in the name of his Court, and the established battery of traitorous or timid counsels was brought into play. That the movement had been undertaken at Elizabeth's instigation, or at least with her knowledge, consent, and approval, passed for nothing. Her first impulse was to send the couriers back with the answer that she could not comply

¹ "Effect of the petition delivered by the credit of Mr. Colville, in the names of the Earls of Angus, Mar, and Glamys, entered into the action of Stirling, April, 1584": *MSS. Scotland*.

with the Earls' request. A few days later, Secretary Davison was dispatched with directions to give fresh encouragement and to threaten the King into moderation; and she sent a thousand pounds to the border to be used in the service of the confederates. But it was too late. The first refusal had decided the fate of the rising. The Earl of Arran, promptly collecting a few thousand ruffians, marched at their head to Stirling, and the Earls, believing themselves deserted, escaped before his arrival to Berwick. The Edinburgh ministers followed, conscious of the vengeance that they had provoked, and knowing that it would not now be delayed. Fernyhurst, seeing the English motionless, rose with the Kers and the Humes; and Tantallon, which was to have been the rallying-point of the confederates, was changed into Lindsay's prison. Stirling Castle surrendered, the captain and his chief followers were hanged, and the only effect of the conspiracy had been to raise James at last into an absolute sovereign.

There was a moan of indignation, heard alas! too often in Scotland, at Elizabeth's broken faith. Sir Robert Bowes, the instrument of their deception, did not seek to conceal his own shame and humiliation. He covered his mistress in public by taking the blame upon himself; but to Walsingham he did not scruple to describe the Earls "as foully abused and betrayed."¹ The friends of the Queen of Scots, on the other hand, sent her exulting word of her son's victory, bidding her remind him that now was the time for vengeance, and tell Guise to be quick in coming.²

¹ Bowes to Walsingham, April 27-May 7: *MSS. Scotland*.

² "Madame, écrivez au Roy d'avoir souvenance du temps passé. Oultre, Madame, advertissez M. de Guise d'accelerer toutes choses pour mettre fin à ces énormités." — to the Queen of Scots, April 26-May 6. Decipher *MSS. Mary Queen of Scots*.

The Queen of Scots needed no urging. Morton, Gowrie, and Lindsay, were the three noble-
men who had extorted the abdication at ^{May.} Lochleven. Morton was gone, and Gowrie's turn had come. There was no question that he had conspired a second time against the person of his sovereign. When he saw that all was over he made a free confession, and in a natural resentment at his desertion, he said, perhaps untruly, perhaps half truly, that if he had succeeded this time, and if he had listened to English overtures, both the King and his mother would have been put to death.¹ If he hoped to save himself by the revelation, he was mistaken. He was carried to Stirling immediately on the surrender, and a court was extemporised for his trial, of which Colonel Stewart, who had taken him prisoner, was President. Argyle, who had been his friend, declined to sit; even Huntley, though he was present, did not vote; but of his literal guilt, if guilt could be said to attach to any kind of political action in the anarchy of Scotland, there could

¹ "Le feu Conte de Gowry estant l'an passé sur le poinct d'avoir la tête tranchée pour la mesme conspiration que ces seigneurs Escossoys, deslors complices du diet Gowry, ont à present executée, déposa et conferra volontairement au maistre de Gray, qui m'en advertist par lettres encores extantes, qu'en Angleterre (Je ne veulx nommer par qui) il avoit esté faict projecte et arresté de nous faire mourir moy et mon filz en ung mesme jour." — Marie Stuart à M. de Chateaufort, 8 Décembre, 1585: Lahanoff, Vol. VI. When it is considered how extremely convenient James's death would have been, how many misgivings he had caused and was still causing to English statesmen, how bitterly both countries had suffered from Elizabeth's interference to save Mary Stuart, how universal had been the expectation that James would not emerge alive out of the confusions of Scotland, it is not unlikely that this way out of their difficulties had presented itself to more than one eminent politician, and that small enquiry would have followed had it been reported that the young King had died of some sudden disorder. Beyond doubt this would have been his fate and the Queen of Scots' fate also, everywhere in Europe in any previous century. Times were changing, but the traditions of the old ways survived, and many a wistful eye might be cast back at them.

be no question. The forms were hurried over, and execution instantly followed. Angus and Mar were proclaimed traitors, and their estates confiscated. The forfeiture of lands followed the sentences; Lady Gowrie and her children were turned adrift to starve; and the vast inheritances of the Douglasses, the Erskines, and the Ruthvens were divided between Arran, who was already gorged with plunder, and the young Duke of Lennox, whom James had sent for from France.¹

Lindsay only now remained of the three. On that wild evening, when Mary Stuart was brought in a prisoner from the field at Carberry, she swore to Lindsay that she would one day have his head, and oaths of this kind she was not apt to leave unfulfilled. Now that he was in James's power, she required peremptorily that his treatment of her should not be forgotten; and James, eager to atone for his refusal of the association by the sacrifice of an enemy of his own, promised that not Lindsay only but every one of the confederates that he could catch should receive exemplary chastisement.² So good an intention was not to be allowed to cool. She sent her son a present of a sword. She bade him go forward boldly, and above all not spare Lindsay.³ He laughed as he girded on her gift, telling the bearer that he would be his mother's true knight, and that before many days the heads of Lindsay and

¹ Davison to Walsingham, May 11: *MSS. Scotland*. -

² "Sans autre recommandation de vostre part, la sympathie et conformité de nos complexions avec le sentiment que j'ay des injures et trahisons commises à l'endroit de vous par My Lord Lindsay, m'avoit ya tout resolu d'en faire punition exemplaire; comme j'espere de ses semblables, sans qu'il m'en eschappe un seul de ceulx que je pourray attraper." — *The King of Scots to Mary Stuart, July 23. Decipher: MS. Ibid.*

³ "Pour Lindsay le Roy obeira à ce que la Roynne luy en mande à la premiere ocasion, n'attendant que preuve et proces contre luy." — *Instructions secretes de M. Fontenay, August, 1583: MSS. Mary Queen of Scots. Incorrectly dated in the State Papers January, 1583.*

others besides him should prove how religiously he would observe his oath.¹ The confederate lords had risked their lives in a wild belief that Elizabeth would be true to them. As they had failed, she was not content with leaving them in Scotland to James's vengeance; but, with a repetition accurate as an automaton's of her behaviour to Murray, she endeavoured to prove that she had never been in any way connected with them, by hard treatment of Angus and Mar and the other fugitives who had taken refuge in Northumberland. Outward displeasure, had it gone further, might have been politic affectation, but the Court had veered round with the altered prospect, carrying Elizabeth with it, and the opposite policy was in the ascendant altogether.

"The poor gentlemen that are retired into this realm," wrote Walsingham, "are like to receive but cold comfort, having fewer favour-^{June.}ers than I looked for, and such become their enemies as neither the authority of their place nor the care they ought to have of her Majesty's safety doth make allowable in them. But it agrees with the course we now hold here in displacing and depriving the best affected ministers.² I look for no better fruits from them that use religion for policy, and many here do abuse it for faction."³ And again, a few days later: "The noblemen receive no great comfort, and as for the poor ministers retired into the realm, who have shewn themselves good instruments for entertaining the amity

¹ Fontenay to the Queen of Scots, August 15: *MSS. Mary Queen of Scots*. Decipher. Lindsay after all escaped James's intentions towards him, being protected by the Earl of Crawford.

² Several Puritan clergy had been just prosecuted under the Act of Uniformity, and deprived of their benefices.

³ Walsingham to Davison, June 3-13, 1584: *MSS. Scotland*.

between the Crowns, they are but hardly thought of here, and therefore not likely to be used with the kindness that either Christianity or policy requireth. I write this with extreme grief, for that I hold it a presage of God's judgment towards us."¹

For the few weeks which followed the arrest and confession of Throgmorton, Elizabeth had almost resolved to take a decided part at last. She had dismissed Mendoza, imprisoned the Catholic noblemen, held out her hand to the Low Countries, and had invited her party in Scotland to take arms and make a revolution. But a purpose of this kind never long resisted influences which combined to undermine it. There was no longer a French marriage for the Queen to fall back upon, but there was still a French alliance. The Court at Paris feared the ascendancy of the Duke of Guise almost as much as England feared it; and Mauvissière, in London, represented the principles of compromise so dear to Elizabeth, by which moderation and good sense were to control the passions of the opposing creeds. It was possible that Catherine de Medici might be tempted by the offers of Lord Seton, but her preference was still for the alliance with Elizabeth, if that alliance could be maintained. Her own and her son's influence in Europe, and even their authority in France, depended on the continuance of the balance which had hitherto been hardly preserved. If once the Protestants combined, and the war of religion broke out, the chieftainship of the two great parties must devolve on Elizabeth and Philip, and the temporising uncertain House of Valois would be inevitably shipwrecked. Philip had still to settle with Henry for Alençon's proceedings in the Low Coun-

¹ Walsingham to Davison, June 17-27: MSS. Scotland.

tries, and the day of reckoning would assuredly come with the completion of Parma's reconquest. The object from the French point of view, therefore, was a triple union between France, England, and Scotland, to which Mary Stuart and James should be parties in opposition to Spain and to Spanish influences. Mauvissière, from the first moment of the troubles of Scotland, had never ceased to urge this solution of the situation. He undertook himself to reconcile all quarrels there if the Queen would allow him to go to Edinburgh. Alençon, though not yet dead, was notoriously dying; and if the completion of the treaty with the Queen of Scots and her consequent release was to be one condition, the recognition of the King of Navarre as heir presumptive in France was to be another.

There was much to be said in favour of such a policy, especially when the alternative was a gigantic convulsion of which no one could foresee the end. Could Mary Stuart and James be depended on, no prudent sovereign would prefer the chances of the sword. The French Court itself undertook to become responsible for the Queen of Scots, and the state of Scotland was less unfavourable than it might have seemed. The Earl of Arran, by whom the King was now controlled, was a hard, clear-headed, and entirely unscrupulous villain, to whom creeds appeared fools' playthings, and power and wealth the only concern of a reasonable man. His title and his estates depended on the exclusion of the Hamiltons, and the Hamiltons had deserved too well of the Catholic cause to be left dispossessed of their patrimony in the event of a religious revolution. On the capture of Gowrie and the flight of the lords to England, Arran had made advances, therefore, to Lord Hunsdon at Berwick, in the spirit of Mauvissière's pro-

posals to Elizabeth. It was hinted that if there was to be a general reconciliation, the Earls of Angus and Mar might be allowed to return, supposing the Queen of Scots would intercede for them. The settlement of Scotland, on the English episcopal pattern, was held out as a further temptation, and it was through these considerations that Gowrie had been sacrificed, and the resolution had been ultimately arrived at to abstain from interference by arms.

Spain was hopelessly slow — Throgmorton had confessed — discovery and disappointment had clung like a shadow to every plot in which Philip had borne a part. Mary Stuart, afraid of what might follow to herself, were Elizabeth to be forced finally into open war, had written to Mauvissière, expressing sympathy with the policy which he advocated. She consented eagerly to his proposed mission; she empowered him to assure Elizabeth, on her word of honour as a princess, that if the treaty were renewed and completed, she would compel her son into compliance.¹ She called God to witness, in a letter to the Queen, that if the English succession were secured to James, she would herself remain for the rest of her life in retirement. To accept these advances would gratify France, rivet afresh the Anglo-French alliance, and, without war or expenditure of money, throw a diplomatic shelter over the Low Countries, and secure England from all danger of invasion on the northern border. Mauvissière assured Elizabeth that his master's wish "was to compound matters in Scotland in a reasonable course," to persuade the Queen of Scots "to give counsel to her son to her Majesty's best liking," "to unite the crowns

¹ The Queen of Scots to Mauvissière, March 21-31, 1584: Labanoff, Vol. V.

of England, Scotland, and France, in good perfect friendship and amity."¹

Elizabeth trusted these fair words only so far as she knew them to represent her brother of France's interests. Mauvissière, on the other hand, trusted Elizabeth not a jot further: an experience of twenty-five years had taught him, he distinctly said, that the English Queen would promise anything, and was utterly indifferent to the performance of what she promised. Could she be assured otherwise of Scotland, she would care for no power in Christendom.²

But Elizabeth could not afford to quarrel with France, and Catherine and Henry were equally concerned in preventing a revolution which would make over England and Scotland to Guise and Philip. Permission, therefore, was given to Mauvissière to go down and do his best in Scotland; the treaty, which had become almost a jest, was reopened with Mary Stuart, and the Queen of England appeared once more in the position of a suitor to her prisoner.

So abrupt a change of attitude could hardly be executed without ungracefulness. The Paris conspirators had avowedly calculated on the support of Lord Shrewsbury: he was expected if not to join the insurrection, which was to break out on Guise's landing, at least to secure the safety of his charge; and in the short interval, when a bold course was half resolved on, the removal of the Queen of Scots into the custody of some firmer person, had been part of the general scheme. Elizabeth herself had informed Shrewsbury of Throgmorton's confessions, and of the double part

¹ Points contained in the French Ambassador's letter of May 13-23. MSS. Scotland.

² Mauvissière to the King, April 26-May 6: Teulet, Vol. III.

which she had ascertained that the Queen of Scots had been playing.¹ She had sent the Queen of Scots a threatening message, that she must abandon conspiracies if she ever hoped for favour. Sir Ralph Sadler had been selected as her future keeper, and on the 26th of March a commission had been issued to Sadler and Sir Henry Neville to take charge of her person, to carry her to Melbourne Castle in Derbyshire, to allow no excuses, and to use force if she refused to move.²

The order had been suspended till the intended "practice" in Scotland should be executed, and on the confederates' failure, had been abandoned with the policy to which it belonged. A M. Mason came over from France in April to see the Queen of Scots on business connected with her dowry. The news of Angus's and Mar's flight had just reached London, but was perhaps still unknown at Sheffield. The occasion was used to send down Wade as Mason's escort, with orders to reopen negotiations for the treaty with as much dignity as circumstances would allow.

It was no very easy task. They arrived at Sheffield on the 28rd of April,³ and the next day were introduced to the lady. As was hoped, she had heard nothing recently from Scotland. She began to talk to Mason in French. She knew that Shrewsbury was ignorant of it, and, trusting that the rest were in the same condition, said something imprudent. Wade struck into the conversation in a way that shewed his easy familiarity with the language. He irritated her by doing so, and she exploded into one

¹ Elizabeth to the Earl of Shrewsbury, March 8-18: *MSS. Mary Queen of Scots*.

² Commission to Sadler and Neville, March 26-April 5: *MS. Ibid.*

³ May 3.

of her passions. She asked after her son, observing, satirically, that she had no other means of hearing whether he was alive or dead. She was eloquently pathetic about France. Then turning upon Wade, she said that she had humbled herself before Elizabeth into the very dirt, and had been cheated after all of her reward.

"I told her," said Wade, "her son's conduct was the cause, and it appeared that she had sought to amuse her Majesty with the treaty to give her son time to work that alteration: it was time for her Majesty to break off when the foundation failed."

Quoting the words once written with a diamond by Elizabeth on a window, when imprisoned by her sister,

"Much suspected by me,
But nothing proved can be,"

she ran fiercely over the story of her wrongs, "using bitter speeches of her misery."

Wade replied that her treatment was regarded abroad "as one of the rarest examples of singular mercy and good inclination that was ever heard of, considering the provocation her Majesty had received."

She flamed out at the word mercy. She said she was an absolute Prince as much as her Majesty. She was no inferior of hers. She had been a Queen from her cradle, and had been afterwards "Queen of France, the greatest realm in Christendom." Mercy was for subjects; for her there had been nothing but extremity.

"All this was said with extreme choler." She cooled afterwards and became quieter, but there were three things she said which she would die a thousand deaths rather than allow to be sacrificed — her honour, her interest in the English succession, and her child.

Her Majesty, Wade answered, had taken care of

the first and the last; the second she must deserve. England would never accept her as Queen without her Majesty's consent. She was deceiving herself if she expected support from France. He had himself heard Mauvissière say that "France would spend forty million crowns before she or her son should reign in England." After her double dealing with Spain, it was but too likely that this might be true. She began again "to moan her grief and her woful estate." She complained of her friends' neglect of her, of her imprisonment and misery. She was younger in years, she said, than the Queen of England, but suffering had made her older to look at. "God would avenge her enemies and those that were the authors of her overthrow, whom she stuck not to curse."

When the torrent of eloquence began to slacken, Wade reminded her of certain things which she had forgotten — intrigues, practices, and conspiracies.

She said that the Queen had never trusted her, and could not justly blame her. She did not deny that she had begged her friends to exert themselves for her, but she had meant innocently, and if they had done wrong, the fault was theirs.

Wade spoke of proofs. She said, angrily, that "he was not of calling to reason with her." He answered that he was not of calling either to hear his own mistress found fault with. There were few princes in Christendom who would not have made shorter work with her; and if she would seriously consider what she had done, she would rather wonder that the Queen had consented to treat with her at all.

So the argument ran on, Wade being intentionally harsh, to prepare for concessions afterwards. At length her anger died away into pleading and tender-

ness. She sang the song which she had sung before to Mauvissière. If the Queen would but trust her, she said, she should never find her confidence misplaced. Anything which her sister wished she was ready to do ; the first and last desire of her heart was to please her.¹

Could the Queen of Scots, when she learnt what could not long be concealed from her, have bridled her temper, and been prudent and moderate, she might possibly at this particular crisis have really recovered her freedom. At no time were so many circumstances in her favour. It was true that the continuance of the pressure which France was exerting in her behalf was contingent on her separating herself from Spain ; and to break with Spain was to break with the whole party of revolt and revolution. Yet it would have been her best chance. Spain clearly would not risk a war in her interest with France and England combined, and could hardly be tempted into a quarrel with England single-handed. Guise's enterprise hung fire through the jealousies which split up the party ; and could she have parted with her passionate desire for revenge, she might have either taken the benefit of a treaty in which England, France, and Scotland would have been held together on terms of compromise ; or else, which would have equally served her purpose, she would have broken up the Anglo-French alliance.

But Mary Stuart, notwithstanding her affected plain-tiveness, was proud and fierce as when she stood with Bothwell on the hills of Musselburgh. The one absorbing hope of her life was to see those who had humbled her rolling, all of them, in the dust at her

¹ Mr. Wade's narrative of what passed at Sheffield, April 25-May 5: MSS. *Mary Queen of Scots*.

feet. The least gleam of success she construed into a turn of the tide; and the news of the defeat and flight of the confederates, and the execution of Gowrie, scattered her despondency and filled her with dreams of coming triumph. Walsingham was distinctly of opinion that if she would adhere to what she had said to Wade, her offer ought to be tried. "The impediment," he said, "grew principally through a jealous conceit that either of the two Princesses had of the other, which could hardly be removed."¹ But alarm had so far superseded the "jealous conceit," that Elizabeth had yielded to necessity. When Wade returned with an account of his conversation, she brought herself to write a courteous letter to the Queen of Scots, and Secretary Beale was once more sent down to Sheffield to take up again the dropped threads of the treaty of the past year. He was empowered to tell her that if her son, at her intercession, would recall Angus and Mar, would pardon Lindsay, and proclaim a general amnesty, if she would herself relinquish her intrigues and forbid the Archbishop of Glasgow to prosecute further the conspiracy at Paris, Sir Walter Mildmay would resume his place on the commission, and an arrangement should be concluded with her without further delay. If the Queen of Scots said that the lords, by their late rebellion, had placed themselves beyond the pale of forgiveness, Beale was instructed to tell her that the lords had many friends in England, that they had meant no ill, and that if she refused, "inconvenience would grow," and such an offer would never be made to her again. Her transactions with the Duke of Guise for the invasion of England had been

¹ Walsingham to Sadler, October 17-27, 1584; *MSS. Mary Queen of Scots*.

discovered, and a harder course would be taken with her.¹

Wade had left her tender and compliant. When Beale arrived, the mood had changed. Her son was now absolute; her enemies were dispersed, the Queen of England dismayed. She understood now the cause of the late advances to her and was proportionately resentful. Guise, she fondly thought, would soon be over, and there was no occasion for her to humiliate herself. She stood upon "very proud terms;" she refused to promise to control the diplomacy of her representatives abroad. If she was to interfere for the pardon of the lords, she said it should be when she was free, and not otherwise. She required ampler conditions than those which she had accepted in the past; above all, she required to be allowed, if she wished it, to leave England. She said that Sir Walter Mildmay, if he came to Sheffield, must bring powers to conclude the treaty, or she would not discuss it with him; and unless it was concluded immediately, she would regard her concessions as withdrawn.²

"With all the cunning that we have," wrote Beale privately, "we cannot bring this lady to make any absolute promise for the performance of her offers, unless she may be assured of the accomplishment of the treaty. Since the last break off she is more circumspect how she entangle herself. She seems marvellous glad of the late success in Scotland, and especially that her son had a heart to go into the field himself. She will deal for Angus and Mar, but she seems to retain another mind towards Gowrie and Lindsay upon the ancient quarrel of Lochleven."³

¹ Elizabeth to Secretary Beale, May 4-14: *MSS. Mary Queen of Scots*.

² Beale to Walsingham, May 16-26: *MS. Ibid.*

³ Same to the same, May 17-27: *MS. Ibid.*

Elizabeth might as well have abdicated as have yielded to such terms so demanded. She
 June. sent a cold intimation to Lord Shrewsbury that the treaty was at an end, and that Beale might leave Sheffield.¹ But she was extremely troubled — troubled especially about the noblemen who had taken refuge in England, and whose restoration she had hoped to effect through the Queen of Scots' mediation. Mauvissière was to have been the bearer of her intercession, and since it could not be obtained, his mission was abandoned. Lord Livingston came up from Scotland to demand their surrender as traitors. Elizabeth was unable to give them up, but she was afraid to assist or countenance them. She treated them as she had treated Murray nineteen years before, whom she equally employed and deserted; and Walsingham naturally feared that the lords, being left to starve, would make terms with James, purchase their pardon at the price of deserting for ever the ungrateful English cause, and leave Elizabeth without a friend in the only country where friends were absolutely indispensable to her.²

The prudence or imprudence of Elizabeth, and the chances of success to the Queen of Scots in the attitude which she had dared to resume, turned more and more on the character of her boy, who sate on the throne of

¹ Elizabeth to Shrewsbury, May 24-June 3: *MSS. Mary Queen of Scots*.

² "The intended journey of the French Ambassador into Scotland is now broken off, for that the Queen of Scots stands upon very proud terms, refusing to mediate the restitution of the distressed noblemen unless her Majesty will grant her liberty and ratify the treaty between the Earl of Shrewsbury, Sir Walter Mildmay, Mr. Beale, and her. So that now I do not see what means her Majesty can use to procure their relief, but fear greatly they will be left to seek their own peace, which cannot but breed to us a war. This, I pray you, reserve to yourself, for we may alter our purpose." — Walsingham to Davison, May 20-30: *MSS. Scotland*.

Scotland, and who, young as he was, already exerted a personal influence on the politics of his country, which, as parties were balanced, was likely to turn the scale. In the hands of the different factions who had successively been his masters, he had shewn a pliancy inevitable from his circumstances. Yet he had evidently a purpose of his own, which was visible through all his changes, and while the ministers of the Kirk had found him always as hostile to them as his mother had been, yet neither his mother nor the Jesuits had found him as docile as they had hoped and looked for. He had written to the Pope, but he had not been converted. He had shewn himself entirely willing to please Mary Stuart by the execution of the lords who had been the instruments of her overthrow; but he had shewn no great desire to see her again in Scotland, or to share his power with her, or even to acknowledge that he held his crown by her will and pleasure. He had been, no doubt, influenced greatly by Lennox and Arran; but he had opinions which, as he grew older, became more decided, and it now becomes important to look more closely at him, and to examine in detail the figure of the youth who was to play so large a part in the history of Great Britain. The materials are fortunately provided in a singular and minute account of him, which was furnished to his mother by an acute and observing Frenchman.

On the death of the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Cardinal's secretary, M. Nau, passed into the service of Mary Stuart, and while M. Nau resided with her at Sheffield, and thenceforward managed her correspondence, his brother, M. Fontenay, became one of her many agents abroad, and passed his time carrying her messages, and advocating her cause in Rome, Paris,

and Madrid. He, too, occasionally visited her at Sheffield, and when the last defeat of the lords gave her back her spirits and her energy, she sent M. Fontenay through France to Scotland to see her son, to urge the execution of Lindsay and the Abbot of Dunfermline, to arrange a common course of action, and bring him above all to consent to the long-talked-of association.

M. Fontenay's letters from the Scotch Court are long and complicated, but they bring the scene and the actors in it upon the stage with a completeness which leaves nothing to be desired.¹ "The King," wrote M. Fontenay to his brother — and James himself

Anno
statu 18.

stands before us as we read — "is for his age one of the most remarkable princes that ever lived. He has the three parts of the mind in perfection.² He apprehends readily, he judges maturely, he concludes with reason. His memory is full and retentive. His questions are quick and piercing, and his answers solid. Whatever be the subject of conversation, be it religion or anything else, he maintains the view which appears to him to be true and just. In religious argument I have known him establish a point against adversaries who in the main agree with him, and I venture to say that in languages, sciences, and affairs of state, he has more learning than any man in Scotland. In short, he is wonderfully clever, and for the rest, he is full of honourable ambition, and has an excellent opinion of himself. Owing to the terrorism under which he has been brought up, he is timid with the great lords, and seldom ventures to contradict them. Yet his especial anxiety is to be thought hardy, and a

¹ These letters fell into the hands of Elizabeth on the seizure of the Queen of Scots' papers at Chartley, and were deciphered by Walsingham's secretary.

² The *simplex apprehensio*, *judicium*, and *discursus*, of the logicians.

man of courage. He has so good a will that nothing is too laborious for him. Hearing lately that the Laird of Dun¹ had passed two days and two nights without sleep, he passed three; but if he once finds himself beaten in such exercises, he abhors them ever after. He dislikes dances and music, and amorous talk, and curiosity of dress, and courtly trivialities.² He has an especial detestation for ear-rings.³ From want of instruction, his manners are rough and uncouth. He speaks, eats, dresses, and plays like a boor, and he is no better in the company of women. He is never still for a moment, but walks perpetually up and down the room, and his gait is sprawling and awkward. His voice is loud, and his words sententious. He prefers hunting to all other amusements, and will be six hours together on horseback, galloping over hill and dale. . . . His body is feeble, yet he is not delicate; in a word, he is an old young man.⁴ Three unfavourable points only I observe in him. He does not understand his own insignificance. He is prodigiously conceited, and he underrates other princes. He irritates his subjects by indiscreet and violent attachments. He is idle and careless, too easy, and too much given to pleasure, particularly to the chase, leaving his affairs to be managed by Arran, Montrose, and his secretary. Excuses, I know, must be made for so young a man; but it is to be feared that the habit may grow upon him. I once hinted something of this kind to him. He told me that whatever he seemed, he was aware

¹ Sir John Erskine.

² "Mignardises du cour."

³ Then coming into fashion with French courtiers. Henry III. wore large pendants of pearls, and they may be seen in the early pictures of Charles I.

⁴ "C'est ung vieux jeune homme."

of everything of consequence that was going on. He could afford to spend time in hunting, for that when he attended to business he could do more in an hour than others could do in a day. He could listen to one man, talk to another, and observe a third. Sometimes he could do five things at once. The lords could attempt nothing without his knowledge. He had his spies at their chamber-doors evening and morning, who brought him word of all that they were about. He said he was his mother's son in many ways. His body was weak, and he could not long work consecutively, but when he did work he was worth any other six men put together. He had sometimes tried to force himself, and had continued at his desk without interruption for a week, but he was always ill after it. In fact he said he was like a Spanish gennet, which could run one course well, but could not hold out. This was the very expression which he used."¹

The personal portrait was drawn for Nau. The political and spiritual account was given to Mary Stuart, and was far less favourable. It was unnecessary, Fontenay told her, to urge her son to severity against the ministers of the Kirk, for he was himself sufficiently bent on their destruction;² "indeed, he had promised to hang one or two of them as an example to the rest."

"But I fear," Fontenay continued, "that your son may constitute himself head of the Church. He is neither Lutheran nor Calvinist, but in many points much nearer to us. He thinks, for instance, that faith is dead without works, that there is no predestination, and so forth. But he holds a false opinion,

¹ Fontenay to Nau, August 5-15, 1584: *MSS. Mary Queen of Scots*.

² "Car il est de soy-mesmes assez préparé à leur ruine."

though it can be turned to the advantage of Catholics — that faith in God alone is sufficient to save a man, let him belong to what religion he may.¹ As to the Pope, he abhors him,² and will not hear his name mentioned. His mind is filled with a thousand villanies about popes, and monks, and priests.”³ This last sentence throws a curious light on James’s letter to the “abhorred” Pontiff. With the Duke of Guise also he had not been entirely sincere. So far as concerned Lindsay and the Abbot of Dunfermline, his replies were entirely satisfactory.⁴ But Fontenay had been instructed also to make arrangements for the coming over of the Duke; and he found, to his surprise, that while James was most unwilling that the Duke should go to England without his participation, he was not particularly anxious to see his cousin in Scotland. He was afraid of Spain. He was afraid of the Pope. He objected to foreign troops; preferring, if the invasion were to take place, that only Scots should be employed upon it. If Guise conquered England he feared he might be inclined to keep it, or else Philip might be inclined to keep it. It could not be for his sake, he said, that his mother had been conspiring with these people, for she had been busy at it for fifteen years. It was that she herself might recover her liberty, and possibly the Scotch crown. Moreover, the secret was out — the King of France objected. The

¹ “Il tient une faulx opinion, qui toutefois est profitable aux Catholiques. C’est que la seule foy en Dieu suffist pour sauver l’homme en quelque religion que ce soy.”

² “Quant au Pape, il l’abhorre extrêmement.”

³ Fontenay to the Queen of Scots, August 5-15: *MSS. Mary Queen of Scots*.

⁴ “Quant aux instructions secretes, le Roy me promet ce que ensuit, pour le premier article la mort de Mylord Lindsay et de l’Abbé de Dunfermline.” — *Ibid.*

Queen of England had received notice, and was on her guard. All that Fontenay could gather from him was that he would not renounce the scheme entirely. He would keep it as a second string to his bow, in case the Queen of England would not come to terms with him. He professed to wish well to his mother, but his tone was cold. Fontenay observed that he asked few questions about her, shewed no curiosity about her health, her treatment, or her occupations.

On the third point of importance that was spoken of, the association in the throne, he was equally unsatisfactory. Mary Stuart had not been easy about him. She knew that at one time he had been ready to sacrifice her if he could obtain his own recognition. She had hoped better things since the late revolution, but she was not certain, and she had charged Fontenay, if he trifled, to threaten him with her curse. He tried to evade the question when Fontenay brought it before him. He went off upon the detestation which he had felt always for those who had ill-used her, especially for Knox and Buchanan. When Fontenay indicated what might be in store for him, he trembled and was evidently frightened. He promised to pass the Association Act; but Fontenay's impression was that, so long as Arran and his infamous wife were in favour, it could never be. Both the Earl and Countess were clever, subtle, avaricious, ambitious persons, extremely adroit, untroubled with scruples, and utterly opposed to Mary Stuart's restoration in any form or shape.

A fourth point was marriage. James had promised to let his mother choose his bride for him, and he gave fresh assurances to the same purpose. Yet Fontenay learnt that he was actually speculating on a marriage with Elizabeth, as his surest road to the English

crown.¹ She was old and would soon die, and he would then be his own master. Or, again, there was another plan, that he should marry Elizabeth's cousin, Lord Hunsdon's daughter, with a condition of being declared next heir in England; Lady Arran pointedly telling Fontenay that the King need not wait for his mother's death, and had but to separate his cause from hers to obtain a declaration in his favour immediately.

Once more Mary Stuart had desired that James would present a formal demand to Elizabeth for her release. Thus much, at least, she had a right to expect from him, and again his professions were most warm. But the same subtle influence was at work to persuade him that so long as her life was in no danger — "for that would touch his honour" — it would be more convenient "that she should remain in captivity some years longer." If she was free, she would disturb Scotland, and perhaps take the crown from him; perhaps, also, "she might marry again, being still of an age to bear children."

Coming to him as this information did from Sir Robert Melville and other of the Queen of Scots' best friends, Fontenay had not been able to discredit it; he had, therefore, asked James, frankly, how much of it was true; whether it was possible that he meant, after all, to forsake his mother and sell himself to the false Englishwoman. James had given him a sharp answer, saying he would take good care of his mother but bidding Fontenay be less curious in matters which

¹ "Madame, non obstant ceste honeste response, Sir R. Melville et autres conseillers d'Estat m'ont asseuré qu'il faict traicter par Gny son mariage avec la Roynie d'Angleterre. Le Comte d'Arran luy ayant persuadé de le faire s'il se vult asseurer la couronne d'Angleterre." — Fontenay to the Queen of Scots, August 5-15: *MSS. Mary Queen of Scots*.

did not concern him. It was equivalent to a confession. Fontenay discovered that an intrigue of some kind with England was undoubtedly going forward. The King, it was likely, really would marry Elizabeth if she would have him, and, at any rate, had a most dangerous inclination towards an alliance with her. He pretended that he was deceiving her. But he had recently entertained Davison, the English Ambassador, at a banquet in Edinburgh Castle; and Fontenay, who was present, told Mary Stuart he had seen noblemen, pretending to be her friends, contending for the honour of kissing the Englishman's hands. He said he looked at James, and James had blushed and turned pale.¹

Nor was Arran the King's only dangerous adviser. The young, treacherous, and accomplished Master of Gray had been for some time stealing his way into Scotch diplomacy. He had been in Paris with Guise, and had shared the secrets of the great conspiracy. Like Arran, he had professed to be devoted to the Queen of Scots. He had once proposed to lead a party of horse to Sheffield, cut her out, and carry her off; but, like Arran, he hated her at heart, wished her to remain for ever a prisoner, and was in favour of a reconciliation with Elizabeth. Gray was a politician of the school of Maitland of Lethington, to whom "God" was "a bogle of the nursery;" and his theory was a bad copy of the tyrannous type of Anglicanism, the destruction of the Kirk and the establishment of episcopacy, with the King for head of the Church—Protestantism overthrown and a decent State system

¹ "Je voyois tous les Seigneurs, tant l'inconstance de ce monde est grande, courir à l'envie l'un de l'autre pour baiser les mains de ce venerable Anglois et à le caresser en presence du Roy, qui rougissoit et pâlissoit, me voyant, ma face luy presentant continuellement l'idée de vostre Majesté."
— Fontenay à la Reyne d'Ecosse, 5-15 Août: *MSS. Mary Queen of Scots*

erected on its ruins with a contemptuous infidelity at the root.

"Money and preferment," wrote Fontenay, "are the only Sirens which charm the lords of Scotland. To preach to them of duty to their Prince, of honour, justice, virtue, noble actions, the memory of an illustrious life which they should bequeath to their posterity, they count the merest folly. They can discourse of these things like the best of the philosophers, but in their deeds they are like the Athenians, who know what is good but will not do it. To our sorrow, they will not look beyond the point of their shoes. They care nothing for the future and less for the past."

There was but one way, M. Fontenay sadly concluded, in which his mistress could recover the devotion of the Scottish nation. She must buy it. Every one was poor, every one was extravagant, and every one was corrupt. The King himself was so impoverished, that though he had but a handful of servants, he could neither pay nor feed them. He was deep in debt, and lived by borrowing, yet he was so thoughtless, that if his French cousins sent him money he gave it or flung it away.¹

For the first time in these letters Mary Stuart was presented with an authentic picture of her son. She had dreamt of him, through the weary years of her imprisonment, as her coming champion and avenger. She had slaved, she had intrigued, she had brought her kinsmen in France to espouse his cause. His image had been the one bright spot in the gloomy circle of her thoughts, and this was the end. Here he stood before her drawn by no enemy's pen, but by the

¹ Fontenay à la Reine d'Écosse, 5-15 Août: MSS. *Mary Queen of Scots*.

hand of her own devoted servant, coarse, ugly, vulgar, uncouth, inflated with vanity and selfishness, and careless whether she lived or died. It must have been a terrible moment, perhaps the worst that she had ever known in all her miserable life. He had gratified her revenge, for in doing so he gratified himself. In all else he threatened to be the most dangerous obstacle which had yet risen in her path. The only hold that she possessed upon him was through his fears. He was craven at heart, he dreaded her 'malediction,'¹ and he knew that she would not spare him.

¹ "Il est fort craintive de la malediction de Dieu et de vostre Majesté."
— M. Fontenay à la Reyne d'Escoce, 6-15 Août: *MSS. Mary Queen of Scots*.

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